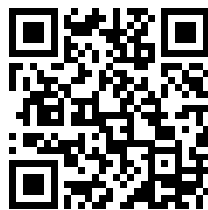


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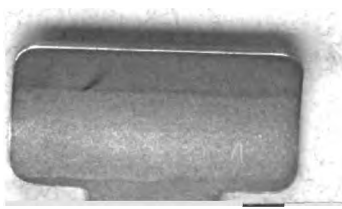
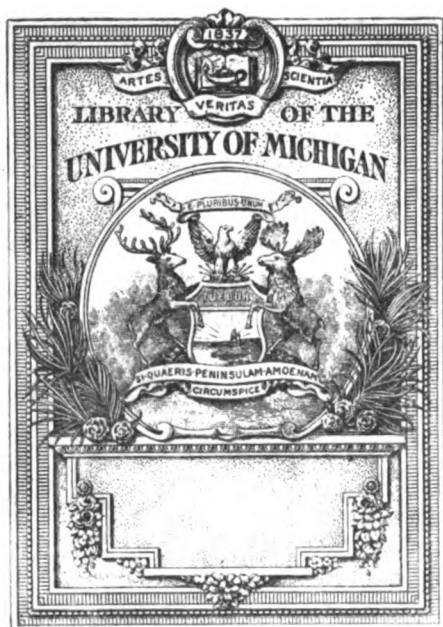
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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY

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Number 1

WAS JESUS OR PAUL THE FOUNDER OF CHRISTIANITY?

PROFESSOR ARTHUR CUSHMAN MCGIFFERT, D.D.
Union Theological Seminary, New York City

This question in one or another form has been discussed during the last year or two by a number of German scholars. Among the more important books relating to the subject are Wrede's *Paulus*, Kaftan's *Jesus und Paulus*, Jülicher's *Paulus und Jesus*, and Meyer's *Wer hat das Christenthum begründet, Jesus oder Paulus?* In writing the present article, at the request of the editors of the *American Journal of Theology*, it is not my purpose to review these and similar works, but to indicate some of the elements of the problem, and to present the principal considerations that have to be taken into account in dealing with it, together with the conclusions to which they seem to lead.

The question may be considered from three points of view: the relation of Jesus and Paul to the Christian movement, to the Christian church as an institution, and to the content of historical Christianity.

I. The Christian movement was due to the twofold belief in Jesus' messiahship and resurrection. Had his disciples regarded him simply as a prophet or teacher his death would have made no serious difference. The truth which he taught would have remained true even though he was no more. But the death of the Messiah was an altogether different matter. Before anything had been done which it was believed the Messiah was to do, and which alone gave

him any significance, the end had come. The only possible conclusion seemed to be that his disciples were mistaken in supposing Jesus the Messiah. This conclusion they must have shared with their fellow-countrymen had it not been for his resurrection. That event meant the rehabilitation of their belief in his messiahship and the conviction that he would yet establish the kingdom and accomplish Messiah's work. That he had left them again almost immediately was because the people were not yet prepared for the kingdom; he was alive, not dead, and would return from heaven as soon as they were ready for his coming. It was this conviction that was responsible for the Christian movement within Judaism after Jesus' departure. The movement was connected with Jesus, for it was based upon a conviction about him, but it was essentially a new movement. The purpose of it was not to spread his gospel, but to convince the Jewish people that he was the Messiah, and would soon return to establish the promised messianic kingdom, and so to induce them to prepare themselves for it by repentance and righteousness. The movement was now messianic in a strict sense, and in becoming such it took on a significance altogether different from that given to it by Jesus himself.

It is impossible in this article to discuss the widely debated question whether Jesus actually claimed to be the Messiah.¹ I can simply express the opinion that his disciples could not have continued to think of him thus when he died without fulfilling any of their messianic expectations, had he not himself given them some warrant for the belief. On the other hand, that he set up a direct and positive claim to messiahship, and based his appeal to his countrymen upon that claim, is apparently precluded by the Synoptic account of his work and teaching. His attitude in the matter seems to have been negative rather than positive. In ceasing to believe in the coming of the conquering Messiah who should subdue the nations of the earth and raise Israel to a position of political supremacy, and in substituting for an external and visible kingdom the reign among men of love for God and neighbor, he gave up all that was essential and significant in the messianic hopes of his people. If he still made use of the

¹ The question is exceedingly complicated and to attempt to deal with it in a few paragraphs would be futile. (For the literature of the subject see especially H. J. Holtzmann's *Das Messianische Bewusstsein Jesu*, 1907.)

traditional term it was for the sake of turning attention from the external to the internal and cultivating among his fellows a new estimate of values which put filial devotion and fraternal service above national power and prosperity. God's true reign was in the hearts and lives of those who lived as his children, and for God's Messiah there was no higher work than to lead men to live thus. Under these circumstances, if Jesus cared at all about the recognition of himself as Messiah, and we cannot be sure that he did, it was only because he believed that such recognition would carry with it the spirit and attitude in which alone he was vitally interested. As a matter of fact, the event proved that he was mistaken in this belief. Instead of abandoning their traditional messianic views, his disciples continued to think of a national Jewish kingdom and of a conquering Messiah, and thus their belief in his messiahship instead of enforcing his real message served only to obscure it.

It will be objected to this interpretation of Jesus' conception of messiahship that the apocalyptic utterances which bulk so large in the Synoptic gospels, and which picture him as returning upon the clouds of heaven to judge the world, show that he claimed to be the Messiah in a very different sense from that just indicated. Taken as they stand there is no doubt that they do. If they came from Jesus' lips it must be admitted that he failed to spiritualize completely the Jewish messianic conception, and that he retained features of the traditional belief quite inconsistent with his general attitude and temper. The inconsistency might be explained by assuming that the utterances in question represent a later stage in his experience than the gospels as a whole, and witness to the effect which the conviction of his impending crucifixion had upon him. But, natural perhaps as such a change of view might seem under the circumstances, it means so complete a reversal of the principles that commonly controlled him, and rests at the same time upon testimony of so precarious a character, that it can hardly be insisted upon. That Jesus believed that the cause for which he was laboring would go on after his death, and that God's kingdom would come among his people, there can be no doubt, and to that belief he may well have given expression in the most emphatic terms. But that he foretold that he would himself return in person upon the clouds of heaven to judge the world it

is not so easy to suppose in view of his common thought of his own work, and also in view of the attitude of the disciples after his death. Had they been in possession of such clear and explicit prophecies of his exaltation to heaven and return therefrom in messianic glory, his death would have caused them less difficulty than it did. If Jesus appropriated the term Son of Man and used it in a messianic sense, even though he gave his own interpretation of messiahship in such passages as "The Son of man came to seek and to save that which was lost," and "The Son of man came not to be ministered unto but to minister," it would be almost inevitable that his followers, under the influence of current apocalyptic, should apply to him the familiar picture of the Son of man coming upon the clouds for judgment. The apologetic value, indeed necessity, of such a procedure is apparent. Belief in the second coming there must be or faith in Jesus' messiahship could not survive his death and subsequent departure. That the disciples should fill out their picture of him as Messiah by adding traditional features which alone made his messiahship conceivable was the most natural thing in the world. Under these circumstances it seems unnecessary to place implicit confidence in the apocalyptic passages in the gospels; just here, if anywhere, the influence of early Christian beliefs might be expected to make itself felt.

If Jesus' attitude toward his own messiahship was in general as has been indicated it is evident that we can speak of him as the founder of the messianic movement carried on by his disciples after his death only in a limited sense. He undertook to promote God's kingdom in Israel by leading his fellows to live as true children of God, and he doubtless believed that the work would go on after his departure under the leadership of those who knew him best (indeed he seems to have felt that his death would actually promote the work and be a blessing to the cause; compare for instance his words at the last supper), and in so far he may be called the conscious and deliberate founder of the movement that ultimately came to be called Christianity. But when that movement took on a strictly messianic character and its leaders conceived their mission in terms so different from his, it is only by accommodation, and at best in an external sense, that we can speak of it as the same. In any case the movement did not

owe its origin to Paul; it was older than he. But at his hands it underwent still further transformation. Spiritual and ethical values were brought once more to the front, and almost wholly crowded out the traditional messianic ideas of the earlier disciples. In what sense he may be said to have forwarded Jesus' own movement, and in how far he is to be regarded as the originator of a new movement, will, I hope, appear as we go on.

II. In one sense it may be said that the Christian church as an institution came into existence with the inception of the messianic movement which we have been considering, but in another sense it is an anachronism to use the word *church* in connection with that movement. The word occurs in two places in the gospels (once in Matt. 16:18 and twice in Matt. 18:17), in each case upon the lips of Jesus, but modern critical opinion is almost unanimous in denying the authenticity of both passages.* It is impossible to enter here into a discussion of their genuineness, but in view of the silence of the other gospels and the striking lack of reference to them in the literature of the first and second centuries, I am myself unable to believe that the words in question were spoken by Jesus. And indeed it would be very surprising if they had been, for nowhere else is there any indication that he had in mind the establishment of any institution which could properly bear the name of church. Of such an institution there is no sign that he thought at all, and at any rate it may be regarded as certain that he took no steps toward its organization, for we should surely know it if he had. Much the same may be said of his early Jerusalem disciples. In a sense, as already remarked, the Christian church came into existence when they returned to Jerusalem after Jesus' departure with the conviction that he had risen from the dead, and began their messianic preaching there. But properly speaking it had its origin at a later time. The early Jewish disciples remained members of the Jewish church and had no thought of founding another. Only with the separation of Christianity from Judaism could the idea of a Christian church in a strict sense arise.

* For the evidence see Resch, *Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien*, pp. 187 ff., 230 ff. Weiss, in his recent works on the Synoptics, defends Matt. 16:18 but repudiates Matt. 18:17; see *Die Quellen des Lukasevangeliums*, p. 157; *Die Quellen der Synoptischen Überlieferung*, p. 64.

The notion that there could be two churches, two chosen peoples, two families of God, would have been tolerable to no one. And hence only when it was believed that the Christian circle had taken the place of the Jewish community could it acquire the significance of a church in the eyes of the Christians themselves. Apparently the early Jewish disciples did not so believe. They remained loyal and faithful to Jesus, and their effort was not to substitute a new institution for the old, but simply to secure from the Jewish nation, of which they were a part, recognition of Jesus' messiahship and so prepare it for the kingdom he was soon to inaugurate. A movement within Judaism and the Jewish church they were doing what they could to promote, but they were not attempting to establish a new Judaism or a new church.

When Christianity broke with Judaism and became an independent movement the conditions existed in which the idea of a specifically Christian church could grow up, and it is no accident that it appears first in Paul's epistles, and that it owed its development to him. It is true that he and other early Christian writers commonly spoke of the church of God, not of the church of Christ (Paul uses the latter phrase only in Romans 16:16: "All the churches of Christ;" compare also Galatians 1:22 and Ignatius, *Phil.*, *introd.*: "The church of God the Father and of Jesus Christ;" *Smyr.*, *introd.*, 1), but it was of the Christian not of the Jewish community he and they were thinking when they used the word, the church whose head was Christ and which owned him as Lord. It is not that they thought of two churches, the Jewish and the Christian, but of a single church, made up of believers in Christ and heirs of all the promises, into which Jews as well as gentiles must enter if they would be of the People of God. This conception early became controlling in Christian thought,³ and the Christian church can be properly said to have existed, or at any rate to have come to self-consciousness, only when Christians thought of it thus. From this point of view, then, it might be claimed that it was Paul, and not Jesus, nor the early Jewish disciples, who was the founder of the Christian church. But, as in the case of the

³ Cf., e. g., Acts 20:28, I Clement, *introd.*, Hermas, *Vis.* i, 1, 3; iv, 1; *Sim.* ix, 18; Ignatius, *Eph.*, 5, *Trall.* 2, 12; and especially II Clement 14 and Hermas, *Vis.* ii, 4.

messianic movement, without Jesus it would not have been, for it was in his name and upon faith in him that it was built.

III. More important is the question as to the relation of Jesus and Paul to the content of historic Christianity, to the principles which underlie it and to the beliefs and practices which constitute it.

Turning first to historic Christian practices, among the most distinctive and characteristic are the worship of God through Christ, the worship of Christ himself, and the observance of the sacraments, in all of which Christian religious faith and devotion have commonly found expression from an early day.

The first of these practices seems to have been universal almost from the beginning. The long prayer at the end of Clement's epistle to the Corinthians closes with the words "We praise Thee through the high priest and guardian of our souls, Jesus Christ, through whom be the glory and majesty unto Thee both now and for all generations and forever and ever. Amen."⁴ Similarly the prayer of Polycarp recorded in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, chap. 14, concludes thus: "I praise Thee, I bless Thee, I glorify Thee through the eternal and heavenly high priest, Jesus Christ thy beloved son, through whom to Thee with him and the Holy Spirit be glory both now and for ages to come. Amen."⁵ In Origen's *Tract on Prayer*, chap. 15, occurs one of the most interesting patristic passages on the subject:

If we understand what prayer is we see that it is to be offered to no creature, not even to Christ himself, but only to God the Father of the universe, to whom also our Savior himself prayed, as we have already said, and taught us to pray. For when he heard the request "Teach us to pray," he did not teach to pray to himself, but to the Father, saying "Our Father which art in heaven," etc. For if, as has been shown elsewhere, the Son is other than the Father in being and hypostasis, one must pray to the Son and not to the Father, or to both, or to the Father alone. To pray to the Son and not to the Father everyone would confess to be most unfitting and absurd. But if we are to pray to both it is clear that we ought to use the plural, and say "Do ye grant," "Do ye show favor," "Do ye bestow blessings," "Do ye save," and the like. But this mode of expression is in itself incongruous, and no one can show that it has been employed by anyone in the Scriptures. It remains therefore to pray to God alone, the Father of the universe, but not apart from the High Priest who was appointed by the Father with an oath

⁴ I Clem. 61; cf. also chap. 20.

⁵ Compare also Justin Martyr's first apology, 65, 67; Ignatius, *Eph.* 4, *Rom.* 2; and the *Didache* 9.

as it is said "He hath sworn and will not repent; thou art a high priest forever after the order of Melchizedek." Therefore when the saints give thanks to God in their prayers they offer their thanks through Jesus Christ. But as the one who prays rightly cannot pray to him who prays, but to him whom our Lord Jesus taught us in prayer to call Father, no one ought to offer prayer to the Father apart from him. This he himself shows clearly when he says, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall ask of my Father he will give it to you in my name. Hitherto ye have asked nothing in my name; ask and ye shall receive that your joy may be full." For he did not say "Ask me," nor "Ask the Father" simply, but "Whatever ye shall ask the Father he will give it to you in my name." For until Jesus taught thus no one had asked the Father in the name of the Son, and what Jesus said was true, "Hitherto have ye asked nothing in my name;" true also his words "Ask and ye shall receive that your joy may be full."

The custom of praying to God through Christ, or in his name, thus testified to by Origen, has continued through all the Christian centuries, and has found expression in formal liturgies both early and late (cf., for instance, the prayers in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, Book 8). The reason which led to it is sufficiently indicated by the passages quoted from Clement, Polycarp, and Origen, and by Novatian in his work on the Trinity, chap. 14, where it is said: "If Christ be only a man why is a man invoked in prayer *as a mediator*?"

Of the practice of praying to Christ himself we have few direct examples in our earliest Christian sources, but in Pliny's letter to Trajan it is said, "They sang unto Christ as to God," and Justin Martyr thought the practice so important that he devoted a considerable part of his *Dialogue with Trypho* to a defense of it.⁶ Formal prayer, if we may judge from the ancient liturgies, seems to have been addressed commonly to God, either alone or in Christ's name, and not to Christ himself instead of or in conjunction with God. But Christ was frequently addressed directly in brief or informal petition or ascription (cf., for instance, the words of Stephen in Acts 7:59). The passage quoted from Origen shows that the practice of praying directly to Christ was current in his day, though he was himself opposed to it, and it has remained common ever since, though less so than prayer to God through Christ.

Both forms of Christian prayer owed much to Paul. According to him no one can come into communion with God except through

⁶ Compare chaps. 55 ff. and *Apology* 1, 6.

Christ. Christ's work alone made salvation possible, and only as his Spirit dwells in a man is the man a child and heir of God.

Ye are not in the flesh but in the spirit, if so be the Spirit of God dwelleth in you. But if any man hath not the Spirit of Christ he is none of his. And if Christ is in you the body is dead because of sin, but the spirit is life because of righteousness. But if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwelleth in you, he that raised up Christ Jesus from the dead shall quicken also your mortal bodies through his Spirit that dwelleth in you. . . . For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, these are sons of God. For ye received not the spirit of bondage again unto fear; but ye received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba Father.⁷

Paul's conception of the indwelling Christ was even such, that, while theoretically he drew a distinction between God the Father and his Son Jesus Christ (cf. I Cor. 8:6; 15:28; II Cor. 13:13, and often), in his practical religious experience they were to all intents and purposes one. Christ is divine in the fullest sense, and becoming united to him we are united to God, and share in the divine life. The basis was thus given for communion with Christ and prayer to him. Not that two separate objects of worship were involved, but that for religious experience and feeling the distinction between God and Christ was lost (cf. such a passage as II Cor. 12:1 ff). There can be no doubt that the influence of Paul was widely and permanently felt along this line (it represents a common Christian attitude from that day to this), though as a matter of fact there is no indication that he actually offered formal prayer to Christ, and made him consciously an object of worship. He was too much of a Hebrew to find such a course natural, and in reality it was only slowly that the practice became common. Paul himself continued to worship the same God he had worshiped before his conversion, but as a Christian he came to God through Christ, finding in him justification for approaching God in filial confidence and assurance (Gal. 4:6), and to this he often gave formal expression in prayer as is indicated by such a passage as Ephesians 5:20, "Giving thanks always for all things in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to God even the Father."⁸

⁷ Romans 8:9-11, 14, 15.

⁸ Cf. Romans 1:8; Col. 3:17, etc., and upon this whole subject of early Christian prayer see Von Der Goltz, *Das Gebet in der ältesten Christenheit*.

As to Christ's own attitude in the matter the Lord's Prayer seems sufficient evidence that he had nothing directly to do with either of the practices referred to. In the light of that prayer, and of such passages as Mark 10:18, Matt. 20:23; 24:36, it is clear that he cannot have thought of himself as an object of divine worship, and it is almost as difficult to suppose that he taught that prayer to God should be offered through him and in his name. The conclusion indeed can hardly be avoided that the words of John (14:13, 14; 15:16; 16:23, 24, 26), which Origen quotes as authority for praying in Jesus' name, were not spoken by Jesus. He would have the piety of his disciples voice itself as his own did, not in prayer to himself, but to God his Father and theirs, and not through him or in his name, but in the direct and intimate communion of son with father. The words in John are entirely in keeping with the general notion of the evangelist that we become children of God only through Christ the Son of God, that we can approach the Father and commune with him only through the Son, and that it is only on his account that God treats men as sons. But this was certainly not Christ's own belief. All men are children of God according to him and all may approach their heavenly Father in perfect confidence and commune directly with him. It is true that Jesus was conscious of his divine mission, and believed that his message to his fellows was God's supreme revelation to them, and even went so far as to assert his indispensable place in the mediation of the knowledge of God (Matt. 11:27; Luke 10:22); and it is further true that historically Christians actually have come to know the Christian God through him, and that he still constitutes the chief ground and guarantee of their faith in God. In so far as prayer in his name means the recognition of this great fact it is abundantly justified even though he himself may not have given direct warrant to it. But in so far as it implies, as it did in the beginning and has widely ever since, that God must be approached through a mediator, or that prayer is more effective for being offered in Christ's name, it is untrue both to the teaching and the spirit of the Master.

So far as the sacraments are concerned, I have set forth elsewhere the reasons for thinking that Jesus did not institute either Christian baptism or the Lord's Supper, and it is not necessary to repeat them

here.⁹ The relation of Paul to both these rites is interesting and instructive. Baptism was evidently in common use in the church before his conversion. He lays little stress upon it himself ("Christ sent me not to baptize but to preach the gospel," I Cor. 1:17), but he brings it into connection with his theory of redemption, and thus gives it a sacramental character which it could not otherwise have acquired. Buried with Christ in baptism we rise with him to newness of life (Rom. 6:3 ff.). Baptism thus marks the death of the old nature and the birth of the new, or, in other words, it is already, in germ at least, the sacrament of regeneration, so that John can write "Except a man be born of water and the Spirit he cannot enter into the kingdom of God" (John 3:5), Ignatius can speak of Christ as "cleansing water by his passion" (*Eph.* 18), and Irenaeus can refer to baptism as "that baptism which is regeneration unto God" (*Adv. Haer.* i, 21, 1; cf. also iii, 17, 1), and in his newly discovered *Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching* can say "Faith teaches us . . . that this baptism is the seed of eternal life and regeneration in God, in order that we may not be children of mortal men, but of the eternal and self-existent God."¹⁰

Paul's influence in connection with the Lord's Supper was even more direct and controlling. The Lord's Supper existed as a common meal before he became a Christian, but he gave it a new character; in the first place, by representing it as a memorial of Christ's death and so making it a solemn thing (I Cor., chap. 11), in the second place by transforming it into a purely religious ceremony, and destroying its character as a common meal, eaten for the purpose of satisfying hunger and thirst ("Have ye not houses to eat and drink in?" "If any man is hungry let him eat at home," I Cor. 11:22, 34), and in the third place by bringing it into connection with his doctrine of redemption through union with Christ (I Cor. 10:16 ff.). That the Lord's Supper early became a sacrament in the strict sense, that is, a means by which the divine nature or divine grace is con-

⁹ On baptism see *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, pp. 61 ff., and particularly *The Apostles' Creed*, pp. 175 ff.; on the Lord's Supper, *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, p. 69.

¹⁰ Cf. also Justin's first *Apology*, chap. 61, and Tertullian's tract *On Baptism*, chap. 4.

veyed to men,¹¹ and has remained such ever since, at least in Catholic Christendom, is due ultimately to Paul.

We may turn next to the theoretical content of Christianity, that is, to its principles and beliefs. It may be recognized that it is difficult or even impossible to define Christianity, to bring so vast and complicated a movement within the compass of a single formula, but speaking in the large there is in historical Christianity a pretty definite body of principles and beliefs which may be said to constitute its theoretical content.

It is clear first of all that the conviction that the natural man is evil and therefore condemned to destruction has been fundamental in historical Christianity, and that it underlies the entire traditional system of doctrine. Man is an evil being doomed to death from which he cannot possibly escape of himself. Only as his nature is transformed by supernatural means can he be saved from the impending fate. This salvation Christianity supplies. The significant fact about it is that it furnishes the only means whereby the corrupt and mortal nature of man may be changed and a new, holy, and immortal nature created within him. Regeneration is the one thing needed, and it can be effected only by supernatural power. Man cannot escape death and enjoy the vision of God and eternal life unless he be born from above. It is sometimes imagined that the idea of man as a corrupt and depraved being belonged only to the Latin church, not the Greek, and was due chiefly to Augustine, and that through the influence of semi-Pelagianism it was gradually lost sight of even in the West. But as a matter of fact, it was shared by the great majority of theologians and by the church at large, eastern and western, early and late. The estimate of human nature might be less somber and severe with some than with others, but it was always such as to make supernatural activity essential to its transformation. Thus Irenaeus, in the latter part of the second century, says:

For as it was not possible that man, who had once for all been conquered and destroyed through disobedience, could reform himself and obtain the prize of victory, and as it was also impossible that he could attain to salvation who had fallen under sin, the Son effected both these things, being the Word of God,

¹¹ Cf. for instance, Ignatius, *Ephesians* 20, *Phil.*, 4, *Smyr.* 6, *Romans* 7; and Irenaeus, iv, 18:5; 38:1; v, 2:2.

descending from the Father, becoming incarnate, stooping even to death, and consummating the dispensation of our salvation.¹²

And Athanasius, early in the fourth century, says:

Thus, then, God made man and willed that he should abide in incorruption. But men having despised and rejected the contemplation of God and devised and contrived evil for themselves, as was shown in the former treatise, received the condemnation of death with which they had been threatened, and from thenceforth no longer remained as they were made, but were corrupted according to their devices, and death reigned over them. . . . Now if there were merely a misdemeanor in question, and not a consequent corruption, repentance were well enough. But if, when transgression had once gained a start, men became involved in natural corruption, and were deprived of the grace of the divine image, what else was needed to be done, or what was required for such grace and such restoration but the Word of God which had also at the beginning made everything out of nothing?¹³

The same sentiment appears twelve centuries later in the *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, session 5:

If anyone does not confess that the first man, Adam, when he had transgressed the commandment of God in paradise, immediately lost the holiness and justice in which he had been constituted; and that he incurred through the offense of such prevarication the wrath and indignation of God and consequently death which God had previously threatened him with, and together with death captivity under the power of him who thenceforth had the empire of death, that is to say, the devil; and that the entire Adam through that offense of prevarication was changed as respects body and soul for the worse, let him be anathema. If anyone asserts that the prevarication of Adam injured himself alone and not his posterity, and that he lost for himself alone and not for us also the holiness and justice received of God; or that he, defiled by the sin of disobedience, has only transfused death and pains of the body into the whole human race, but not sin also which is the death of the soul, let him be anathema.

It was in accordance with this conviction of man's need and this interpretation of the purpose of Christianity that Christ was viewed as a Savior who supplies the means without which the needed transformation cannot be accomplished. His work might be variously understood. It might be interpreted more realistically, as was common in the east, or more legally, as in the west, and the emphasis might be laid upon the incarnation chiefly, or upon the death, both of which were everywhere recognized as essential, but, in any case, that in some way it made possible the change of man's evil nature

¹² *Adv. Haer.*, iii, 18: 2.

¹³ *On the Incarnation of the Word*, paragraphs 4 and 7.

and his consequent escape from destruction all were agreed. Upon this idea of Christ's work was based the historic belief in his deity. As a mere prophet he might instruct men and set before them an example of perfect obedience, but only as he was divine could he by his indwelling endow human nature with incorruption and immortality, or pay an adequate price for men's redemption.¹⁴

It was in accordance also with this general view of Christianity that the Christian life was thought of as supernatural and other-worldly. The Christian, born from above, is no longer a mere natural and earthly man, and he finds his true home not here but in another sphere. His attitude toward the present world is therefore that of detachment and renunciation. Not to set one's affections upon the better and higher things of this life, but to set them on another life altogether was the constant effort. The words of John's First Epistle express the universal ideal: "Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the vainglory of life is not of the Father, but is of the world" (2:15, 16).¹⁵

¹⁴ Compare for instance such passages as the following: "For on this account the Word of God became man, and he who was the Son of God was made the Son of man, that man having contained the Word of God, and receiving the adoption, might become the son of God. For by no other means could we have attained to incorruptibility and immortality unless we had been joined to incorruptibility and immortality. But how could we be joined to incorruptibility and immortality unless first incorruptibility and immortality had been made what we also are?" (Irenaeus, iii, 19, 1.) "How can they be saved unless it is God who has wrought out their salvation upon earth? And how shall man pass into God unless God has passed into man?" (*ibid.* iv, 33, 4). "For being above all, the Word of God, by offering his own temple and corporeal instrument for the life of all, fittingly satisfied the debt by his death. And thus the incorruptible Son of God, being conjoined with all by a like nature, fittingly clothed all with incorruption by the promise of the resurrection" (Athanasius, *On the Incarnation of the Word*, paragraph 9). "When therefore our race had fallen from the highest grade of dignity, it could not be raised up and restored to its original place by any power of men or angels. Wherefore to remedy the evil and the ruin it was necessary that the infinite power of the Son of God, assuming the weakness of our flesh, should remove the infinite weight of sin, and should reconcile us to God in his blood" (*Catechism of the Council of Trent*, Pt. I, chap. 3, quest. 3).

¹⁵ Thomas Aquinas, the greatest of catholic theologians, but expresses the common Christian sentiment from the third century on, when he ranks the contemplative life, or life apart from the world, higher than active life in the midst of the world (*Summa*, ii, 2, quest. 182).

Based upon the same conception of man's need was the traditional idea of the church and the traditional theory of the sacraments as indispensable means of grace. The church is the body of Christ, and coming into union with it one comes into union with him, and receives from him through the sacraments the grace needed to bring about one's transformation.¹⁶ The entire system of historic Christianity hangs together, and fundamental to it is the conviction of man's essential depravity and his inability to escape of himself the impending destruction.

This system the Reformers retained and handed down to Protestant Christendom. Changed here and there in its details, particularly in the doctrine of the church and sacraments, in its essential features it remained unaltered, and only modern liberalism has really broken with it. A perusal of any of the great historical Protestant symbols, such as the Heidelberg Catechism, the Thirty Nine Articles, and the Westminster Confession, will make this abundantly manifest. The orthodox Christian system, both Catholic and Protestant, both ancient and modern, is as has been indicated. Principles, beliefs, and practices are essentially one, in spite of all divisions and differences. Historic Christianity has a definite content which it is not difficult to discover and describe. Where then did it come from? Was Jesus its author, or was Paul? Or is it only the fruit of long centuries of development, a system of much later growth than either Paul or Jesus? As a matter of fact it can be traced back in all its essential features to the second century of our era. Nothing important has been added since. All the changes that have come, all the elements that distinguish later from earlier Christianity, Catholic from primitive, and Protestant from Catholic, are matters of detail, and do not affect the common and age-old stock.

And not simply can the historic Christian system in all its essential content be traced back to the second century; it can all be found in Paul. To him, as to the historic church both Catholic and Protestant, man is by nature a corrupt and depraved being, doomed to death

¹⁶ Compare what Cyprian says in his tract on the *Unity of the Church*, chap. 4; and also the passages from Ignatius and Irenaeus quoted above in connection with baptism and the Lord's Supper. The whole matter is well summed up by John of Damascus in his *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, Book 4, chap. 13.

and utterly unable to help himself (Rom., chap. 7). To him, too, salvation is a purely supernatural thing, accomplished by the transformation of man from a fleshly to a spiritual being through the indwelling of the divine (Rom. chaps. 5-8). Paul's view of flesh and spirit might be very different from the view of those who came after him, and his account of Christ's work unlike theirs in many respects, but that man must be made over if he is not to perish eternally, and that this can be done only through divine power mediated by Jesus Christ—herein Paul and the historic church are at one.

It was the same interest that led him to the belief in Christ's deity, without which his redemptive work would be impossible, and it was under the control of the same general idea that he viewed the Christian life as other-worldly. The Christian's citizenship is in heaven (Phil. 3:20), and the Christian's duty is the crucifixion of his flesh (Rom. 8:13; I Cor. 9:27; Gal. 5:24). He also viewed the church as the mystical body of Christ (Ephesians and Colossians) and the sacraments as means of grace, both baptism and the Lord's Supper being brought into the scheme of redemption, and made contributory to the transformation of man's nature through his union with Christ. (Romans 6:3, 4; Gal. 3:27; I Cor. 10:16 ff.)

In one important matter Paul's Christianity was very different from the Christianity of those who came after him. Upon the basis of his doctrine of the indwelling Spirit, making the life of the Christian man divine, he constructed his remarkable and inspiring theory of Christian liberty, which meant freedom not merely from bondage to the Jewish law but from bondage to all law whatsoever—meant in fact the complete repudiation of legalism in every form. This the primitive church did not make its own nor the Catholic; and even in Protestantism, in spite of Luther's magnificent reassertion of it and the declarations of some of the great Protestant symbols, it has been commonly very much of a dead letter. It is not Paul's principle at this point that has prevailed in Christendom, but the notion of the primitive church, inherited from Judaism and congenial to the common moral sentiment of the Graeco-Roman world of the day, that the Christian life is the keeping of God's law in order to the enjoyment of a future reward. Along this line Paul failed to influence the church. Its legalism came from others than he. But with this

exception all the great essential features of historic Christianity are to be found in him.

But where did he get them? Did they come ultimately from Jesus, and in handing them down to the church that came after him was Paul simply passing on the Christianity given to the world by Christ himself? It is comparatively easy to discover what Paul believed, and to trace the connection between him and later Christianity, but the relation between him and his Master it is exceedingly difficult to determine, at any rate in detail. It is with this question particularly that the recent German discussions referred to at the beginning of this article have largely concerned themselves, dealing more fully with the relations of Paul and Christ to each other than with their relations to the historic church and historic Christianity.

One thing is clear. Between Paul and the Jesus of the Fourth Gospel the connection is very close. Many of the essential features of Paul's system reappear in that Gospel: the necessity of regeneration changing a man from a fleshly to a spiritual being (John, chap. 3), union with Christ (chap. 15), the deity of Christ (chap. 1 and often), the sacramental view of baptism and the Lord's Supper (chap. 3 and 6)—all these are found in the teaching of the Johannine Christ. But all the more striking by contrast is the lack of all these elements in the teaching of Jesus as recorded in the Synoptic Gospels. Of the essentially fleshly and evil nature of man nothing is said; nothing of the consequent need of regeneration; nothing of mystical union with Christ, and nothing of his deity; and no trace of sacramentalism appears in connection with baptism and the Lord's Supper. It is not merely a difference of emphasis or form of statement. There is wanting altogether in the Synoptic Gospels the great and consistent body of teaching, which is not merely present, but is fundamental and controlling in the Fourth Gospel and the First Epistle of John. When this is once recognized it must be clear that that body of teaching came from some other source than Jesus himself; and the conclusion can hardly be resisted that it came from Paul, in whose writings it is first found, and whose own experience fully accounts for its origin. The despair into which he had fallen as a result of his total inability to keep the law of God, as he felt that it ought to be kept, a despair shared by no other Christian of the day, so far as we know; the revelation

of Christ as a spiritual being freed from evil flesh, a revelation whose tremendous and revolutionary influence can be matched nowhere else in the first century; his contacts with hellenistic life and thought, making the dualistic explanation of human corruption more natural to him than to Jesus and his primitive disciples; the cataclysmic character of his conversion, rendering a cataclysmic interpretation of Christian experience and the Christian life almost inevitable to him—all this makes it easy to explain the remarkable conception of Christianity which appears first in his epistles and which can be adequately accounted for in no other way.

Is there, then, any justification in Jesus' teaching for the Christian system which Paul handed down to the church of subsequent centuries? It is to be noticed that Paul nowhere traces his theory back to Jesus, or quotes words of the Master in support of it. It is true that Jesus assumed that men generally are in need of divine forgiveness, and in this there might seem to be a basis for Paul's doctrine. But his idea was a different one altogether from that of Paul and of the historic church in general. There is no hint in his teaching of the radical badness and utter helplessness of human nature, of which Paul made so much, and of the consequent necessity of its transformation by supernatural agency. It is not simply that Paul threw the matter into theological or philosophical form, but that his view of man and his need was totally at variance with Christ's. And if this is true of the fundamental elements in Paul's system, it is true also of their corollaries, the doctrine of salvation, of the person and work of Christ, of the church and the sacraments. All of these had their origin ultimately in the experience of Paul and not in the teaching of Jesus. In so far then, as historic Christianity is identical with this system which I have been describing it would seem that Paul must be recognized as its author and founder rather than Jesus.

But though to Paul is due the larger and perhaps controlling part of the Christianity of all the centuries since his day, there is another element which comes ultimately not from Paul but from Christ himself. Side by side with the system which took its rise with Paul run influences of a different and higher order. The piety of Jesus—his vivid realization of God as his father and the father of his brethren, and his attitude of perfect trust and joyful devotion—has been a price-

less and imperishable heritage of the Christian church. Not all Christians have entered into it, but its influence has been felt in every age. Different as was Paul's temper and his general view of the world and life; and foreign to Christ's thought as was his metaphysical conception of deity, he yet so learned the lesson of the Master that he could voice his own religious experience and the experience of his converts in the wonderful words "Because ye are sons God sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba Father" (Gal. 4:6). So far as there is anything distinctive in Christian piety, in the Christian's attitude toward God and communion with him, it is due to Jesus. Here he and not Paul is the Master.

And not simply in his attitude toward God but in his attitude toward his fellows Jesus left a permanent impression. At this point, too, Paul learned from him¹⁷ Had he developed his own ethical ideals independently of Jesus he would infallibly have given the controlling place to righteousness, interpreted, in accordance with his dualistic view of flesh, in terms of personal purity, or abstinence from fleshly sin. As it is, emphatic as he was in his assertion of the supreme place of love for others, he yet failed to make it actually supreme as Jesus did, for he set along side of it not simply holiness, but also personal loyalty to Jesus, as Christian duties equal or even superior to love for one's fellows.¹⁸ The consequence was that Paul handed on to those who came after him an ethical ideal fraught with the evils of confusion and schism. Personal loyalty to Jesus might involve following him in his supreme devotion to the good of others, but it often meant something very different; and the desire for holiness might be entirely consonant with love for one's fellows, but it often crowded it out altogether, so that asceticism became the characteristic Christian virtue. It is no accident that asceticism has played so large a part in Christian history. The view of the Christian life which was the fruit of Paul's own experience made it inevitable, and when the impression

¹⁷ Cf. Rom. 13:8; I Cor. 13; Gal. 5:13 ff.; Phil. 2:2 ff.; Eph. 4:2, 16; I Thes. 3:12, 4:9.

¹⁸ Cf. II Cor. 5:14, 15 where Paul draws a conclusion from the love of Christ, typical of a common Christian attitude ever since, which, beautiful as it is, shows clearly enough that Christ's spirit had not taken complete possession of him, as it had not of the disciples who preceded him and who first changed the emphasis from Jesus' message to his person.

of Jesus' teaching became less controlling than it was to Paul it took complete possession of the field. But always the Master's principle of love and service has had some place in Christian teaching; often it has had illustrious exponents, and has led to heroic deeds of charity; and ever and anon it has dominated the life of large sections of the church, as it is coming today to dominate the life of the world. Here too Jesus himself was the founder and none of his disciples, not even Paul or John. In recognizing God as his own Father and the Father of all his brethren, in making righteousness the faithful and joyful doing of the Father's will and interpreting it in terms of love and service of one's fellows, and, above all, in living with God and with men the life he was summoning others to live, Jesus gave Christianity to the world. In the last analysis, whether they fully understood it or not, it was the impression of his life that constituted the basis of his disciples' faith in him, the ultimate ground of their conviction of his messiahship and resurrection, and so the real foundation of the Christian church.

The answer to our main question is thus a divided one. Without Jesus Christianity and the Christian church would certainly not have been. In his name the church was founded and from faith in him it has drawn its life; and yet the movement was started and the institution established by other men, and in most of its principles and beliefs and practices the influence of others has been controlling. Nevertheless his gospel of divine fatherhood and human brotherhood, which he not only taught but lived, commonly overlaid as it has been by other interests, has never been wholly forgotten, and today, when it is coming so prominently to the fore, Christians can recognize more clearly than at any other period that Christianity has really come from Jesus himself, for that which is of greatest worth in it, and that which chiefly accounts for its hold upon the modern world, was given it by him.

A POSITIVE METHOD FOR AN EVANGELICAL THEOLOGY

SHAILER MATHEWS
The University of Chicago

Two types of theology may fairly be said to be needed. First, there is the theology that is to be preached, the *κήρυγμα* of the religious teacher and preacher; and second, there is that philosophical normative systematization of religious truth which will always lie below and condition the other. In a way the distinction is akin to that between dogmatics and the philosophy of religion, but is more accurately drawn by describing the first as the message theology, and the second as the apologetic theology.

There is, however, more fundamental difference between types of theology. It is that which lies between the material of science and metaphysics, i. e., the positive data of phenomena and the tentative data of reality sought behind phenomena. The difference involves method quite as truly as content. To be positive is not to be merely assertive. It is to limit conclusions to ascertainable data rather than to project speculation out from data. The metaphysician seeks by a process of abstracting to arrive at ultimates; the scientist endeavors by experiment, induction, and hypothesis to arrive at laws and new phenomena. The questions of being and of epistemology are vital to the metaphysician, but the scientist is concerned with methodology of experiment and induction, and does not question or attempt to explain how he can know that he knows the reality of that with which he is immediately concerned. Similarly, there are the positive and the metaphysical methods of theology: the one assumes that we can know, and starts with data which it proceeds to combine; the other questions how we can know, and is primarily concerned with normative processes in search for the criteria of reality itself.

It is true, as will appear presently, that just as biology has its hypotheses regarding the nature of living things, so the message or

positive theology has back of it philosophical concepts in accordance with which it must combine data which are given to it by the other sciences. But its aim is primarily practical—the formulation of a body of truth that shall not merely satisfy the intellect, but shall serve as motive and direction for the life of the spirit. To a very considerable degree it refers to its companion disciplines the questions regarding ultimate matters with which every thinking man sooner or later has to grapple.

There is one particular type of a theology built up by a positive method that the church and society particularly needs; a theology that is frankly evangelical, i. e., that utilizes methodically the gospel as given by biblical theology. Over against this is a theology that begins with a philosophy of religion and, though not necessarily hostile to biblical theology, largely disregards biblical results, except as its philosophical conceptions are regarded as more or less the equivalents of such New Testament teaching as may not seriously involve matters of history or apostolic formulation.

In brief, we find on one side a theology that purports to gain the gospel by positive method and then present it to a given age, and on the other a systematized presentation of the results of a religious philosophy and experience built up from theories of knowledge, but evangelical only in the sense that it reproduces the general faith and hope of universal religious experience as interpreted through the Christian community. Just at present there is a rather pronounced tendency on the part of progressive thinkers toward the latter type of theology. Such a tendency undoubtedly meets the needs of academic circles in touch with difficulties of a philosophical thought; but any man in touch with the actual life of the people, in their way quite as "modern" as any university professor, knows that what they need is a theology that is primarily redemptive and objective rather than metaphysical. For the real problem that besets Christianity today is not set by definitions, but by life itself. And the theology that will Christianize the world must be in a profound sense evangelic.

But this is by no means to say that the modern man, whether he be found in the university or in the counting-room or in the labor union will be satisfied with an aggregation of texts forced into a system determined by outgrown philosophies. The fact that so

many preachers think and practice the opposite is why our ordinary evangelical preaching so seldom reaches men and women under the control of our modern view of the world. A positive evangelical theology must not be anachronistic.

This is obviously saying that it must be subject to method. To indicate a possible formulation of such positive non-metaphysical, non-epistemological method by which we may directly use the gospel of the New Testament, is the purpose of this paper.

I. THE PRESUPPOSITIONS OF A POSITIVE EVANGELICAL THEOLOGY

1. Such a theology is not primarily concerned with what Kaftan calls the "higher knowledge," that is, the knowledge that we *can* know. Rather it proceeds positively along lines of psychology. It is not necessarily indifferent to the problems of epistemology, but it can assume that we do know sufficiently well to warrant faith and action and proceeds to utilize for its own immediate purposes those psychological data that are the point of departure for the epistemologist pure and simple. To speculate as to our ability to know is one thing; to appropriate positively for theological purposes the uncriticized states of consciousness we call cognitive is quite another. The one is epistemology, the other is psychology.

2. In a certain sense we here preserve the old distinction drawn between natural and revealed religion, but with distinct changes of conception. The evangelical element is not conceived of as superimposed upon generic religion, but rather as its completion. Revelation is not *ab extra* in the sense of a message from an extra-mundane world substantiated by miracles, but is the completer and, indeed, final revelation of a God immanent in a world of which humanity is a part. We are not concerned to prove the existence of God, but to set forth his nature. We start with the results of a comparative study of religion which give us the all but universal belief in God as personal (whether literal or symbolically personal we leave to the metaphysician's decision). This belief is one result of the judgment of value humanity passes upon the universe. Any theology needs a God to give unity to a superficially fragmentary universe, and to give purpose to a process in which it sees the world and all therein involved. A positive theology therefore believes in him and in its

more aggressive moods will defend its faith against all comers. At all events, it assumes God and the religious nature of man and proceeds to show how men, through Jesus, can be brought into dynamic, regenerative relation with God. The relation of this God to his universe must be presupposed as immanent, but not necessarily to the extent of regarding the universe as a monism. We may be monists, but no positive theology in the strict sense of the word can be derived from monism. At its best it can be only metaphysical. There is room for and, in my opinion, need of such serious attempts to build up such a metaphysical theology, but it will be a different sort of theology from that I am describing.

A positive theology presupposes enough distinction between God and man to make the two mutually objective. It leaves to the metaphysician the discussion as to just what this distinction is. For practical purposes plain men, scientists and monists, are dualists, and the theology that is actually to do the work which the world demands of a theology, cannot move outside of the limits of common sense. The common sense presupposition of faith as distinct from philosophy is this objectivity of God.

3. The theology proposed is not without organizing principles. Such principles, however, it derives not so much from the field of metaphysics as from the working hypotheses of the scientific world. It does not attempt to prove the ultimate and absolute truth of such principles, but, recognizing them as controlling elements of the social mind to which it appeals, utilizes them for the purpose of giving that unitary character to religious thought which is indispensable for any theology. In this sense it advances beyond biblical theology and grows pragmatic. The world-view is used as truth because it works in and controls those to whom the theology is addressed. It is employed not as final truth but as an economic expedient, an interpretative medium by which to make the gospel intelligible to a given community.

Obviously at this point appears a rather delicate matter, i. e., its relation to the biblical matter which it would unify with other correlatable facts; and just as obviously it is at this point that it will be affected by the theologian's sympathies and philosophic predilections as they come to expression in the other or apologetic normative type

of theology. But the difference between the two theologies is again the difference between the work of the scientist and that of the metaphysician. The synthetic principle of positive theology is not first established as final, but is, so to speak, a working hypothesis taken over from the social mind and to be tested by its applicability to facts. We shall revert to this matter in another connection, and at this point, therefore, it is necessary only to point out that these presupposed unifying principles must be biological rather than metaphysical, for no man can think today outside of biological analogies. The presupposition which above all others can give unitary value to positive evangelical theology must be a general theory of evolution or world process, as, in my opinion, it focalizes on the production of the free personality. In this process a positive theology will find such normative elements as it most needs, and, what is even more important, a key to the exposition of the significance of the facts given to it by those various disciplines whose results it utilizes.

II. THE MATERIALS OF AN EVANGELICAL THEOLOGY

The materials of a positive evangelical theology must be essentially phenomenal. If for no other reason than that it is positive it must be content to deal with facts conceived of objectively rather than with metaphysical findings. Instead of beginning with the problems of ontology and epistemology, it begins with a common-sense view of reality, and with the facts of experience both individual and social. Particularly, in that it is evangelical it must use the gospel of the New Testament as furnishing material susceptible of induction with other material. In general its material may be said to be of four sorts:

1. The historical Jesus. By this is meant not merely the literary picture of Jesus as it is in the New Testament. It would indeed be possible to erect a theology which used the New Testament at its face value and did not enter into the question of the historicity of its record. Its teaching, for example, as to the fatherliness of God makes an appeal to the human life and wins the response of the moral nature on its own merits. The picture of Jesus compels one farther. Even if there never had been a Jesus the Golden Rule would be regarded as an effective maxim of social ideals. But it is unbelievable that the

teaching of the New Testament would have had any such influence over history as that which it has possessed had there not been associated with the belief in the truth of Jesus' teaching a further conviction as to the historicity of the story of his life. An ideal Jesus, frankly recognized as never having existed, but as merely the creation of religious imagination, would have had little power over civilization. The doctrine of immortality expressed in terms of a hope unsupported by the story of the resurrection would never have gripped human lives as has the belief that Jesus actually did manifest himself to his disciples alive after his passion.

It is at this point that the positive evangelical theology differs from a theology that distrusts the findings of historical criticism, and finds itself confronted by questions that need and will presently be given fuller treatment.

2. But the gospel material fit for positive theology is not simply the objective facts of the life of Jesus: The history of the spread of Christianity makes it more than evident that the message concerning Jesus was not simply that there had once been a man who had taught and embodied a profound religious faith and a noble morality; who had been crucified and rose again. These facts, important as they are, were given an interpretation which was as significant as the facts themselves. It was the worth of Jesus which these facts argued that really constituted the gospel. The message that the apostles carried to the world did not treat generically of God and duty and immortality. It was not mere memorabilia of a martyr. It was highly specific. Jesus was the Christ, the one whom God had empowered by his own resident Spirit to be the Deliverer of his people. His life got its value wholly from this messianic, redemptive quality. However some of his deeds and experiences might have been unexpected from the point of view of current messianism, the early Christians conceived of him as one who was ultimately to fulfil their expectations. The Pauline churches believed that the kingdom he was to establish was not simply the kingdom of the Jews, but one composed of all those possessing the quality of life which was to characterize the kingdom when it appeared. And this quality of life—eternal life—was the possession of those who had faith in him as a Christ. God gave it to them by giving them his Spirit.

This messianic interpretation, it must be repeated, was an essential part of the apostolic gospel. Conceivably the resurrection from the dead might have been used as a basis of other implications. It might have been used to prove, for example, the certainty of immortality, but in the eyes of the first Christians it would have been one thing to reveal immortality and another to be the Christ. The Christ was declared by the resurrection to be the one whom God empowered by his own resident spirit to save the world, showing the way of deliverance from Satan, sin and death.

This soteriological aspect of the gospel is fundamental. Jesus as the Christ must not only be superhuman; he must be redemptive. That conviction lies below other elements of the original gospel. In the thought of the early Christians we find the complete messianic scheme used to interpret the worth of Jesus. The later metaphysical questions concerned with his person and his relations as Logos to God the Father are altogether absent. In broad lines, the gospel as presented by Paul and other New Testament writers may be said to be this: Time falls into two great periods—this age and the coming age. In this age Satan is supreme, evil is triumphant, sin is rampant, and all men die. God gave his law in order to show his people what not to do, and so to save them; but the Jews, to whom it was intrusted, failed to keep its provisions, and, like the gentiles, who were without such means of knowing sin, had become subject to all the penalties attached to the laws they had broken. Particularly were they to be subject to death and the unrelieved status which death inaugurated for the individual. At the opening of the Coming Age the Christ would appear and establish a judgment at which all humanity would be judged for the deeds done in the body. From the point of view of obedience to God's law there was hope for no one. But those who had accepted the historical Jesus as Christ were treated by God as already members of the kingdom the Christ was to establish and deliver. They were already assured of acquittal on the judgment day, and when that awful day ushered in the New Age they would be given the body of the resurrection and entrance into the joy of the new kingdom of the messiah. In fact, to some extent the Christian believer already shared in the blessings of the New Age, in that he had the gifts and fruit of the Holy Spirit.

But at the same time these formal conceptions were but the outer expression of something far more fundamental and un-Jewish, which Jesus and his apostles made an integral and controlling part of the evangelical message. God was love; a man could be saved by accepting Jesus as Christ; would be transformed by the spirit of God; would be raised from the dead; and would become a member of a new social order full of blessing. As a proof of this hope the Christian could point to the miracles which were wrought in the name of Christ, to the new spiritual graces which came to those who accepted the gospel and made it a regulative ideal of their lives, and, above all, to the life, death and resurrection of the historical Jesus.

This gospel was thus pregnant with a profound ethic. As Paul said, as many as were led by the Spirit should walk thereby. Nothing could be more foreign to Jesus or his chief interpreters than legalism. But the gospel was not a call to righteous living. It was a promise of deliverance from evil and the punishment of sin through a new attitude toward and relationship with God induced by the faith that the actual historical person Jesus was the Christ. The objective evidence of the reasonableness of this faith was to be seen in the resurrection of Jesus; the subjective evidence was discovered in the new moral experience of the Christian. The evidence of the actual reconciliation of God to humanity was the death of Christ, whom God presented as a propitiatory gift, which, like the death of the lamb at the altar, gave assurance to the believer that the reconciliation between himself and God was complete.

A theology to be evangelic, that is, loyal to the redemptive message of the Apostles, must in some way embody in itself these interpretative and corroborative elements of the gospel just as truly as the teachings and facts of the life of Jesus. A discussion of just how this is to be done must be for the moment postponed.

3. A third group of materials for a positive theology is to be seen in the findings of the various non-theological sciences. Of course not all scientific results are of direct religious significance, although in a broad way the Christian conception of God as love will have very little significance to anyone who is convinced by the physical sciences that the universe is without purpose. But certain groups of sciences are furnishing the theologian with material which he must

use. In fact, the only man theology can know is the man turned over to him by such sciences. Thus sociology is giving us a new point of view of human personality and its activities. Anthropology is enabling us to understand more clearly the rise of the moral sense, and the place of experience in the formation of religious concepts. Psychology furnishes the innumerable data for the understanding of the psychology of religion, and particularly of that process by which the human soul, under definite "suggestions" and stimuli from without, comes into dynamic relationship with God and embodies in itself the influence which comes from the God who, as faith must at its start premise, is objective to the individual. From biology come data which are germane with or hostile to the evangelical message of the resurrection both of Jesus and of men in general. There is no more a religious man than an economic man. While it may be true that religion *per se* is a matter of valuation rather than of science, it will be very difficult for any religion to prevail among thoughtful men and women which is fundamentally at variance with the prevailing world-view embodying scientific findings. And this will particularly be true of a positive evangelical theology. If its facts, as embodied in the historical experience of Jesus, and if the essential implications of those facts given in the apostolic presentation of Jesus, are utterly inconsonant with scientific facts, a positive theology in any true sense of the word is out of the question.

4. But an evangelical theology evidently must use the facts of Christian experience in general. True, it cannot always use uncritically the explanations and the descriptions of that experience, for, as must constantly appear, Christians have always confused supposed causes with indubitable impulses and emotional states of consciousness. But it would be an incomplete induction that left out of account the phenomena of religion as exhibited in the history of the Christian community. Those experiences which we have called regeneration, assurance, peace, spiritual growth are as truly material for positive treatment as are any psychological phenomena. The reciprocal relations of the individual and the Christian community are in themselves data which no man who shares in the modern views of social solidarity and social mind can overlook. The position to be accorded this experience of the post-New Testament Christians in a

system of theology may likely be a matter of discussion, but it cannot be neglected. It is to be used, however, as co-ordinate with, not as replacing the New Testament material described as above.

It may be urged, however, that theology is exclusively an exposition of Christian experience, and is it not, therefore, of necessity concerned, save by way of implication, with the facts furnished by the New Testament?

There is force in this contention, for the Bible in general, and the gospel in particular, is born of experience. But as the term is generally used, Christian experience refers not so much to the materials of the gospel message, as to what may be called religious psychology. As regards this there is no doubt that, as has already been pointed out, such psychology furnishes important data for a positive theology. But theology is something more than a phase of psychology. The experiences of Jesus are primary rather than co-ordinate with those of later Christians. It is only when Christian experience in the usual sense is put in its proper perspective with the data of the gospel message that it becomes an element in constructive theological statement. In my opinion it is confusing to use the term so generically as to cover all the data at our disposal. Christian experience, as I would use the term, is the result of a moral acceptance of the gospel message and of a life with God mediated by such an acceptance.

III. THE PROBLEM SET BY HISTORY

It cannot be denied that a theology using historical materials is subject to the risks of criticism; and it must be frankly said that if criticism should destroy the historical probability of any of its elements, such a theology must to that extent be affected. This, however, is not to introduce a new difficulty. It is inherent in the gospel itself. It is, of course, possible so to change our conception of the gospel as to leave out the historical matters used by the early church, belief in which is in the warp and woof of New Testament thought. Conceivably such a gospel might be more adapted to modern life than that of Paul. But it would be another gospel. It would not be that of the New Testament. Further, it cannot be doubted that these facts of the historical gospel are used by the early Christians as means rather than ends. The resurrection helped to

new conviction of the love of God and the certainty of immortality. It was not presented as an interesting but insignificant fact, but it was to lead to conviction and experience. Conceivably, now that such conviction and experience have been reached on the basis of the alleged facts of the gospel a man might no longer find it necessary to believe the facts. Now that the concrete of religion has hardened, it is claimed that the moulds of history, or what was supposed to be history, can be neglected. And indeed this is rather a favorite method of procedure on the part of certain types of theology.

But a significant question emerges at this point. Whether we like it or not, the gospel as it stands in the New Testament is at the mercy of the historical investigator. Does the recognition of the fact, and the attempt to construct a theology by the critical determination of such facts as the death and resurrection of Jesus make the situation any more serious? Suppose that it came generally to be believed, for instance, that there never was a Jesus or that if he existed he never manifested himself to his disciples after his death, is it conceivable that Christianity as we know it should continue? The answer is ready at hand in the case of those persons who have lost the confidence in the historical elements of the New Testament. To them the gospel is a very different matter from what it was to Paul. It is one thing to hold religion because of a theory of the persistence of values and another to hold that phase of religion which is based on the belief that Jesus was what the New Testament presents him as being. Of course we may say that the resurrection has no meaning for the modern man—a dictum which seems to me to represent a narrow conception as to the “modern man” if not an arrogant superiority to facts. But this is simply to say that the gospel as it appears in the New Testament does not appeal to the modern man. And this I doubt. There are modern men who are neither epistemologists nor agnostics. The pressing question at present for the systematic theologian is not so much the work of the apologete who tries to find the irreducible minimum, and builds therefrom, as it is the constructive use of the results of a criticism which has brought us beyond a reasonable peradventure face to face with the beliefs of the original Christians. The business of a positive theology is not to discover how much of that primitive belief can be omitted, but

how much of it is really correlatable with other things we know, and is capable of being built inductively into a positive message for today's life.

2. This, however, is by no means to say that a positive evangelical theology can be indifferent to that problem which is even more fundamental than that of criticism; namely, the possibility of finding a real Jesus back of the experience and faith of the first disciples. But such a question must be answered by historians, not by metaphysicians. At the very outside we must have done with the analogy which finds a Jesus *an sich* as a sort of equivalent of the *Ding an sich* of metaphysics. It would be difficult to imagine a more unjustifiable source of confusion than the parallel which is drawn between the metaphysical difficulty of distinguishing the phenomenon from the noumenon and the difficulty of distinguishing between historical testimony and the person or event to which the testimony is brought. The *Ding an sich* is a pure abstraction and the problem of discovering it is one of metaphysics pure and simple. The historical character known to us through testimony is to be reached by those processes which every historian knows. There never was a *Ding an sich*; there have been historical persons. To say that any given alleged historical person is like the *Ding an sich* is to beg the question.

Nor is it scientific to throw history out of the window because we cannot at first reading get back of the experience that constitutes the stuff of historical records. If the experience of the witness is the ultimate material with which we must deal it is by no means the ultimate reality at which we can arrive. The record of experience is a means, not an end. All we know, for instance, about Socrates is what his contemporaries experienced of him. It is mere ordinary good sense to recognize that in such experience as we have it recorded by Xenophon and Plato there is a large subjective element. But he would be a very rash man who would say that Socrates himself as distinguished from the historical picture of him was not a reality, ready for use, and worthy to be used, so far as the facts of his life have any significance whatsoever.

Similarly, although confessedly with a larger scope of uncertainty, in the case of Jesus. We have the record of the faith of the original Christians given us by criticism. The question which the theologian

must ask himself is whether he shall build up his theology simply from that experience without questioning as to whether it had anything objective corresponding to itself; or whether he shall use that experience as a means of arriving at certain probable historical data which can be tested by being used with other correlatable facts as a basis of induction. To put the matter very distinctly: if all there is to the resurrection of Jesus is the belief that Peter and the other disciples had, that he must be alive in heaven, it is of small significance to the theologian. What cares he about the mere opinions of Peter and the other disciples relative to Jesus? But if by the proper use of their experiences we can arrive at any fact which, however obscure as to its details, lies back of this belief as to the resurrection, we have arrived at a datum which may be of utmost importance. For it is true that while occasionally a man may claim that his faith in immortality and the goodness of God would not be deepened even if it could be indubitably shown that Jesus actually rose from the dead, the vast majority of men have not reached that emotional state of mind. They still remain in the region of intellect. They still would regard as welcome news the evangelical message that declared beyond peradventure that some sort of resurrection on the part of Jesus actually occurred.

Now the theologian as such is concerned not so much with proving that Jesus did rise from the dead as he is with showing that such an alleged event is critically tenable and capable of synthesis with the more ordinary elements of human experience. He leaves to the apologete the detailed defense of his position. He himself is concerned primarily with the processes of discovering the data; and this, of course, compels him to utilize the psychologist's data as regards knowledge and the methods of the historian. He does not merely build the faith of the early church in Jesus as such into his theology, but he endeavors to use the faith to get at Jesus himself.

I am aware that here some members of the *religionsgeschichtliche* school of theologians find little hope. The Jesus of history seems to them inextricable from the faith of the apostles and the apostolic picture of the Master is itself a creature of the legend or hero-making process by which the hopes of Judaism were made an integral part of his personality. According to such a view the first Christians were

led to believe that Jesus was of messianic value, and instinctively, undeliberately, but none the less mistakenly, his history was constructed of the messianic hope that had its seat not in "the official literature" of Judaism, as Gunkel says, but in the mind of the masses. Thus the only Jesus we really can know and utilize in theological thought is a person who never existed except in the hearts and hopes and faith of men who hypostasized the implications of a messianic evaluation, and hid Jesus in the mists of eschatology.

There is much truth in such a view, but it is given a wrong turn, thanks to a mistaken method that has seen much of its scepticism and negation outgrown in the case of Roman kings and Trojan heroes. Its real place in an historical method I shall endeavor to determine in a discussion of the contribution of messianism to theological construction. To introduce it as a means of non-suiting the case of a real and significant Jesus, the events of whose life gave rise to, rather than were created by, early Christian faith, seems to me a begging of the question. The simple fact that the messianic evaluation was attached to Jesus rather than to John the Baptist is in itself an evidence that there was that in his personality and experience that was antecedent to such evaluation. Criticism here is indispensable. We are only concerned, not with the completed picture and estimate of Jesus as given by the New Testament as a whole, but with the picture and estimate that lie in the oldest strata of such literature. Now any fair criticism of the sources, places at our disposal records which are marked by a controlling estimate of Jesus as more than prophet or teacher. Such, for instance, as the oldest cycles of the synoptic narrative and teaching, and the references to Jesus by Paul in the epistles assuredly his.

If now we start with this original record and evaluation our problem is sharply formulated: Was the Jesus of fact the Jesus of this original Christian faith? If so he and his experiences become possible data for a positive evangelical theology.

Assuming then that criticism has given us reasonably trustworthy material for study, how shall we proceed to distinguish the Jesus of history from the Jesus of the earliest disciples' faith? In general it may be replied:

a) We start with the results of criticism, in so far as these results

do not stand committed to some assumption as to the possibility or non-possibility of the alleged facts of Jesus' life.

b) We recognize the fact that in the same proportion as the number of converging independent witnesses to any event increases, does the probability of that event increase.

c) We make a working hypothesis of the event or events upon which these testimonies tend to converge.

d) We test this working hypothesis by the simple process of discovering whether or not it is absolutely contradictory to the course of nature and experience as otherwise known.

e) In case it is not so contradictory we further proceed to see whether the facts which constitute our working hypotheses can be correlated with what appear to us to be assured results of other investigations, such, e. g., as those of psychology and biology.

f) In case we find they are thus correlatable we can safely proceed to make probability doubly probable. We therefore test pragmatically the induction which has been made a working hypothesis. That is to say, we test the value of that induction which embodies and is colored by these historically probable facts.

3. But after we have gained the historical Jesus in such a way as to enable us to use him as a datum in our religious inductions, it must be remembered, we have not all the gospel as it is set forth in the New Testament. The apostles do not simply give us facts; they proceed to adjust facts to their own world view; namely, that of the messianic hope and the conception of God as sovereign. It is altogether impossible that anyone but a Jew could have interpreted the facts of Jesus in the forms of thought contained in the New Testament. If it were conceivable that Jesus had lived among the Greeks and had experienced precisely the same faith and had appeared to his disciples after his death in just the same way as is recorded in the New Testament, the Greeks would not have thought of him as the Christ. They might have thought of him as a god or son of some god, but that great sweep of expectation which we call messianism was not theirs to be used as an estimate of the significance of any person.

It can hardly be overemphasized that at this point the theologian who would use the New Testament in any serious way stands first of all face to face with the problem of the historian pure and simple.

The normative process must wait upon the historical. The theologian must not seek first what is true in the evangelic exposition of Jesus; he must discover how much of it is identical with the thought of the times in which the New Testament was written. He must know that period not as the archaeologist, but as the historian; that is, as one who recognizes genetic relations and is able to trace these relations in the presence of the social mind of the first century in the writings of the New Testament. The recent work in this field has reached such a general unanimity of results as to make the entire matter comparatively simple for the man who will approach the problem without dogmatic presuppositions. The history of the messianic hope is known to us beyond a reasonable doubt. The study of the apocalypses and Jewish literature reveals to us the great expectation of the Jewish people in the coming of the New Age, in which the Christ would establish his kingdom, judge the world, punish the enemies of Jehovah, raise Jehovah's people from Sheol, and admit into the glorious kingdom which was already existent in heaven.

Now if one comes to the New Testament to discover how far it embodies these same expectations of Jewish literature, he will be at once convinced that in the case of the apostles this messianic expectation was used to express the real significance of Jesus and to forecast his future. With certain important exceptions, born of their belief in the historical resurrection of Jesus, the entire future of Jesus may be said to have been described by them as fulfilling the essential hopes of the messianic programme. He was the Christ, in the sense that he had been empowered by the Spirit to save God's people, but this work of salvation had not been fully accomplished. He was to come again, establish his kingdom, raise the dead, judge the world, and admit all those who had accepted him as Christ into the glories of the new age.

Dogmatic theology has usually taken eschatological hopes not as interpretations and hopes, but as literal statements intended as a part of revelation. Notwithstanding the fact that they lie wholly outside human experience (using that term in the ordinary, not the philosophical sense), our teachers have regarded such apostolic hopes as fact; and as a consequence we have had our discussions over premillenarianism and postmillenarianism, over the physical resurrection, the

place of heaven, the nature of the judgment day, and the possibility of people on a round world simultaneously seeing Jesus descend from heaven. The first step that a positive theology must take after it has reached by historical processes the Jesus that occasioned the experience of the disciples is to distinguish the interpretations from the person interpreted. The resurrection of Jesus, for instance, is one thing; the use of that to justify the attachment to his future of the messianic hope, born of Jewish apocalypses, is quite another. With the interpretations as such the positive evangelical theology need not be compelled to have much to do except in the way of discovering within them elements of reality.

Similarly, in other elements of the first-century world-view. The flat earth, the existence of the kingdom of Satan, the interpretations of God in terms of sovereignty, the sacrificial system as a universal element of religious life—all these matters are not the results of the career of Jesus. They condition the formulation of the evangelical message to the New Testament. However much they were an integral part of that message they do not constitute the permanent content of the gospel. They are the interpretative concepts by which the facts of Jesus were correlated by, and made intelligible to, the social mind of the first century. In themselves they may or may not be true in anything more than a pragmatic sense. They certainly do not of necessity form material to be brought over bodily into a theology which endeavors to make religion intelligible to an age that finds, if possible, more difficulty in a belief in the flat earth and other elements of the prescientific world-view than it finds in the story of Jesus itself.

A Positive Method for an Evangelical Theology

It is, however, no very difficult problem that faces us at this point. The distinction between the form and content of the New Testament thought is to be made not by first determining what is true, but by first determining the points of identity between the New Testament and the world of the first century. To reverse the process might conceivably bring the same results, but it will always be exposed to the criticism of an over-use of subjective standards. The real method of procedure is historical. Having discovered the elements of the

world-view, we are in a position to discuss impartially the other probability. And the degree of probability is to be set not on lines of religious but of scientific procedure. It requires no profound knowledge of modern scientific results to estimate the real value of views which are the outgrowth of ignorance or superstition regarding the world at large. While it is true there may always be a border line, and while many of the views of the ancient world must be rejected by the modern mind containing in themselves elements of truth, the real problem is to be reached not by a-priori processes, but by actual comparison of these elements with what can be reasonably declared to be realities.

The first step in the narrative analysis of New Testament formulation of the gospel is, therefore, not the discovery as to whether or not it is true, but whether or not the appropriate elements of the world view itself are true. Current opinion is not given scientific authority by being embodied in the New Testament. Such elements of New Testament thought and teaching as are the survivals of the elements of the world view, which have been independently declared to be improbable, are obviously not to be introduced into a positive theology.

But at this point one needs to proceed with caution. For the world-view itself, it is to be borne in mind, is an attempt at explanation of actual experiences. If the earth does not go around the sun, there is certainly apparent motion which must be explained. If we reject the conception that the sun itself is moving, we cannot reject the fact that there is motion. Similarly, in the case of certain regulative analogies in the religious thought of the New Testament which were brought over from Jewish thought. God may not be a king, but he certainly exerts control over his world. The idea of unction may be seen to be figurative, but the actual interplay of the divine and human personality would be denied by no one who believes in a divine and a human personality. The picture of the great judgment scene, with the consequent doctrine of forensic justification or condemnation, may be just as clearly the survival of Jewish messianism and the prophetic expectation of the Day of Jehovah, but this is by no means the same as saying that righteousness and sin do not have different outcomes, and that the supreme test in life must be conformity with the divine character.

No really serious thinker can object to such considerations as these. True, they prevent our use of the Scripture at its face value and whoever wishes to use the Bible as a sort of Baedeker for morality will find difficulty in such a method. But the difficulty is one which he must face under any condition. And he admits the principle whenever he admits there may be figurative or popular conceptions in its pages. The advantages of such an historical procedure as a means for clearing the ground for a more thoroughgoing valuation of the facts with which the gospel actually pretends to be concerned are obvious. Once having by a sober historical process discovered and allowed for interpretative concepts, we are free to examine on their own merits whatever these concepts set forth.

It is at this point that we come to the vitally normative process in an evangelical theology. The real question before the modern world, so far as the formal messianism in the New Testament is concerned, has been answered by the church in general. In any literal sense the general messianic scheme has been rejected. But there still remains the question whether the matters which are embodied in the messianic scheme are facts. Is it true that God is good? That the fundamental principle of the universe is love?—That a man who lives the life of love is living a life of helpful union with the cosmic and ultimate personalty? Is humanity socially salvable? Are there persons who are individually and socially degenerate? Can a man who is a sinner find personal renewal in a life like the life of Jesus? Does such a life as that of Jesus eventuate in a higher phase of life through death? Was such a life, with its consequent sinlessness and triumph over animalism centered in death, actually lived by Jesus?

These questions are obviously very different from those concerning the messianic interpretations and hopes. They are fundamental questions of religion and present their greatest tasks to the apologete and the theologian. The theologian has, however, undoubtedly the easier task, that of attempting the formulation and organic union of these various elements which the New Testament sets forth, not as hopes but as actual data for a theological working hypothesis. If they can be made intelligible by being correlated with the other facts of science in accordance with general principles which are judged valid in today's thinking they are evidently materials for theology.

Once thus correlated, the consequent induction, like all working hypotheses, can be tested by actual experience. At this point, it may be added, a positive theology becomes an assistant to a rational apologetic. For it does not deny that religion and science have a range of common interests. However much they may differ, the passion for unity that lies below all our thinking will not be satisfied with the complete divorce of the two spheres of reality. And this demand is at least to some degree recognized by the frank endeavor of a positive theology to embrace the facts of Jesus' experience, including his sinlessness, death and resurrection, in an induction that includes other things we know.

4. It may be urged in reply to this insistence upon the facts of the primitive evangel that Christianity has been a continuous historical experience; that if by the loss of our documents or by the results of criticism we should be left in complete uncertainty as to the historical Jesus, we should yet have the Jesus of history, that is to say, the person who has been influential throughout the centuries, transforming civilization, and who is today operating in the region of human experience.

Stated thus the argument has great weight apologetically. It has weight also dogmatically; for he would be a very blind observer who overlooked the evidence of Christian experience both individually and particularly collectively. But it is a fair question just how far this experience has dogmatic value. That it has some I should be the last to deny, but its significance seems to me to be rather apologetic than dogmatic; evidential rather than material. It is difficult to see how a statement alleging a historic fact can be true if the fact itself never existed. It is, of course, easy to see that a *belief* in the existence of a non-existent fact might have a functional value, and that the results of such a belief might conduce to human welfare. None but an iconoclast, or a man with an overgrown conscience would seek to destroy the child's belief in Santa Claus. Undoubtedly the mediaeval belief in a hell of literal fire and pincers had utility. But it is difficult to see how a sophisticated age like our own can arouse itself to much enthusiasm over the alleged facts of the gospel simply on the ground that belief in them has had functional value throughout the centuries. Let us cease juggling with words, and face the issue

frankly. If the facts recorded of Jesus never occurred they certainly are not made any more real by the belief of the last nineteen hundred years. If Jesus never existed it is useless for us to preach him as an historical reality. The picture of the gospels gets its supreme value not because it appeals to human life, but because men believe then there actually was such a person as Jesus. Rob them of this confidence and you rob them of their judgment as to the value of that which pretends to be historic.

Having said this much I should add that the man who attempts to formulate a positive evangelical theology can not do better than study the history of doctrine. Only he must not study it as something distinct from the history of society. Strictly speaking there is no history of doctrine, but only history of the men who hold doctrine. The historian of doctrines must be the historian of society, for doctrine is, after all, only the attempt made by the social mind of a given period to make intelligible to itself its religious experience.

But illuminating as is the study of the history of doctrine and indispensable as it is in giving a man a conception of the actual situation to which he must adjust his own message, the great demand to-day is not so much a manipulation of the inherited theology into some form acceptable to our modern ways of thinking; it is rather a frank disregard of inherited beliefs and a return to the primitive gospel itself, to the gospel that founded Christianity and conquered the Roman Empire. The apperceptive mass of doctrine—if the expression may be pardoned—is one element in the situation to which the gospel must be presented. It affects the method of presentation, and suggests caution against a radical programme of illumination, but it does not constitute in itself the substance of the message. That is the real meaning of the widespread demand to go back to Christ, or rather, to bring Christ back to us. Inherited theology is such a compound of outgrown philosophies, prescientific conceptions, outgrown political ideals and prejudices as to be unusable by many an earnest man and woman. To remodel the old house is more expensive than to tear it down and use such materials of it as are sound in erecting a new building.

And this is one characteristic of the positive evangelical theology. It uses the material, the stuff which theologies of the past have

employed. It would throw away nothing which its analyses of the doctrinal development may discover to be more than the concept used to interpret realities to a given age. It starts not with the corpus of doctrine, but with the data which have been worked into that corpus. Wherever they are needed, it would use the bits of glass of the mosaic figure, but it would not preserve the figure.

IV. THE PROBLEM OF CONSTRUCTION

The discovery of positive data and the testing of their probability by an attempted induction with other data by no means closes the task of the theologian. It is necessary for him also to combine the data into an orderly and organic system of truth. There can be no thoroughly intelligent Christian life without some form of doctrinal statement. And the reason is very simple. We instinctively demand that our religious data shall be correlated with all our personal activities. Such a correlation, however, is obviously pedagogic and economic. The facts of religion are akin throughout humanity, but the same fact, when brought into relationship with different personalities, has been given different significance through that process of classification which we have come to regard as identical with knowledge. Anything which is felt to lie outside of our experience is regarded with suspicion. We may have faith in it because such faith appears on the whole to be reasonable. But there is always likely to be a certain degree of intellectual friction between those phases of our experience which we call matters of faith and those others which we call matters of knowledge. Such friction, however, disappears in the same proportion as these matters of faith are seen to be conformable to what is our working world-view.

Now, as has already sufficiently been noted, the working world-view of New Testament times writers was that of messianism. It was an inheritance rather than an original formulation. It was because they believed that Jesus was the Christ in the sense that he would fulfil the requirements set by the messianic world-view that they believed in him. And it was the enthusiasm born of a hope of the salvation which he would establish that sent them out to preach him, and faith in him, as the means by which salvation would be effected in the world.

The messianic interpretation has furnished the general scheme for theological construction throughout the history of the church; although it is true that ever since the second century men have not followed the New Testament interpretation with literalness, because it was evident that an expectation of an immediate return of Jesus to take up his messianic work was inconsistent with the actual facts of history. So it has resulted that men have come to look forward into the future and see the possibility of a return of Jesus at any moment rather than immediately. But this adaptation has been followed by a growing tendency to treat the messianic expectation itself as figurative. A very marked trend in today's theological thought disclaims any belief in the literal, and, so to speak, physical return of Jesus in the clouds, and substitutes therefor a belief in his coming in the form of social cataclysm, such as the destruction of Jerusalem.

None the less the messianic expectation still holds in chiliastic groups as a real force. While the ordinary churchman believes Christ may come some time, the premillenarian holds that the chances are that he is likely to come soon, and attempts some substantiation of that view by the interpretation of Daniel and the Revelation of John. The probability is that exegetically he is nearer the thought of the New Testament writer than is his less literal brother, but it is also certain that he loses rather than gains by such devotion to the survivals of Jewish apocalyptic. But the actual decision is between the ritualistic and the historico-critical use of the gospel. At the present time by far the most numerous group of church members nominally hold to the New Testament eschatology, but find in such a view little significance for real Christian experience. The real problem in any theological construction that starts with the New Testament is as to whether it shall be chiliastic or genuinely historical in procedure.

But in order that it shall have the power which messianism gave it in the first century, an evangelical theology must be something more than an ethic. It must group and unify its data by some great principle that shall give them the same appeal and the same quality as did messianism. And only if it be fundamentally messianic can it be divinely redemptive. For the very heart of messianism in general was that God would deliver his people, and of Christian messianism in particular that he would deliver the believers in the Messiahship

of Jesus from Satan, sin, and death and erect a new kingdom. Any evangelical gospel must do something more than outline a code of duties and a system of metaphysics. It must set forth the regenerating significance of the facts of the gospel. As these facts are the epitome of the redemptive process, so must the general scheme by which they are brought into intellectual harmony with the other things we know be fundamentally redemptive.

But redemption must be in terms of process if it is to stand in our day. The forensic conception, the political, and even the parental conception of God's relations with the universe are plainly analogies. In their place must come the analogy of process born of the influence of the God who is an immanent person, who is more than king, or judge, or even father. If it be that process and personality themselves are analogical such an objection must be admitted, but the element of analogy is far less pronounced, and more capable of serving as a basis for a theology. To be God is more than to be king or to be judge or father. If it be said that it is more than to be personal, I would reply that it is useless to attempt any formulation of that which is above personality. We cannot worship the Absolute, however much we may metaphysically search for It or Him. There are innumerable phenomena in the universe which warrant the extension of our thought of personality to God at least interpretatively. If we make such an extension of experience with the frank admission that divine personality is not just like the human, we do so in the realization that the term is at the present the best means we have of expressing to ourselves the real character and nature of God. From any point of view he must be superior to us; and yet not altogether unlike us.

The idea of personality must be given content by our knowledge of its development and realization in humanity. And so the conception of process must be introduced as essential to our correlating thought. The data of the gospel from which we build up our theology are to be combined in the general concept of process which in terms of an immanent cosmic personality is the equivalent of eschatological messianism.

Such an equivalency, however, is exceedingly general, and for practical purposes needs to be analyzed. The general scheme of messianism involves in itself certain component concepts which need

specific equivalents drawn from our world-view to give them weight with the modern mind. As we are here concerned with method three elements only need be mentioned.

The first is the doctrine of the sovereignty of God. Sovereignty was at best an analogy, but it was the highest analogy under which the ancient world undertook to set forth its conception of God. The modern man can hardly be expected to follow along in either concept or the terms of such a world-view. God, as has already been said, is more than sovereign. Yet sovereignty carries in itself a great fact which we cannot overlook, and that fact is that God is the ultimate reality. We do not look to him to find any likeness to the oriental monarch, but regarding him as immanent personality, beneficently working through and determining the age-long process in which both matter and history are involved, we conceive of him as the source of whatever progress there is. Humanity must submit to and conform to this God, who is conceived of thus cosmically rather than politically. Thus the conception of the God of law persists, with the difference that law is no longer regarded as statutory, but as the expression of Him who is in the very nature of things.

Secondly, there is eschatology. The modern man has no desire or indeed temptation to become a chiliast. To him the pictures of messianism are only pictures. Nevertheless eschatology represented one of the primary truths of human experience, namely, the inevitableness, under divine sovereignty, of the results which are implicit in action, unless they be offset by corrective forces. The heart of eschatology is the recognition that the inevitableness of this postponed outcome is a part of the way God brings righteousness to its own. It is true, the ancient writers oftentimes confused immortality and political rebirth, but the farther one traces eschatology the deeper grows the conviction that it is the pictorial presentation of that which every student of history sees and every man who reads his own nature aright must recognize: the individual and social results implicit in God's relation to his world.

But this conception of rational law and of the conservation and ultimate triumph of spiritual energy is but a part of the great controlling conception of divine redemption into which the facts of the gospel must be adjusted. A third element is that equivalent of

eschatological salvation as it is set forth in the New Testament. In that conception there are involved two chief elements: that of the kingdom of God and that of the triumph of the individual over sin and death. The first demands that our theology be social; the second that it make a free, social individuality the supreme result of the redemptive process. At first sight nothing could be farther from many aspects of modern thought than is this conception. Everywhere we hear the prevailing note of pessimism. But we have the equivalent in our own thinking, the teleological interpretation of history in terms of a good purpose, expressing itself in society and individual experience. Both from the social and individual point of view the doctrine of evolution interpreted as a way of working of the immanent God furnishes us the framework into which evangelical facts may be set. It is the modern man's equivalent of eschatological messianism.

As to just the nature of the theology that will result from this method it is not my purpose now to consider. Suffice it to say that, unless I mistake, the facts of the gospel can be correlated with the facts given by various sciences into working hypotheses that can be tested by human experience, and systematized by this controlling concept of the modern social mind. Metaphysical explanations and justifications we can leave to that other type of theology that prefers to begin with theories of knowledge and the normative processes of a philosophy of religion.

In brief, a positive evangelical theology is to be reached by (1) the historico-critical discovery of the records of the experience, faith and evaluation of the first Christians; (2) the recovery, through the comparison of such records, of the probable personality and experiences of Jesus that gave rise to the faith of these first Christians; (3) the testing of such results by the possibility of correlating them with data given by anthropological and other sciences; (4) the resolution, through historical processes, of the interpretations and implications of original Christian evaluations of Jesus into this temporary (interpretative) and content-elements; (5) the combination of the data gained by these processes into constructive statements in accord with such elements of our modern world-view as are seen to be the equivalent of the unifying concept of divine redemption expressed in the programme of messianism.

THE PROBLEM OF NATURAL EVIL AND ITS SOLUTION BY CHRISTIANITY

HENRY W. WRIGHT, PH.D.
Lake Forest University, Lake Forest, Ill.

A distinguished writer on philosophical subjects has lately defined religion as "an emotion resting on a conviction of a harmony between ourselves and the universe at large."¹ While this definition gives undue prominence to emotion it has the merit of emphasizing also the most important element in religious belief—faith in the ultimate unity and essential purposiveness of the world of human experience. There is a growing tendency among thinkers of the present to base belief in God on the final unity of all things as presupposed by our thought. It is not surprising that an idealist like Dr. Edward Caird should identify God with the absolute principle of unity "which transcends all the oppositions of finitude and especially the last opposition which includes all others—the opposition of subject and object."² But the conception of religion as belief in an ultimate harmony between self and reality seems acceptable to pragmatist and empiricist as well. Professor James says that Höfding's definition of religion as belief in the ultimate conservation of values seems to him to cover more facts in the concrete history of human religions than any other definition with which he is acquainted.³ Yet what does such belief in the "conservation of values" mean if not faith that the objects of human endeavor and aspiration are somehow preserved and provided for in the nature of reality—in short that there is final harmony between ourselves and the universe?

Taking this view of religion, we can easily understand why it has always found a problem of extreme difficulty in the existence of natural evil. For where religion postulates unity, ultimate and transcending, natural evil discloses difference, deep-rooted and thorough-

¹ McTaggart, *Some Dogmas of Religion*, p. 3.

² Caird, *Evolution of Religion*, Vol. I, p. 67.

³ Höfding, *Problems of Philosophy*, Preface by William James, p. xiii.

going. Religion assumes the existence of a harmony between human aspirations and the universal order. Natural evil reveals the presence of a conflict between man's interests and the course of nature. The average person has proof enough from his own experience that the forces of nature are not adjusted to the needs of man. If he has not been himself the innocent victim of disease or disaster, fire or flood, he knows of many who have and how great have been their sufferings. How can such facts be reconciled with the control of the world by a kind and merciful Providence? Is it reasonable to assume the existence of divine harmony and the presence of divine purpose when the facts show thorough maladjustment, radical opposition, and open conflict?

We may be accused, however, of exaggerating the difficulty of the problem which the prevalence of natural evil has set for religion to solve. If one looks not at the life of the individual but at the history of the race, he will see—we are told—that the regular operation of natural law is an indispensable condition of human progress. The forces of nature are ruthless because uniform, and it is this very uniformity which enables man to foresee their action and provide for his own safety and comfort. Nature has been man's great educator, training him in prudence and self-reliance in the conduct of his affairs and encouraging him to art and invention in turning her forces to his service. These inestimable benefits would never have accrued to man if his safety had been miraculously guarded on every occasion.

While the assistance which these thoughts give us in solving the problem of natural evil is welcome, indeed, we are still bound to ask has the crucial difficulty been removed? What of the individual who must suffer in order that the uniformity of nature shall be undisturbed? Suppose that his pain and death is the consequence of an arrangement which works great benefit to humanity during the age of its evolution. He is not consulted as to the part he is doomed to play. What if his case is an object-lesson causing precautions to be taken which result in the saving of thousands of lives? His life is cut short; his opportunities are ended. The truth seems to be that while mankind may derive great good from the inexorable uniformity of nature this good is purchased at the expense of individual

who suffer from this arrangement. The good of the whole is attained at the expense of the parts. The interest of the individual is at variance with the welfare of the race, and the individual is sacrificed. The difficulty persists, therefore; maladjustment and conflict seem inherent in the nature of the world.

Religion postulates ultimate unity, natural evil reveals actual conflict, in the world of human experience. How to reconcile unity with difference, harmony with conflict—this is the great problem of religion. So important is the problem that we may classify religions in a general way according to their attitude upon it and evaluate them by the measure of success they attain in its solution.

When we compare different forms of religion from this point of view, the first distinction which we are led to make is between those which take cognizance of the problem and those which do not. In his analysis of the religious consciousness, Professor James distinguishes these two as leading types.⁴ The latter, which takes no account of the problem set by the prevalence of evil in the world, he calls the religion of "healthy-mindedness." In this form of religion there is no difficulty in believing that life is good and that the world is controlled by a beneficent deity, because no notice is taken of the facts which contradict this assumption. Faith that all things unite to carry out the good purposes of God is preserved by ignoring the evidence of discord and maladjustment in the world.

Whatever the practical advantages of such healthy-mindedness in religion may be, it has little value as a solution for the problem of evil. This is so obvious that the matter may be dismissed with a few words. To be ignorant of a difficulty is not to have overcome it, and a problem is not solved when it is purposely avoided. Any solution attained by this method is both superficial and insecure—superficial because not based on any thorough or adequate knowledge of the problem, and insecure because bound to fall to the ground when brought face to face with the real difficulties of the case. Moreover, to one who is honest with himself intellectually, a faith will seem not worth having which is retained only by disregarding all facts that conflict with it. Professor James is right when he says that the opposite type of religious consciousness which is fully aware

⁴ Cf. James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*.

of the depth and difficulty of the problem of evil, and which he somewhat inaptly terms the "morbid-minded," "ranges over the wider scale of experience and that its survey is the one that overlaps . . . because the evil facts . . . are a genuine portion of reality and they may be after all the best key to life's significance and possibly the only openers of our eyes to the deepest levels of truth."⁵

Let us turn, therefore, to those forms of religion which have at least intelligence enough to appreciate the problem and courage enough to face it. These religions acknowledge that there is something radically wrong with human life and the world of human experience. They propose a remedy, if it is only the surrender of personal existence. They are religions of salvation. Now if we admit that evil is a feature inherent in reality, that conflict and maladjustment are an inexpugnable element in the world, our thought may take either of two directions. Either we may believe that discord and conflict are too deep-rooted to allow of any final unity, that evil is too prevalent in the world to allow of the presence of any ultimate principle of goodness; or, while we admit the existence of irreconcilable difference in the world, we may still affirm the presence of transcending unity. The first is the extreme of pessimism and is exemplified in Buddhism. The second is an optimism rooted in pessimism and is illustrated by Christianity.

The example of Buddhism alone is enough to persuade one that the existence of natural evil is religion's most difficult problem. This great religion numbering among its adherents a large part of the earth's inhabitants is based upon the conclusion that personal existence is an evil, a thing to be escaped from. Human life is deemed an evil because of the ills which naturally beset it. According to the Buddhist scriptures it was knowledge of the prevalence of natural evil—of sickness, old age, and death—which led Gautama Buddha to abandon his life of pleasure, make the "great renunciation," and go forth a wanderer in search of a way of salvation. As a solution for the problem of evil Buddhism with its pessimistic view of life must be esteemed more highly than those shallow optimisms which, out of the satisfaction springing from fortunate circumstances and organic well-being, declare that all things are good.

⁵ Cf. James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*.

But, in so far as it offers no remedy but the extinction of personality, it proposes no solution—only a surrender. Its many noble practices, designed to destroy the principle of self-will in human nature, become only means to a selfish end—the escape from life with its duties and opportunities.

Christianity remains, therefore, the one instance of a religion which recognizes that evil is an essential part of the world of our experience and yet dares to maintain the presence in this world of a Conquering Power of Goodness. Admitting the presence of discord and conflict it nevertheless affirms that harmony is being achieved. In and through the difference and opposition it finds unity still existing. In its historic significance Christianity is emphatically a religion of salvation. The salvation which it professes to bring is, moreover, not simply a release from evil, but a victory over it. Hence it has not only the merit of Buddhism in squarely facing the problem but also the advantage of offering a remedy which is not a surrender but a solution.

No one ever accused the Founder of Christianity of failure to appreciate the sorrows and hardships of human existence; for “in the life and death of Jesus the consciousness of suffering and evil not as a far-off subject of reflection but as an immediate and present experience is raised to the highest conceivable point of intensity.” He was aware to the fullest extent of the ills which beset man’s life and thwart his most cherished ambitions. Because of this knowledge he taught that selfish ends—wealth, pleasure, etc.—are not worth the seeking. For these natural goods are all transitory and deceptive. They are certain to be snatched away by calamity, disease, or death. Moreover, he did not promise his followers any exemption from the common lot of humanity in this respect. But he proposed to turn the hard necessity which compels man continually to sacrifice his own pleasure and ambition into a means to a higher good, a way of salvation. He even enjoined men voluntarily to surrender their individual interests. For only through such self-sacrifice, he asserted, could self-realization be attained. Only through the death of the old self with its narrow aims and selfish ambitions could the new and larger self be born. Thus the suffering and privation incident upon conflict and maladjustment in the natural life of

man might become a blessing in disguise. Through it man would gain entrance into a higher and wider life, the "life of spirit," in which the individual allies himself with universal goodness and takes as his aim the welfare of humanity.

On what grounds does Jesus assert the existence of a life which is fostered and strengthened by sorrow and privation? We are acquainted with the natural life of man. But we know that suffering has just the opposite effect upon this life. We all know how continued misfortune diminishes man's power of action, how hardship and disease sap his vital energies, and how death cuts short the duration of his existence. For what reason, then, are we to believe in the possibility of another life which is not weakened but strengthened by suffering? Jesus bases his teaching of such a higher life upon revelation which he makes of the nature of God—that suffering and self-sacrifice enter the life and being of God, as expressions of his infinite benevolence. This doctrine of a "suffering God," a "divine sacrifice for humanity," is the center and essence of historic Christianity. It is the secret of the appeal which the Christian gospel has made to the hearts of men in all ages.

To many minds the idea of a divine sacrifice is incomprehensible and absurd. To speak of a suffering or dying God seems a contradiction in terms. Doubtless we do encounter an insurmountable logical difficulty if we attempt to reconcile such manifestations of the divine nature with other attributes usually connected with God in infinity, such as his omnipotence or immutability. But do we follow a fruitful method when we attempt to conceive of the nature of God by combining different attributes according to the canons of logical consistency? If the unity of the divine personality is to be preserved, must we not accept some one aspect of the divine character as supreme and subordinate all other qualities to it? Thus, if we believe that moral perfection is the leading feature of God's character, we shall have to interpret all other attributes in the light of that perfection. Now the height of moral perfection, as we understand it, is manifest in love and benevolence. But benevolence finds no complete expression in suffering and self-sacrifice for cherished objects. Hence to deny to God the possibility of these experiences, as Principal John Caird says in his profound discussion of the

subject, to deny to him the highest moral excellence in all human understanding of that quality.⁶

To attribute to God susceptibility to suffering is not to lower but to elevate our conception of his nature. An infinitude which rendered Him incapable of moral emotion, of pity, compassion, delight in the good and recoil from the evil that befell the objects of His love—this would be a spurious infinitude. To ascribe it to God would be to sacrifice moral expansion to a metaphysical figment.⁷

Upon the basis of this revelation Jesus was able to proclaim the possibility of a higher life for man in which natural ills lose their power or are transformed into agencies for good. Since the character of God, the infinite Reality, is most completely expressed in benevolence—a benevolence which involves suffering and self-sacrifice—it follows that the reality of man as a finite being is determined not by the length of natural existence or the amount of his physical energy but by the degree of his moral perfection. For it is through the exercise of moral capacities, through sympathy, love, and benevolence, that human life approaches most nearly the divine life and shares its eternal reality. Now man's existence as a natural being depends upon the preservation of his physical health and strength. Because pain and privation, disease and death, diminish and destroy these, the conditions of natural existence, they seem in the worst sense *evils*. But the same experiences of suffering may become factors in the highest moral achievement. For love and benevolence find most perfect expression in suffering and self-sacrifice. Pain undergone for the sake of another is the truest manifestation of sympathy and friendliness. Since man attains highest reality not through his physical power but by his moral achievement, such experiences do not diminish but increase the reality of those who endure them. Through them the sufferer is elevated into a higher mode of existence, the life of the "Kingdom," where he works in fellowship with God.

Thus Jesus could assert that pain and even death suffered in the discharge of duty or for the sake of others are not as they appear, destructive of life. Rather they are conditions of entrance into a higher and fuller life, the life eternal. In this way the ills undergone

⁶ Cf. also Nettleship's fragment on the Atonement, *Philosophical Lectures and Remains of Richard Lewis Nettleship*, Vol. I, p. 39.

⁷ Principal John Caird, *Fundamental Ideas of Christianity*, Vol. II, p. 144.

by those who devote themselves to the good of others are converted into means for good. For if one is devoted entirely to the welfare of his fellow-creatures a large part of the ills which he suffers will be incidental to this, his absorbing service. As to the other ills of nature which come upon a person quite independent of his vocation or manner of life—these can be received in a spirit which makes them equal to voluntary sacrifices. Remembering that it is for the good of humanity that natural laws should be inexorable, the individual may accept the painful consequences of this uniformity which happen to fall on him as a sacrifice which he is willing to make in the interest of an arrangement which conduces to the well-being of the whole human race.

Such is the Christian solution for the problem of natural evil. The difficulties of the problem are fully recognized. That evil is inherent in the constitution of the universe is not denied. But faith in the presence of a divine principle of goodness is at the same time preserved. The existence of irreconcilable difference and discord is freely admitted. But the existence of a unity in and through this difference is affirmed. How is it possible, we have asked, thus to reconcile opposites and find harmony in discord! Christianity accomplishes this feat by daring to attribute suffering and sacrifice to God. Thus difference is introduced into the very heart of unity and the unity is not destroyed but confirmed thereby. For it is the love of God, the All-Father, which is the ultimate principle of unity in the world, adjusting everything to its beneficent purposes. But this divine benevolence involves as its supreme expression suffering and self-sacrifice in behalf of cherished creatures. Its power as a reconciling and unifying principle is not destroyed by this expression, however, but is raised to the highest level of efficiency. Since God's infinite reality is manifested most fully in suffering and self-sacrifice these painful experiences take on a new significance in the life of man. When such ills are undergone in the larger life of service they are signs of the highest moral achievement. In this climax of moral heroism human life resembles most closely the divine life and man gains fullest self-realization.

A new view of God and the world is suggested by the Christian revelation of a divine sacrifice. The existence of natural evil shows

that difference and opposition are inherent in the world. The good of humanity is gained, progress in universal evolution is purchased only at the expense of the individual. The parts are sacrificed to the whole. The Founder of Christianity did not deny that men as individuals must suffer. But he taught that God also suffers and has sacrificed himself for men. If the welfare of the whole is secured by the sacrifice of the parts, the welfare of the parts is in turn secured by the sacrifice of the whole. Through suffering the particular is identified with the universal; through suffering the universal identifies itself with the particular. Does not our knowledge of reality, imperfect as it is, warrant us in saying that only thus can complete organic unity be attained?

Several consequences of high importance for man's moral and religious life follow from the Christian conception of a self-sacrificing God.

1. *Man is reconciled to the universe* (or, if the expression be preferable) *is reconciled to God*. While it is not absolutely essential, perhaps, that man should "accept the universe" still it is a fact of considerable importance to religion that many men are provoked by the ills they suffer and see others suffer into an attitude of bitter hostility toward the universal order. The ills inflicted by natural forces seem so needless and wanton that men believe they are justified in feeling a deep indignation with the beings or powers that control these forces. They prefer to defy powers that perpetrate or permit such enormities and to be punished for their defiance rather than to win favor by submission and supplication. To spirits thus embittered by suffering an optimistic religion which is content with asserting that "God's in His heaven; all's right with the world" brings no relief. Such words seem the most hollow mockery. It is a plain fact that all is *not* right with the world. And a God who sits calm in his heaven undisturbed by the misery of the world is a monster of cruelty and not a merciful Father. To one who is torn by a great grief it brings little consolation to dilate upon the goodness of God. The sufferer sees slight evidence of his goodness. The Christian revelation of God, to the contrary, gives real help in cases like this and reconciles the individual with the universal order. No inclination is shown to overlook or minimize the sufferings of

man. But it is revealed that God also suffers and has sacrificed himself in carrying out his benevolent purposes for humanity. Thus there is given to man the best possible proof that his sufferings are not unnoticed by God and not unnecessary in the achievement of a greater good. For they are shared by God himself who can therefore sympathize with the pains and sorrows of his creatures. By these thoughts the heart of the individual is softened, his hostility is removed, and he becomes reconciled to endure whatever ills beset him in the discharge of his vocation in the world.

2. *Man is inspired to a life of service and self-sacrifice.* Jesus did not try to persuade men to undertake such a career by glossing over the hardships which are attendant upon it. In recommending a life of social service, he did not have recourse to easy generalities and assert that "the interests of the individual are identical with the good of society." He recognized that the difficulty in self-sacrifice lies just in the fact that the interest of the individual, as it appears to him, is not identical with the welfare of society. Hence the sacrifice of this interest, involving disappointment, suffering, and sometimes death, seems like a real destruction of the self, a surrender of personal existence. Jesus struck at the heart of this difficulty by his revelation of God. For while he did not question the genuineness of the sacrifice as far as the pain which it occasions is concerned, still he could show that it does not mean a sacrifice of personal reality by the individual. If suffering and self-sacrifice are crowning exhibitions of God's absolute reality such experiences cannot have a destructive effect on human personality. Rather, they are to be regarded as the conditions, hard it is true, which man must fulfil if he is to transcend his finitude and enter upon a larger and higher life which is his birthright as a child of God. Thus man is inspired to a life of self-sacrifice both by the divine example itself and by the assurance which it gives that, although his physical body may be shattered and natural existence may be shortened by the hardships of such service, he is, nevertheless, preserved and strengthened in his personal reality.

3. *Man is brought into personal union with God.* Pain and sorrow form so large a part of human existence that man can scarcely conceive of a life in which this feature is wholly absent. If God's life

is one of unbroken tranquillity and imperturbable happiness, it is so far removed from anything within the ken of human experience as to be practically incomprehensible to man. Moreover, the lack of sympathetic understanding which accompanies this conception of the divine life in the mind of man brings with it often a feeling of estrangement from God. For if God is responsible for the existence and condition of the world his undisturbed felicity in the presence of the great sufferings of his creatures seems hardly compatible with perfect kindness and mercy. But the Christian revelation suggests a totally different conception of the divine life. The discharge of duty, the expression of universal benevolence, is seen to involve the same experiences of suffering and self-sacrifice for God as for man. Such divinity man can understand and reverence. He may even feel a sense of comradeship with God when he labors and suffers in the interests of righteousness on earth. For thus he believes, God strives and suffers in the realization of his good purposes. Because he regards himself as a co-worker with God, sharing to a certain extent the divine experience, man thinks he can expect God's sympathy in time of trouble and his assistance in cases of need. Thus there is developed in the human soul a sense of close personal union with God which could be attained in no other way.

In conclusion mention may be made of certain metaphysical implications of the conception of God which we have been considering.

According to the Christian view man, through the sacrifice of his narrow, selfish interest, attains the larger "eternal" life. In other words man through the negation of his finitude attains infinity. This idea is familiar enough to one who is acquainted with the Hegelian philosophy. Through a dialectic process the contradiction between the individual's actual finitude and his potential infinity is resolved and he becomes really infinite. But while contradiction is removed in this process, negation remains as an essential element in the infinity that is achieved. That is, the larger life of spirit is what it is by virtue of its negative relation to the narrow selfish life which has been sacrificed. Now, if it is a true infinity which man thus realizes, it is evident that infinity contains necessarily a negative factor. We must admit that Infinite or Absolute Reality involves negation or "sacrifice" as an element essential to its nature. This logical demand

is fully met by the Christian view; for suffering and self-sacrifice are attributed to God himself. That recognition of an element of negation in the Absolute is not inconsistent with an idealism of the Hegelian type is clearly shown by Professor Bernard Bosanquet in a recent article.⁸ He proves on logical grounds that such a conception of the Absolute is more reasonable than that of Mr. Bradley and Professor McTaggart, who hold that absolute reality is without negation, difference, or relation. Professor Bosanquet states his position on this fundamental question as follows:

It is not an imperfection in the Supreme Being but an essential of his completeness that his nature summing up that of all reality should go out into its other to seek completion which in this case alone is absolutely found. The other in question can only be finite experience, and it is in and because of this and qualified by it that the divine nature maintains its infinity. And therefore it may be said that the general form of self-sacrifice—the fundamental logical structure of reality—is to be found here also, as it is everywhere. Not, of course, that the Infinite Being can lose or regain its perfection, but that the burden of the finite is inherently a part or rather an instrument of the self-completion of the infinite.⁹

⁸ Bosanquet, "Contradiction and Reality," *Mind*, January, 1906, p. 1.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

PROFESSOR HARNACK ON THE LUKAN NARRATIVE

PROFESSOR BENJAMIN W. BACON, D.D., LL.D.
Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn.

No greater service has ever been rendered to the Bible *as it is*, than that of historical criticism in our own times in undoing the work of the "harmonizer." The "harmonizer" is not primarily a historian. While compelled by modern requirements to assume in greater or less degree the guise and methods of the historian, his distinctive object is not scientific but apologetic.¹ However subordinated or disguised even from himself, the ulterior motive is always present, "to prove the doctrine all divine." If two scriptural sources relate the same occurrence, his impatience at the historians' analysis of differences in point of view (a necessary preliminary to constructive criticism) is but ill-concealed. He is not so much concerned for consistency in his own understanding of the course of events as for consistency between the records reporting the events. For he has a doctrine of the inspiration of these Scriptures to defend. Disagreement between two scriptural representations is the most obvious form of evidence against that theory. Hence the persistent pressure more or less appreciated, more or less resisted, at every nice point of decision to tip the scales of judgment in favor of the long-inherited conventions.

The Lukan narrative admittedly comes from a period from twenty to forty years later than the Pauline epistles. Its aim is to set forth and justify the process of universalization by which Christianity became emancipated from Judaism and established as the divinely ordained world religion. The Pauline epistles are contemporary documents out of the very heat and turmoil of the struggle itself. They are only partially narrative in form, and show only incidentally and indirectly through what titanic struggles this emancipation was accomplished. But for this very reason their testimony is the

¹ In several American institutions of technical theological training biblical introduction is avowedly taught as a branch of "apologetics."

more convincing. Had the epistles remained unknown until our own times, and had our ideas of the history been moulded exclusively by the Lukan narrative, the discovery of the contemporary letters would have come to us as the most startling and revolutionary overthrow in the annals of conventionalized history. The reason we are unconscious of the inconsistency is that from childhood we have been indoctrinated with the methods and fruits that harmonistic interpretation has had well-nigh undisputed control. To the average untrained (or rather mistrained) reader the two pictures look substantially alike. This is because he only sees them through a thick wash made up of mixed colors from both canvases with which all the bold outlines, all the strong brush-strokes, of the "old masters" have been overlaid.

Harnack is not a "harmonizer." He is a historical critic of the first magnitude. He is not blind to differences, though he has sometimes an original way of accounting for them, and in the process may be led, as we think, greatly to underestimate their importance. In his own field of church history he has long been a protagonist against apologetics disguised as history. But of late years he has become convinced—and with good reason—that the reaction went too far. To modern tradition, which some imagine him to be defending, he accords no value; but he has found that a rejection of second-century tradition is apt to result in "emptying out the baby with the bath." Harnack has inscribed upon his banner the motto, "Back to tradition." And he goes back to it; but as its just and impartial judge, not as its slave.

In this mood he comes back to the field of New Testament literature, entering it as a church historian should by the portal which Wernle has rightly declared the gateway to synoptic criticism, the writings of the historian evangelist, "Luke." In three rapidly succeeding "Contributions to New Testament Introduction"² he presents first his general conclusion of the correctness of ancient tradition in attributing the dual work in substantially its present form to Luke,

² I, *Lukas der Arzt der Verfasser des dritten Evangeliums und der Apostelgeschichte*, 1906; II, *Sprüche und Reden Jesu: Die zweite Quelle des Matthäus und Lukas*, 1907; III, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 1908. I and II having been already translated and widely reviewed, our attention in this article is mainly confined to III, which has just appeared.

the physician and companion of Paul. This conclusion is based almost exclusively upon philological considerations. To German critics, as apt to be superciliously ignorant of the work of English scholars as English scholars of German, he holds up two English contributions widely different in temperament, Hobart's *Medical Language of St. Luke*, and Sir John Hawkins' *Horae Synopticae*, the former as one-sided and extravagant as the latter is sane and judicial. The linguistic and stylistic argument of these two scholars, says Harnack, is "decisive." Luke the physician, author of the Diary incorporated (as all critics acknowledge) in Acts, chap. 16-28, is the author of the entire work. Luke himself has cast the whole in the moulds of his own individual thought and language. Then, as if for the very purpose of showing his respect for German critical analysis of sources and discrimination of primitive tradition from redactional recast, Harnack presents two further "Contributions." One (*Beitrag II*) is devoted to the most careful reconstruction and study yet produced of "The Sayings and Discourses of Jesus, the Second Source of Matthew and Luke."³ The other (*Beitrag III*) contains a discussion of the relation of the final author to the "written sources" of Acts, first among which must be reckoned the author's own contemporary notes of his journeys with Paul, the Diary which forms the basis of the second half of Acts. In the first half three sources are clearly distinguishable, of which at least two were written.⁴

In all this the great historical critic gives ample, perhaps unexpected, proof of his skill in the fields of literary criticism, applying all its minutiae of philological discrimination to the problems of style and authorship. But does he exercise his acknowledged capacity—historical and literary—in both directions *at the same time*? That is a question which many New Testament scholars will be disposed to answer in the negative.

Two ways are conceivable to account for the discrepancies admitted by all critics to exist between the later narrative writings of the New

³ The "first source" is of course our Gospel of Mark.

⁴ "Source A" contains 3:1-5:16, 8:5-40, 9:31-11:18 and 12:1-23. "Source B" (perhaps only oral) contains ch. 1 (in part), chap. 2, and 5:17-42. The "Antiochian Source" contains 6:1-8:4, 11:19-30, and 12:25-15:35.

Testament, and the actual course of events as we are compelled to understand it from the earlier sources, in this case the Epistles. One may (1) believe that a closer agreement with historic fact existed in some earlier form; this primitive form being usually identified with the work from which early tradition derives the names, "Matthew," "Luke," "John," which it attaches to the developed whole. Of this type has been the theory hitherto prevailing, at least among German critics, to account for the surprising discrepancy between Acts and the Pauline epistles. It is attributed to the *unconscious* process of degeneracy in oral and literary transmission of the narrative.

Or (2), one may follow the precedent of Renan, who accounted for the most remarkable of the discrepancies between the Johannine and Synoptic narratives of the gospel tragedy in Jerusalem by pronouncing the raising of Lazarus an *intentional* fiction. True, one would scarcely anticipate that this method of vindicating the traditional authorship at the expense of the sacred writers' veracity would greatly commend itself to the Christian public. But experience is wiser than anticipation. Of late Principal James Drummond, probably our ablest exponent of Philo, the great allegorist of Alexandria, has renewed this "defense" of the Fourth Gospel,⁵ not indeed imputing the deliberate fiction, as did Renan, to a "pious fraud" enacted by Jesus' disciples in collusion with their Master(!), but to the inventive fancy of the writer of the Fourth Gospel. This writer, whom Drummond on the strength of early testimony identifies with the apostle John, being much influenced by the ideas of Philo, "had a dreamy perception of external things" and "threw some of his ideas into the form of allegory." Prominent "defenders of the Fourth Gospel" we find are overjoyed that on *these* terms they may "keep their tradition" of the "character(?) and authorship of the Fourth Gospel!"

Similar exultation already greets Harnack's decision that the departures of the Lukan narrative from actual fact, as we know it from Paul, must be accounted for, not by the unconscious distortions of oral and literary transmission, but by that "credulity in respect to the miraculous" and that "carelessness and inaccuracy" which

⁵ *Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, 1904.

Harnack is compelled to admit, despite his ardent championship, in Luke himself; "weaknesses" which led Luke repeatedly to substitute the later conventionalized and corrupted form of tradition as current at the time of writing for the earlier and simpler story in which he had himself been a factor!⁶ This is undoubtedly a possible solution. The decision depends on the preponderance of the evidence (unquestionably strong) from the uniform language and style, over the evidence, which, we take it, Harnack himself would concede to be otherwise fatal to Lukan authorship, showing a later and conventionalized idea of the events. If the linguistic evidence really does preponderate, there need be no hesitation to accept it on the part at least of English liberal critics; for they have uniformly shown a greater respect for the tradition of Lukan authorship than their German colleagues. But just why a verdict of more conscious as against more unconscious falsification should give ground for exultation to the self-styled "defenders of the Bible" is not so easily apparent.

Our present consideration must necessarily confine itself to the historical side of the argument. The technicalities of the linguistic argument are precluded from such publications as the present. It is possible, however, to summarize in brief outline the general character of "Luke's" conception of that process to the description of which his dual work is devoted, the process of universalization by which Christianity became emancipated from Judaism and established as the divinely ordained world-religion.

Much stress has been laid hitherto on certain discrepant details, such as the Lukan representation of the "gift of tongues" as a miraculous equipment with power to speak foreign languages, against the Pauline references to it as a phenomenon of ecstatic, unintelligible utterance, "inarticulate groanings" "unfruitful to the understanding" unless "interpreted," suggesting only "madness" to the unbelieving, save as broken by "cries" of "Abba" and brief ejaculations in the language of Jesus and the prophets. A companion of that apostle who could thank God that he "spoke with tongues" more than all his converts, must have permitted his better knowledge to be displaced to an extraordinary degree by idealizing convention, if he

⁶ III, pp. 18, 19.

described the origin of this "gift of the Spirit" as it is described in Acts 2:1-11. For here the presuppositions of the underlying source (vss. 12-21, attributed by Harnack to his "Source B") themselves are adjusted to a pure literary convention. "Luke" had before him a relatively correct representation of the origin of "tongues" (2:13, 17, 18, 21, 26) and *accommodates* this to the Jewish midrash of Pentecost, the Feast of the Giving of the Law, when at Sinai all the seventy nations of the earth heard out of the stream of "fiery voices," each in its own tongue, the proclamation of God.⁷ Truly if acquaintance with rabbinic legend⁸ be the test, "Luke's" narrative of the Christian Pentecost goes far to justify the extravagant admiration of Ramsay for his worth as a historian.

Again the Diary in 28:11-16 reaches the same point as the closing sentence of the book, describing Paul's cordial welcome at Rome by the great Christian brotherhood to which more than two years before he had written the greatest of his epistles; and here all is entirely in accord with what we should anticipate from the epistles. But this fundamental narrative (Harnack's acknowledgment of the employment by Luke in this part of Acts of "notes having somewhat the nature of a diary"⁹ may probably be taken to apply to 28:11-16) is supplemented in vss. 17-31 by an elaboration along the conventional lines and stereotyped formulae which elsewhere present "Luke's" conception of the Pauline methods of evangelization. From the supplement we not only hear nothing of any existent community of Christians in Rome, but its presence is made impossible to imagine without extraneous aid. Paul begins at the very beginning, precisely as in the multitude of cases already narrated

⁷ The legend, twice employed by Philo (*de Decem Oraculis*, 9, 11 and *de Spec. Leg.* II, 22) is based on Deut. 33:2. (Hebrew; see R. V. margin) and Ps. 68:12. It represented the sound as issuing from Sinai in a stream of fire "like sparks from an anvil" and dividing into seventy voices, heard throughout the world. On the same basis rests the rabbinic belief referred to in Heb. 1:7 in a river of fire, from which angels constantly rise up, utter the praise of God, and into which they are immediately reabsorbed.

⁸ Acquaintance with the Legend of Ahikar has been shown by R. Harris in the redaction of the same "Source B" in Acts 1:18. The speech of Stephen, Acts, chap. 7 is notoriously full of midrashic traits.

⁹ P. 177. In den Wirstücken—ihr tagebuchähnlicher Charakter macht es wahrscheinlich, wenn auch nicht gewiss, dass Lukas Aufzeichnungen besass, die er hier benutzt hat.

in which he really was the original founder of the local church. Summoning together the leaders of the synagogue he finds not only complete ignorance regarding the *cause célèbre* in which he himself had long been the most prominent figure, but completely virgin soil as regards the gospel itself. They "desire to hear" what Paul thinks; "for, as concerning this sect, it is known to us that everywhere it is spoken against." Upon this inexplicably auspicious beginning Paul "expounded the matter. . . . persuading them concerning Jesus." The result, as in Galatia, Macedonia, Achaia, everywhere that "Luke" relates the beginnings of the church, is the conversion of a nucleus and disbelief of the rest; and this naturally affords to the author a culminating opportunity for enunciation through the mouth of Paul the moral of the entire work. Thus the predicted counsel of God is fulfilled that his salvation by the hardening of Israel should be "sent unto the gentiles: *they* will also hear." Paul, accordingly, now begins the work of "preaching the kingdom of God and teaching the things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ," which thereafter is continued to the end in undisturbed tranquillity.¹⁰ The Roman Christian of 90-100 A. D. feels assured as he reads this story that the founding of his own church and the teaching of Paul, recently approved as it had been by cordial indorsement of James and all the apostles at Jerusalem, represents the final outcome of that determinate foreknowledge and counsel of God which decreed that thus the religion of Abraham, Moses, and the prophets, rejected by their unworthy descendants, should become the world-religion, "salvation sent unto the gentiles," planted and growing under divine direction to sure fruition in the metropolis of the world. And yet so far was this from being the real story, that years before a large and thriving church was already in existence in Rome, and (if we may trust the usual interpretation of an obscure reference of Suetonius)¹¹ had even

¹⁰ Surprise is expressed that the work, if subsequent to the great Neronian persecution of 64 A. D., should ignore it, as well as the death of Paul. As regards the latter even Peter disappears from view after chap. 15. As regards the Neronian persecution it begins a new story, the struggle of Christianity against the Empire, which "Luke" has no idea of relating. Previous persecutions were due solely to the Synagogue. Acts 28:28 refers to the peace of final victory over jealous Judaism. The new world religion was safely brought to birth.

¹¹ "Judaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes (Claudius) Roma expulit." —Claud. 25.

been for some ten years before Paul's coming in violent conflict with the synagogue that professes such serene ignorance of "this sect." Indeed the profession is on its face incredible. Acts 28:17-31 simply represents the conventionalized, idealized elaboration of vss. 14-16 along the stereotyped lines of the work taken as a whole. But "Luke" himself had been received with Paul by the delegation from the church in Rome, which went to meet them all the way to Appii Forum!

To these and similar sporadic instances Harnack has an answer. In substance it has been already given: Luke's personal recollection had become obscured. A Greek tendency to "*stylisiren*," which we take to mean magnify and idealize, in narration, led him on many an occasion to discard the simpler story of which he had himself been witness, or as it had come to him *directly* from "eyewitnesses and ministers of the word," and to substitute for it the legendary creations of later fancy. It is even admitted (p. 128) that the substitution of the "legend" of a bodily resurrection of Jesus and visible ascension into heaven, represents a degradation in *two successive stages*¹² from the story of this most vital and fundamental of all Christian traditions as it had been related "at the time when Luke was with Paul in Jerusalem;" and a sense of the strain thus put upon the psychological imagination is betrayed in the argument adduced to prove that on this point "Luke did twice exchange better knowledge for worse." Such are a few out of many individual instances wherein Harnack feels constrained by the force of his own lexical and philological argument to impute to Luke qualifications as a historian which will scarcely support the recent enthusiastic comparisons with Tacitus and Thucydides.

But mere individual instances are less convincing than the ensemble. Cumulatively the discrepancies have multiplied weight. Individually the force of one can be turned in this way, the bearing of another can be met in that. The real question is, Does "Luke" stand with Paul respecting the great transition which he undertakes

¹² Harnack takes the usual view that the "40 days" of Acts 1:3 is in conflict with Luke 24:36-53, and thus represents a change of mind "for the worse" since the writing of "the former treatise." This we do not admit. In Acts chap. 1, as in Luke 24:50-52 and John 20:17, 27, as well as the *Epistle of Barnabas*, the ascension is supposed to take place at the beginning, not the end, of the period of 40 days.

to narrate, and which is surely the most vital and fundamental thing around which the great battles of the Pauline epistles were waged? Or does he stand (unconsciously, of course) with those against whom Paul fought his great fight for "the truth of the Gospel" and "the liberty which we have in Christ Jesus"? For many a time during the periods covered by the extracts from the Diary the odds must have seemed like those of "Athanasius against the world." And we must not forget that it is precisely *this* period of the great Epistles to the Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans, during which "Luke" was associated with Paul, not only as "beloved physician" and intimate friend, but as fellow-preacher and evangelist. It is here that Harnack does well to assure the reader that he has not neglected an independent study of the Pauline epistles.¹³ If only the glamour of "Luke" has not remained here and there, filtering in like stolen gleams in the photographer's dark room to vitiate the impression!¹⁴

Far be it from us to deny an eagerness on "Luke's" part to defend the apostleship and gospel of Paul, an eagerness only second to Paul's own. How else indeed could his work commend itself to the great Pauline churches? But *how* does he defend them? We hope to be pardoned the comparison, but in our judgment very much as Drummond and Harnack are supposed to "defend" the writings of John and Luke.

As for Paul's apostleship, Luke's whole endeavor is to make Paul appear as closely dependent from the outset upon "the" apostles¹⁵ in Jerusalem as possible (9:26-30). He does not engage in any independent mission work among gentiles (9:29-30; 11:25-26; 22:17-

¹³ III, p. 180.

¹⁴ We cannot but hope for a revision, e. g., of the statement (III, p. 18.) that "in the Jewish-Christian controversy of Paul the issue was not the freedom of all Christians from the law, but always of Gentile Christians alone. The question how Jewish Christians should square their conduct with the law was not in debate." A comparison of this statement with Gal. 2:15-21 would be of value.

¹⁵ The word still retains in one passage of Acts the broader general use common in the Pauline epistles and *ἀποστόλοι*. "Barnabas and Paul are spoken of in 14:4, 14 as "the apostles," i. e., the missionaries, where no ambiguity is possible. In all the other 34 Lukan occurrences of the word it means the Twelve, to complete whose sacred college seems to "Luke" a necessary preliminary to the "gift of the Spirit." The Twelve, of course, do *not* include Paul.

21) until regularly commissioned by solemn ordination of the church in Antioch (13:1-3). His career as "a chosen vessel to bear the name of Christ before gentiles and kings," foretold in vision to Ananias (9:15-16) and later in Jerusalem suggested—against his incredulous protest—to Saul himself (22:21), is delayed and deferred until after all the principles involved have been settled by divine revelation to Peter and the official action of the church in Jerusalem in the case of Cornelius (10:1-11:18); so that when the question of Paul's gentile missions at last does come up, Peter may cite the decisive precedent in such language as this: "Brethren, ye know how that a good while ago *God made choice among you that by my (1) mouth* the gentiles should hear the word of the gospel and believe" (15:7). Paul does not open his lips to a gentile, he does not realize that his work is to be among them (22:17-20), until after fruitless endeavors in Jerusalem, driven into hiding at Tarsus (9:29-30), he is brought thence by Barnabas to Antioch, and at last *in the special ordination at Antioch* is commissioned to "the work whereunto God had called him" (13:1-3).¹⁶ After this his "apostleship" is indorsed by "letters of commendation" from Jerusalem (15:24-26) where James and "the" apostles autocratically dispose of the problem, What shall be required of the gentiles a "necessary"? while Paul, a silent spectator, obediently accepts and disseminates their "decrees" (15:13-16:4). In short, Paul's "apostleship" is made by "Luke" to be just such an apostleship "from men and through a man" as Paul himself indignantly and scornfully repudiates. Real equality with the holy Twelve is placed for ever beyond Paul's reach by the conditions imposed as a *sine qua non* when the last vacancy in their number is filled. "Of the men therefore which have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and went out among us, *beginning from the baptism of John unto the day that he was received up from us*, of these must one become a witness with us of his resurrection."¹⁷ We venture t

¹⁶ If Paul has occasion to complain of this suppression of his fourteen years of missionary work among gentiles, there are others equally wronged for his benefit. Professor Warfield (*Journ. of Bibl. Lit.*, III, pp. 113 ff.) has established beyond question the reading *Hellenists* in Acts 11:20. This substitution of "Hellenists" for "Hellenes" can only be explained as an editorial correction of the "Antiochian Source" in the interest of "Lukan" theory.

¹⁷ Acts 1 1 22.

think that of late something less of attention than it deserves has been paid to the contrast between "Luke's" defense of Paul's apostleship, and Paul's own in Gal., chaps. 1, 2; I Cor., chap. 9; II Cor., chaps. 3-5, 10-12. If "Luke" has included in his representation a single trait of what to Paul was vital in his apostleship, or if he has omitted one from that of the "weak" friends at Antioch and Corinth which Paul so vehemently denies, we are unable to point it out. Our own study of Acts shows *Peter* as the *apostle chosen of God to receive and defend* "the revelation of the mystery that the gentiles are fellow heirs and fellow members of the body and fellow-partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus through the gospel," and Paul "an elect vessel to bear it before the gentiles and kings and children of Israel."

And what is "Luke's" conception of the content of Paul's gospel of "justification apart from works of the law"? For without this Paul's apostleship may well degenerate into a mere commission from the Church in Antioch endorsed by letters of commendation from Jerusalem. What is Paul himself more than an agent of the Twelve, unless divinely "intrusted with the gospel of the uncircumcision even as Peter with that of the circumcision"? We ask, then, What does "Luke" make of this gospel of the uncircumcision, of this "trust" so unspeakably precious, of this to Paul absolutely divine solution of all the great problem with which "Luke's" own entire narrative is concerned? Of Paul's gospel of justification for Jew and gentile "apart from works of the law," Luke, as we have seen, credits the half which pertains to the gentiles to Peter(!). *The other half he denies outright!* Harmonistic interpretation has made it indispensable at this point to review the "Lukan" theory of the universalization of the gospel, in the light of his own context, at greater length than would be needful had we not become accustomed unconsciously to interject a Pauline sense into ambiguous passages.

Every tyro in Paulinism knows that it belongs to its very elements that the death of Christ has superseded the dispensation of law, and that this applies *to the Jew first of all*, though in a sense also to the gentile. The gospel of salvation *for every Jew* is to learn to know that "a man is not justified by works of the law but only through faith in Christ;" and if after such "death to the law" he attempts

to "build up again the things which he had destroyed" by supplementing his faith with a modicum of legal observance he "makes void the grace of God" (Gal. 2:15-21).¹⁸ There can be no question whatever that Paul preached this gospel of emancipation from *all* the Mosaic ordinances as such; and that he preached it to all the *unevangelized*¹⁹ Jews of his own gentile field whom he could reach. If we may believe the consistent representation of Acts, which in this respect only stereotypes that of the contemporary Diary (16:13), Paul's regular practice on his missionary campaigns was to *begin at the synagogue*.

Conscious that Paul had no other gospel than this for Jew or gentile we are disposed to interpret the ambiguous sentence in "Luke's" report of Paul's address to the synagogue at Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13:39) "by him (Jesus) everyone that believeth is justified from all things from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses," as if in it the gospel were really offered not as a mere supplement, but in a true Pauline sense as a *substitute* for Mosaism. If, however, we interpret "Luke" by himself instead of by Paul, it will be clear that such is not his meaning. "*Luke*" *does not admit that Jews are free from the obligation of the law*. For gentiles it has no obligation. *Jews* must still continue to bear its heavy yoke as well as they are able, trusting to "the grace of the Lord Jesus" to supplement deficiencies.²⁰

¹⁸ See note 14 above.

¹⁹ The agreement of mutual non-interference described in Gal. 2:1-10 relates of course to such intervention "in another's province in regard to things ready to their hand" as that of the "spies" upon "the freedom which we have in Christ Jesus," whose incursions at Antioch had brought Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem. Paul was scrupulous about confining himself to virgin territory (Rom. 15:20) and about avoiding the unnecessary coercion of Jewish Christians already indoctrinated with the "weak" gospel (I Cor. 9:20-22; Rom. 14:1-15:3). But the idea that he did not proclaim complete emancipation from the law to every *unevangelized* Jew the gentile world contained, so far as he could reach him, is flatly against the great epistles. On occasion, as the conflict with Peter at Antioch shows (Gal. 2:11-21), he could even exercise coercion. This was when the nominally "weak" brother attempted to exercise coercion himself, *demanding* concessions from gentile liberty to his own scruples. See below, p. 71.

²⁰ Acts 10:1-11:18 ("Source A") with its recapitulation in 15:8-11 is of course fundamentally Pauline, but is accommodated in "Luke's" adaptation to his own point of view. See below, note 36.

That this doctrine of the permanent obligation of the law for Jews, strange as it may seem, and really in fundamental contradiction of Paul's doctrine of the cross, is nevertheless the doctrine of Luke, becomes apparent rather from the whole structure of Acts than from mere individual passages. Three great conclaves in Jerusalem mark the culmination in Acts of as many crises in the progress of the gospel. The first crisis is that of the "revelation" (to *Peter*) and vindication (by him) "of the mystery that the gentiles are fellow-heirs and fellow-partakers of the promises" (10:1—11:18). This narrative, as Harnack himself very justly concedes to a multitude of critics, is not originally of Lukan composition. Harnack assigns it to his "Source A."²¹ We shall see that the final author's omissions and adaptations are highly significant. At present we merely note that "Luke's" *employment* of it wholly disregards its bearing on the question of the obligation of the law upon *Jews*²² and is directed solely to the demonstration of the freedom of the gentiles.

The second crisis is that of the "decrees" (Acts 13:1—16:5) which attempt to regulate the relations of Jewish and gentile Christians by imposition of "necessary" restrictions on the liberty already conceded. As the concession is explicitly referred to and approved it is impossible to suppose that the author conceives the "decrees" as a partial reimposition of "the yoke of the law." On the contrary, James, their propounder, expressly says that they are framed in the interest of "the Jews which are among the gentiles," in whose behalf he later interests himself still further (15:21; cf. 22:21). For their sakes gentile believers are "enjoined" to "abstain from the pollutions of idols," a general phrase, which from the fact that it does not recur in the formal document, may be assumed to be reproduced by the particulars.

At this point Harnack requests his readers to follow him in a somewhat difficult somersault. Contrary to the opinion he very ably defended but a few years ago²³ he is now convinced by the reasoning of Wellhausen²⁴ that the word *πνικτόν* ("things strangled") in

²¹ On p. 185 Harnack expresses less confidence in the written condition of this portion of "Source A," than in that of chaps. 3-4 and 12.

²² On this point see below, note 36.

²³ *Sitzungsberichte d. k. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1889.

²⁴ *Noten zur Apg. in Nachr. d. K. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. z. Göttingen*, pp. 19 ff., 1907.

the "decrees" (15:20 *and* 29) is an early interpolation, which being happily eliminated it becomes possible to treat the decrees as having nothing to do with the conditions of table-fellowship between the two classes of Christians now brought together through the large gentile accessions at Antioch, but as purely and simply ethical. In this Harnack has the example of the Western text and church fathers, who naturally supplement this somewhat incomplete attempt at a Christian decalogue by adding in vss. 20 and 29 the negative version of the Golden Rule.²⁵ Originally the "decrees" aimed "to exclude the whole domain of immorality" under the three prohibitions of "idolatry, murder, and whoredom."²⁶ The issue of the great conclave in Jerusalem²⁷ is therefore that the apostles and elders ("elder brethren?") in Jerusalem "enjoin" upon the gentile churches these three prohibitions as "necessary." If they keep themselves from these "it shall be well" with them. It is indeed true that if such were the outcome of the mountain in labor, Paul is the more excusable for omitting to mention in Gal. 2:1-10 that the conclave ever met or enacted any decrees at all. Or shall we not rather say that if the whole case was thus officially disposed of in Paul's favor by the highest ecclesiastical authority, it is surprising that he should so considerably abstain from reminding the Judaizers of the fact?

We are in complete accord with Harnack as to the evidences compelling the recognition of an "Antiochian Source" whose culminating point is reached in 12:25—15:35, and which contains historical material of the highest value; also in recognizing the "decrees," however recast by "Luke," as representing a primitive document of prime importance. But in our judgment both their intrinsic character, and the purpose which they subserve in the narrative are conclusive against Harnack's interpretation. Intrinsically they are not ethical but ceremonial. In the application to which they are rightly put in the narrative they meet the difficulty raised by the influx of gentile Christians already admitted to be free from the obligation of the law, into a brotherhood largely composed of Jews *who are not thus free*

²⁵ This Harnack admits (against Hilgenfeld and others) to be probably an interpolation (III, p. 197).

²⁶ III, p. 195.

²⁷ Well designated in III, p. 189, "the tribunal for all Christendom."

Not because the three (or four) requirements are the most vital morally are they called "necessary," and authoritatively "enjoined" upon the gentiles by a Jewish Christian conclave; but because fellowship on any other terms will involve involuntary pollution to the Jewish Christian, *who is not free from the law*. They are "necessary" for his protection. Indeed their propounder himself, as we have seen, has no idea of limiting gentile freedom from the law, but propounds them on behalf of those who "in every city from generations of old have listened on every sabbath to the preaching of Moses in the synagogue" (15:21). The very argument of Wellhausen which has proved so convincing to Harnack is based upon the contention that *πικτόν*, because it is practically synonymous with the prohibition of blood (*i. e.*, the *eating* of blood), is therefore probably an explanatory gloss. If, at the very early date of the alleged interpolation, the prohibitions were not already understood to be ceremonial, we have no longer any explanation of the addition!

There is but one obstacle to the ceremonial sense, commended as it is by the manifest intention not to restrict a freedom already conceded to the gentiles, but to furnish a practicable *modus vivendi* between the two elements in the brotherhood. It is the injunction against "fornication." How can this be said to consider only the protection of the Jewish Christian against involuntary pollution? So long as only such absurd answers are made to this question as the suggestion that the Jerusalem authorities were endeavoring to regulate marital relations among gentiles according to Mosaic rules of consanguinity, it is scarcely a marvel that interpreters should revolt. But an explanation *can* be offered which has hitherto received no consideration, although it meets the question fairly. The Jewish Christian author of the *Clementine Homilies* explicitly says that "whoredom and adultery differ from all other sins in that they defile not only the sinner but those also *that eat and associate with him*."¹⁸ Paul himself, as we know, forbade "eating and associating" with such an one (I Cor. 5:11; *cf.* II Cor. 6:17). In view of the prevalence of this vice in gentile communities and even the tendency toward toleration of it in the church at Corinth, it is not surprising that Jewish Christians should demand protection against involuntary

¹⁸ *Clem. Hom.* III, lxviii.

contamination from this source as a condition of "eating with gentiles."

We entertain no manner of doubt that the "decrees" were really enacted in Jerusalem for "the brethren which are of the gentiles in Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia," *ca.* A. D. 50, and that they continued to represent for a generation the attitude of the Syrian churches south of Taurus, as well as of Peter and Barnabas, and the "weak brethren" throughout the Empire.²⁹ It is certain that for "Luke" they represent the final and complete solution of the knotty question, How shall Jewish Christians *still under the obligation of the law*, eat and associate with gentile Christians who are not?³⁰ It *should* be apparent that they are utterly inconsistent with the solution of Paul.³¹

The third crisis in Jerusalem is that of Acts 21:17-26. To Paul also it is momentous as the occasion of his great "ministration for the saints," for which he asks the prayers of Roman Christians that it may prove "acceptable."³² Strange as it may seem in one himself a member of the great delegation charged with this peace-offering of the Pauline churches, "Luke" entirely cancels this principal purpose of the expedition; or rather he *transfers it to the credit of the Church in Antioch*. Quite forestalling the famous benefaction of Helena of Adiabene in the great Palestinian famine of 45-46 A. D., the church in Antioch conducts this "ministration" in 43-44 A. D.,³³ *before* the outbreak of the famine, being warned by the prophecy of Agabus, who for this purpose comes down from Judaea, although the Diary later introduces him, as if for the first time, as coming down from Judaea to warn Paul in Caesarea.³⁴ This is only one of the Lukan discrepancies of detail. The main point of difference is as to the significance of the great interview with "James and all the elders."

This is really the capstone of "Luke's" argument regarding the terms of union in the process of the universalization of Christianity. It was indispensable for "Luke," however difficult, that having (1) established (through Peter) the liberty of the gentiles, and (2) the *modus vivendi* enacted at the instance of Antioch, he should (3) repel

²⁹ On the real course of events leading up to the "decrees" see my art.: "Acts vs. Galatians, the Crux of Apostolic History," in *Amer. Jour. of Theol.*, July, 1907.

³⁰ Acts 16:4; 21:25.

³³ Acts 11:27-30; 12:25.

³¹ Gal. 2:11-21.

³⁴ 21:10-14.

³² Rom. 15:31.

the insinuation that Paul had "taught the Jews which are among the gentiles to forsake Moses, telling them not to circumcise their children neither to walk after the customs." *This, according to "Luke" was the great issue solved at Jerusalem by the full, public, and complete disavowal which Paul then made of any such practice!*

We have said that "Luke" denies outright the half of Paul's gospel of emancipation from the law which applies to Jews. What else does it mean when Paul is represented to have taken public action to prove not only that he did not so teach, but that he himself "walked orderly, keeping the law?" What else does it mean when "Luke" suppresses the great story of Paul's resistance to the circumcision of Titus, and his rebuke of Peter at Antioch (Gal. 2:1-10, 11-21), but enlarges upon his circumcision of Timothy in Galatia "because of the Jews that were in those parts"? What else does it mean when Paul is made to repudiate as a slander the suggestion that he himself does not observe the law? Are we told that Paul did accommodate himself to Jewish practice *in the exceptional circumstances of finding himself among law-observing Jews*, not without great pains to avoid misconstruction?³⁵ But the ceremonial in the temple, according to Acts 21:17-26, is engaged in for the sake of proving that Paul's invariable practice, specifically and explicitly as an example to "the (unevangelized) Jews which are among the gentiles," is to "walk orderly, keeping the law." Are we told that "Luke" himself relates how Peter was exempted from the strict requirements of Mosaism in the case of Cornelius at Caesarea? Let it be recalled that according to Harnack himself this narrative is an incorporation by "Luke" of foreign material; and let it be noted as among the most significant evidences in support of our own contention, that the features of the story which bear upon Peter's own emancipation from the law have been carefully canceled out by the redactor!³⁶ Acts 21:17-26 is conclusive as to the Lukan interpretation of the "justification by grace" preached in the Galatian synagogues. It

³⁵ Harnack, III, p. 180, seems to think it is only a question whether Paul would go so far in the matter of occasional accommodation. The real difficulty is with the alleged repudiation of his regular practice.

³⁶ Traces of this original bearing remain in the charge 11:3 "thou didst enter into men uncircumcised and eat with them," to which the context affords no reply: also more distinctly in the vision (10:9-16; 11:5-10), interpreted in 10:28 as applying to

certainly is *not* that of Paul's Epistle to the churches of Galatia. Acts 21:17-26 purports to "defend" Paul's gospel to "the (unevangelized) Jews which are among the gentiles." We have seen that Paul did go to these Jews, that he *did* "teach them to forsake Moses, telling them not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs," that he did *not* set the example of "walking after the customs." On the contrary, when this attempt was made by "Peter and Barnabas and the rest of the Jews," under color of authority "from James" and his Jerusalem "decrees," or their equivalent, he denounced and resisted it as an attempt to "coerce" free men in Christ Jesus.

"Luke's" defense of the apostleship and gospel of Paul belongs to the class which Paul himself characterized as "weak." We will not, we cannot justly, so characterize that which Harnack offers of the tradition of Lukan authorship. For his desire to vindicate this we have no prejudice whatever, but only sympathy.³⁷ Our old-time admiration for Professor Harnack's marvelous genius and scholarship, which years ago blossomed into a cherished personal friendship and regard, is only increased by these recent genuinely great contributions. Conceivably a more detailed study of his linguistic argument than we have yet been able to give might constrain us to take his view. But surely it is of far more vital importance to understand a book than merely to know the name of its author. And unless all our apprehension of it be wrong, the Lukan narrative is fundamentally misunderstood, until we recognize that its author's well-meant defense of the apostleship and gospel of Paul contemplates point for point that apostleship and that gospel which would have satisfied not Paul, but the opponents whom at Antioch he "resisted to the face." This is the great fact to be accounted for in judging the early tradition of Lukan authorship.

distinctions of *persons*. In reality it applies to distinctions of *meats*. The going to the gentiles is independently sanctioned in 10:20. The vision sanctions Peter's *eating* "things common and unclean," 10:14. The source thus gives to Peter as a "revelation" what Paul is taught of the Lord Jesus in Rom. 14:14. The β text, which in 11:1 has perhaps been reassimilated to the source, gives further evidence. Here Peter's residence in Jerusalem has already ceased (against ch. 12). He goes up thither from his mission field, like Paul in ch. 15, to the defense of the freedom of the gentiles. R cancels the abolition of distinctions of meats and the anticipation of 15:3-5.

³⁷ See Bacon, *Introd., to N. T. Literature*, 1900. pp. 211-217.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL NATURE OF RELIGION¹

PROFESSOR JAMES H. LEUBA
Bryn Mawr College, Pa.

I. THE FUNDAMENTAL NATURE OF RELIGION

The students of religion have usually been content to describe it either in intellectual or in affective terms. "This particular idea or belief," or "this particular feeling or emotion" is, they have said, "the essence" or the "vital element" of religion. So that most of the hundreds of definitions which have been proposed fall into two classes. We have, on the one hand, the definitions of Spencer, Max Müller, Romanes, Goblet d'Alviella, and others, for whom religion is "the recognition of a mystery pressing for interpretation," or "a department of thought," or "a belief in superhuman beings;" and, on the other, the formulas of Schleiermacher, the Ritschlian theologians, Tiele, etc., who hold that religion is "a feeling of absolute dependence upon God," or "that pure and reverential disposition or frame of mind we call piety." According to Tiele "the essence of piety, and, therefore, the essence of religion, is adoration."

The recent advance of psychological science and the increasingly careful and minute work of ethnographers have tended to discredit these one-sided conceptions. Today it has become customary to admit that "in religion all sides of the personality participate. Will, feeling, and intelligence are necessary and inseparable constituents of religion." But statements such as this one do not necessarily imply a correct understanding of the functional relation of the three aspects of psychic life. One may be acquainted with the three branches of government—legislative, executive, and judicial—and nevertheless grossly misunderstand their respective functions. Pfeiderer, for instance, hastens to add to the sentences last quoted, "Of course we must recognize that knowing and willing are here [in

¹ Other phases of religion will be discussed by the author in a book, entitled, *The Psychological Origin and the Nature of Religion*, to be published by Archbald, Constable & Co.

religion] not ends in themselves, as in science and in morality, but rather subordinate to feeling as the real center of religious consciousness." Thus feeling reappears as *the real center* of religious consciousness. What the author may well have meant here by "center," I do not know. A similar criticism is applicable to Max Müller and to Guyau. The latter begins promisingly with a criticism of the one-sided formulas of Schleiermacher and of Feuerbach, and declares that they should be combined. "The religious sentiment," says he, is "primarily no doubt a feeling of dependence. But this feeling of dependence really to give birth to religion must provoke in one a reaction—a desire for deliverance." Very good, indeed! But, on proceeding, the reader discovers that the opinion the book defends is that "Religion is the outcome of an effort to explain all things—physical, metaphysical, and moral—by analogies drawn from human society, imaginatively and symbolically considered. In short, it is a universal sociological hypothesis, mythical in form."² What is this but once more the intellectualistic position? Religion arising from an effort to *explain*; Religion an *hypothesis*! It is Herbert Spencer over again with an additional statement concerning the way in which man attempts to explain "the mystery" pressing for interpretation.

It must be admitted, however, that several of the more recent definitions have completely broken with this bad psychology. Among these are those of J. G. Frazer, of A. Sabatier, and of Wm. James. For A. Sabatier, religion "is a commerce, a conscious and willed relation into which the soul in distress enters with the mysterious power on which it feels that it and its destiny depend."³ William James expresses his mind thus: "In broadest and most general terms possible, one might say that religious life consists in the belief that there is an unseen order, and that our supreme good lies in harmoniously adjusting ourselves thereto. This belief and this adjustment are the religious attitude of the soul. In the ordinary sense of the word, however, no attitude is accounted religious unless it be grave and serious; the trifling, sneering attitude of a Voltaire must be thrown out if we would not strain the ordinary use of language. Moreover, there must be something

² *The Non-Religion of the Future*, p. 2.

³ *Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion*, p. 27.

solemn, serious, and tender about any attitude which we denominate religion. If glad, it must not grin or snicker; if sad, it must not scream or curse. The sallies of a Schopenhauer and a Nietzsche lack the purgatorial note which religious sadness gives forth. And finally we must exclude also the chilling reflections of Marcus Aurelius on the eternal reason, as well as the passionate outcry of Job.”⁴

But the battle against intellectualistic and affectivistic conceptions of religion is not yet won. The recent definitions of Tiele and of Kaftan show only too clearly how strong the tendency remains to identify religion with some feeling or emotion.

As the amazing discrepancies and contradictions offered by authorized definitions of religion arise, in my opinion, primarily from a faulty psychology, a moment may profitably be devoted to an untechnical statement of the present teaching of that science upon the relation existing between the three acknowledged modes of consciousness—willing, feeling, and thinking.

Aristotle characterized man as *thinking desire*. In swinging back from Intellectualism to Voluntarism, modern psychology has accepted the fundamental truth excellently expressed by the Greek philosopher: “Will is not merely a function which sometimes accrues to consciousness and is sometimes lacking; it is an integral property of consciousness.”⁵ Will without intelligence may be possible; but intelligence without will is not, not even in the case of so-called disinterested, theoretical thinking. There is, there can be, no thinking without desire, intention, or purpose. “The one thing that stands out,” says, for instance, Professor Dewey, “is that thinking is inquiry, and that knowledge as science is the outcome of systematically directed inquiry.” Thought absolutely undirected would be not even a dream—mere meaningless, chaotic atoms of thought. It is *the intention, the purpose*, which makes thought what it is; that is to say, significant. To discover ways and means of gratifying proximate or distant desires, needs, cravings, is the function of intelligence. The psychologist speaks, therefore, of the *instrumental* character of thought, and considers cognition to be a function of conduct.

⁴ *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, pp. 53, 38, abbreviated and rearranged.

⁵ Wünder, *Ethics*, English tr., III, p. 6.

With regard to the relation of feeling to the will and to the intellect, it is to be observed that where there is desire for an object, there liking is present; and, conversely, where there is liking, there actual or potential desire is felt. Aristotle's characterization of man is thus seen to be adequate; it does not leave out the feelings, as it might seem at first. Every pulse of consciousness is psychically compounded of will, feeling, and thought. Successive moments can differ one from the other neither in the absence of one or two of these three constituents, nor in the essential relation they bear to one another—that is fixed and unchangeable—but only in the intensity and vividness of their respective components. This, then, is the double teaching of psychology in this matter: (1) will, feeling, and thought enter in some degree into every moment of consciousness which can be looked upon as an actuality, and not merely as an abstraction; they are necessary constituents of consciousness. The unit of conscious life is neither thought, nor feeling, nor will, but all three in movement towards an object; (2) the will is primal; or, in other words, conscious life is always oriented towards something to be secured or avoided immediately or ultimately.

If, with this conception in mind, we turn to religion, we shall understand it to be compounded of will, thought, and feeling, bearing to each other the relation which belongs to them in every department of life. And it will, moreover, be clear that a purpose or an ideal, i. e., something to be attained or maintained, must always be at the root of it. The outcome of the application of current psychological teaching to religious life is, then, to lead us to regard religion as a particular kind of activity, as a mode or type of behavior, and to make it as impossible for us to identify it with a particular emotion or with a particular belief, as it would be to identify, let us say, family life with affection, or to define trade as "belief in the productivity of exchange;" or commerce as "greed touched with a feeling of dependence upon society." And yet this last definition is no less informing and adequate than the far-famed formula of Matthew Arnold. We shall, however, have to remember that religion is multiform, and that certain ideas, emotions, and purposes appear in it prominently at certain moments and other ideas, emotions, and purposes at other times. But neither prominence nor predominance is synonymous with "essence" or with "vital element."

I do not intend, at this stage of our inquiry, to offer a complete definition of religion. But I must guard against a possible misinterpretation. In speaking of religion as an activity or as a type of behavior, I would not be understood to exclude from it whatever does not express itself in overt acts, in rites of propitiation, submission, or adoration. For, just as man's relations with his fellow-men are not all directly expressed, or expressible, in actions, so his relations with gods, or their impersonal substitutes, may not have any visible form; they may remain purely subjective and none the less exercise a definite guiding and inspiring influence over his life.

Unorganized religiosity must be, it seems, the necessary precursor of organized religion; it is its larval stage. But it does not by any means disappear from society when a system of definite relations with gods, or with impersonal sources of religious inspiration, has been developed. In all societies there is always a large number of people who live in the limbo of organized religion. They are open to the influence of religious agents, in which they believe more or less cold-heartedly, without ever entering into definite and fixed relations with them.

The adjectives *passive* and *active* might be used to separate amorphous from organized religion, i. e., the feeling-attitude from the behavior. "Passive," used in this connection, would mean simply that the person does not actively seek those advantages the gods might procure, but is content to be acted upon by them.

II. THE NATURE AND THE FUNCTION OF RELIGION

The organized, historical religions are sufficiently described, in their objective aspect, as systems of practical relations with unseen, hyperhuman, and personal beings. The experiences in which this type of religion consists, when subjectively considered, are the states of consciousness correlated with the aforesaid relations. Judged according to this definition, several savage tribes, and a very large number of persons among civilized peoples, would have to be accounted non-religious. Most of them may, however, lay claim to what we have called "passive religiosity." In these concluding pages we propose to give increased precision and coherence to the conception of religion presented in this paper. We shall do so under two heads, (1) passive, and (2) godless religions.

1. Andrew Lang's polemic against Frazer's definition of religion will serve as a convenient text for the introduction of what we wish to say under the first head. According to the habit of anthropologists, Frazer has put forward as the mark of religion the *propitiation or the conciliation* of personal beings superior to man and believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life. Lang objects, and very properly, that this definition is too narrow. "I mean by 'religion,' says he, what Mr. Frazer means and more. The conciliation of higher powers by prayer and sacrifice is religion, but it need not be the whole of religion. The belief in a higher power who sanctions conduct and is a father and a loving one to mankind is also religion,"⁶ although it should not be accompanied by request for benefits. The presence in the higher societies and even at the dawn of civilization of persons strangers to any religious rite, yet influenced by a belief in divine beings, cannot be denied. With regard to the most barbarous of the Australian savages Howitt writes: "If religion is defined as being the formulated worship of a divinity, then these savages have no religion; but I venture to assert that it can be no longer maintained that they have no belief which can be called religion, that is, in the sense of beliefs which govern tribal and individual morality under a supernatural sanction."⁷ The reader will remember that we included under the term religion the amorphous relations to which Howitt alludes. But the difference, objective and subjective, between the organized religions, let us say that of Saint Ignatius and the guiding and restraining influence exercised upon an African savage or a Parisian deist by the apprehension of a Great Ruler, justifies the use of the differentiating appellations, "passive and active religion."

We take this opportunity of remarking how difficult it is even for particularly clear-headed persons to keep religion distinct from philosophy. Lang was ill-advised enough to write in the same place, "If men believe in a potent being who originally made or manufactured . . . things, that is an idea so far religious that it satisfies, by the figment of a supernatural agent, the speculative faculty." What

⁶ *Magic and Religion*, pp. 48, 49, 69.

⁷ "On Some Australian Customs of Initiation," *Jr. of the Anthropol. Inst.*, XIII (1883-84), p. 459.

has "the speculative faculty" to do with religion? As little as the gratification of the aesthetic or of any other "faculty," i. e., nothing at all. The outcome of speculative thinking is *philosophy*, of which religion may make use, but that is not a reason for confusing it with philosophy. The religious experience consists not in seeking to understand God, but in fearing him, in feeding upon him, in finding strength and joy in him. If believers in ruling powers may be called religious, it is not because they possess *an idea* of these powers, but in virtue of the guiding and inspiring influence these powers exert upon them.

2. *The Godless Religions*.—We have found it convenient up to this point to speak as if power had to be personal in order to become the center of a religion. That view would exclude original Buddhism, the Religion of Humanity, and several other varieties of mental attitudes generally regarded as religious. The significant fact that until recently every existing historical religion was a worship of a personal divinity, is not a sufficient reason for refusing to recognize other types. The affinity between the worship of a God and certain relations maintained with non-personal sources of power is substantial enough to be recognized by the use of a name common to both.

What are the religions that dispense with a God? Original Buddhism, and the Religion of Humanity formulated by A. Comte, are the only ones possessing a somewhat definite form and organization. The Buddha Gautama discovered offered to man a way of salvation in which the efficient power was not an external, personal power, but an indwelling, psychic principle. But the disciples speedily deified the master who had enjoined them to adore no one, and substituted for his teaching the worship of the God Gautama. So that, almost as soon as born, Buddhism ceased to exist as a godless religion.

"Humanity" is qualified to become the center of a religion because its service accomplishes for man in essence and by similar methods precisely what the acknowledged religions do for their disciples.⁸ I quote from A. Comte, "Around this Real, Great Being, immediate instigator of each individual and collective existence, our feelings and desires center as spontaneously as do our ideas and actions. . . .

⁸ F. Harrison, *Moral and Religious Socialism*, New Year's Address, 1891.

More readily accessible to our feelings, as well as to our thinking [than the chimerical beings of the existing religions], because of an identity of nature which does not preclude its superiority over all its servants, a Supreme Being such as this excites deeply an activity destined to preserve and to improve it [the Supreme Being]."⁹ The claim of original Buddhism and of Comtism to be called religions is, in our opinion, legitimate, because they each provide an inclusive, non-material source of power and a method of drawing upon it.

But the term religion is used by some in a still wider sense. Professor J. R. Seeley, for instance, bestows that valued name upon "any habitual and permanent admiration."¹⁰ Should we concur in this extension, it would be difficult to stop anywhere. We should have to admit almost anything which anyone may have a fancy for designating by that much-abused word, even to "the sense of eternity in connection with our higher experiences" and "the feeling of reality and permanence of all we most value." But since the function of words is to delimitate, one defeats the purpose of language by stretching the meaning of a word until it has lost all precision and unity of meaning. We would therefore throw out of our definition anything which did not include: (1) a belief in a great and superior psychic power—whether personal or not; (2) a dynamic relation—formal and organized or otherwise—between man and that higher power tending to the preservation, the increase, and the ennobling of life. This conception is broad enough to include even the uncrystallized form of religion conditioned, in the words of Professor James, by "an assurance that this natural order is not ultimate, but a mere sign or vision, the external staging of a many-storied universe, in which spiritual forces have the last word and are eternal."

Active religion may properly be looked upon as that portion of the struggle for life, in which use is made of the power we have roughly characterized as psychic and superhuman, and for which other adjectives, "spiritual," "divine," for instance, are commonly used. In this biological view of religion, its necessary and natural spring is the same as that of non-religious life, the "will to live" in its multi-

⁹ A. Comte, *Catechisme Positiviste*, ed. Apostolique (1891), pp. 53, 55.

¹⁰ *Natural Religion*, Macmillan (1882), p. 74.

form appearances, while the ground of differentiation between the religious and the secular is neither specific feelings nor emotions, nor yet distinctive impulses, desires, or purposes, but the nature of the force which it is attempted to press into service. The current terms, "religious feeling," "religious desire," "religious purpose," are deceptive if they are supposed to designate affective experiences, desires and purposes met with only in religious life.

The conception of the source of psychic energy, without the belief in which no religion can exist, has undergone very interesting transformations in the course of historical development. The human or animal form ascribed to the gods in the earlier religions became less and less definite. At the same time the number of gods decreased. The culmination of this double process was Monotheism, in which the One, Eternal, Creator and Sustainer of life was no longer necessarily framed in the shape of man or beast: though still anthropopathic he might be formless. Sympathy, love, and justice were among his attributes. In a second phase, this formless, but personal, God was gradually shorn of all the qualities and defects which make individuality. He became the passionless Absolute in which all things move and have their being. Thus, the personifying work of centuries is undone, and humanity, after having, as it were, lived throughout its infancy and youth under the controlling eye and with the active assistance of personal divinities, on reaching maturity finds itself bereft of these sources of life. The present religious crisis marks the difficulty in the way of an adaptation to the new situation. As belief in a God seems no longer possible, man seeks an impersonal, efficient substitute, belief in which will not mean disloyalty to science. For man will have life, and have it abundantly, and he knows from experience that its sources are not only in meat and drink, but also in "spiritual faith." It is this problem which the Comtists, the Immanentists, the Éthical Culturists, the Mental Scientists are all trying to solve. Any solution will have the right to the name religion that provides for the preservation and the perfectionment of life by means of faith in an hyperhuman, psychic power.

CRITICAL NOTES

THE READING OF SCRIPTURE IN THE CHURCH IN THE SECOND CENTURY

Christianity did not start out as a new religion without predecessor, antecedents, or presuppositions. It was not possible in the earliest gatherings of Christians for the purpose of worshipping God, to avoid a connection with the services in the Jewish synagogues. The forms of the synagogue were for the Jew who had become a Christian, and who at first as a Christian also remained a Jew, the only forms of worship known, saving always the temple services which were not transferable to other places of worship. The necessary consequence must have been that the earliest assemblies of Christians adopted as nearly as circumstances permitted the forms of synagogue services. In the synagogue the reading of the Old Testament held, if I mistake not, the chief place. That was the part of the services in which God spoke to man. This is often too much overlooked in studying the worship of the early Christians.

Given then this continuation of accustomed forms in passing from Judaism to Christianity I think it is necessary further to emphasize the likelihood that the same forms were observed in gentile Christian churches. For the gentile Christians had in some cases been Jewish proselytes, and in some cases may have gone as Christians to the synagogue which was open to all. At any rate the apostles, the itinerant preachers, or missionaries who converted them would have handed on to them the forms to which they were themselves accustomed.

The services of the first Christians were then doubtless in an eminent sense services of the word, thoroughly in the sense of the reformers of the sixteenth century. The almost inevitable result of the succession to the synagogue must have been the determining of the Scripture passages to be read in the same way as they had been determined in the synagogue. So far as the sections of the law and the prophets were fixed in the synagogue, and so far as the various Christian communities had the necessary rolls at command, the churches probably read the same lessons. There was nothing to suggest anything else to them. The messianic portions of prophecy were not less cherished by the Jews than by the Christians.

Paul Glaue habilitated last year, that is to say became Privatdozent for theology in the University of Giessen, and chose for his theme this

subject.¹ He discusses the reading of Scripture in the synagogue up to the time of Jesus, and then in the Christian churches of the apostolic and sub-apostolic ages in Rome about 150 A.D., and the statements about the reading until the rise of the Old Catholic church. Before leaving the question of the reading in the synagogue, the author tells us (p. 11, note) how Jesus studied the Scriptures. If he had not some private source of information of which I have never heard, he should have put these statements down with more reserve. On the other hand he thinks it necessary to prove that Jesus presupposed for the Jews, and the apostles, especially Paul, for their hearers and readers a knowledge of the Old Testament, which is scarcely necessary. Passing to the apostolic age, we find on p. 17, note 23, a very good remark upon the preaching of the earliest apostles as undoubtedly echoed in the Gospel of Matthew with the: "Thus was fulfilled," "Thus it was written," inasmuch as the reference to the Old Testament was the only way to prove for the Jews the messiahship of Jesus.

Strangely enough the author finds it likely that the apostles could not read the Scriptures (p. 18). And that in spite of the fact that he has told us (p. 4, note 6) how often the Jewish boys learned to read, and in the face of his positive statements as to how Jesus studied the Scriptures. He shows on that very page that the children in large towns and the children of parents who had more money were often taught, and yet he seems to forget that the disciples were apparently largely from Capernaum and that at least some of them were not of the poorest class but had their hired servants. So far as we can see, it would be more probable that they should learn to read them than that Jesus, in despised Nazareth, should. Jesus learned to read, therefore they probably learned also. Paul calls himself, not indeed *ἀγράμματος*, but still *ιδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ* (II Cor. 11:6) and yet the author urges this very word *ιδιώτης* in Acts 4:13 against the disciples' ability to read.

On p. 20, note 25, the author says that Jonah was read by Christians in the fifth century on the Wednesday before Easter; he will find Jonah at a later date in the Greek church read on the eve of Easter, which seems to be a more appropriate time; I have noted it in manuscripts. It may be well to add that the lesson from Joel that the author cites from Horne's *Introduction*, as used by the Karaite Jews in the Crimea at Whitsuntide, is also used and has long been used by the Greek church on the eve of Whitsunday; I noted it a year or so ago in a manuscript of the year

¹ Paul Glaue, *Die Vorlesung heiliger Schriften im Gottesdienste*. I. Teil. Bis zur Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche. Berlin: Alexander Duncker, 1907. v+86 pages. M. 2.

1071. If I am not mistaken the author is too much inclined to limit the Christian services in which the Scriptures were read to Sunday. He refers directly here (p. 21; cf. pp. 82, 83) to the example of the synagogue, but seems to forget that he has on p. 8 and elsewhere shown that the Jews also read the Scriptures on other days than their Sabbath, our Saturday. From what source the author learns that the man in whose house the Christians met was usually the leader of the meetings, as he tells us on p. 22, is not clear to me; and as little do I know how he has learned that at this early date, in the apostolic age, the Christians hired or built larger halls for their meetings, or whence he draws his information about a confirmation of a leader by the founder of the church, and about the "pater ecclesiae." We may conjecture various things of that kind, but it is scarcely prudent to put them down as facts until we have the proofs in our hands. The assumption that in I Cor. 14:26 the psalm was one of the man's own composition, and this too where "everybody," "each," brought a psalm, seems to me to be less likely than that it was a self-chosen psalm, one of the many Old Testament psalms, but we really do not know.

The author's knowledge of the fine distinction between the *λόγος γνώσεως* which is "the utterance of insight into God's essence and the internal divine relations, as it is effected and brought to view in the speaker by inspiration," and the *λόγος σοφίας* which is "the announcement of the wise and divinely arranged course of the world and of human fate as the divine revelation makes it known to us in the holy Scriptures,"—this distinction put down as a definite fact strikes one, to say the least, as odd. On pp. 25 and 26 the author labors again, I think for the third time, to prove that the Scriptures really were read in the Christian assemblies. It does not seem to me that Jacoby's and Seyerlen's constructions deserve so much attention as this. On the other hand, however, the author seems to me to have an incorrect conception of the probabilities touching the reading of Paul's epistles, p. 29. He seems to have been led to this view, i.e., to the supposition that these epistles were, so long as Paul lived, read only once, or at most a couple of times on special occasions, by the consideration which he brings on p. 30, that Paul did not intend to have them regarded as of equal value with the lessons from the Old Testament. Yet the author knows very well and treats several times of the different points of view under which writings could come to be read in a Christian meeting. This is again a matter which would have been clearer and more effective if it had been presented by the author once for all, fully, in the right place, and not merely touched here and there in a straggling way. I agree with the author that the Christians probably read the Old Testament at first just as

the Jews did, but I think that he does not bring this point out quite as distinctly or hold to it quite as firmly as he might.

Passing to the subapostolic period and observing that I still am inclined to adhere to the earlier dating of the Revelation, I think that the author presses too much the reading of the lessons in the synagogue by several persons as a contrast to the reader mentioned in Rev. 1:3. In many a small synagogue it is likely that only one person will have been able to read, so that a certain preparation for a reader as a standing official is to be looked for. Yet it is to be emphasized in the contrary direction that, as the author says, the words "the one reading," in Rev. 1:3, do not by any strict necessity compel the office of a reader. The reader may be a single official. But the reading is in any case a reading by a single person. One reads, many hear. Two do not read at once. That may be all that we are to find in this sentence: some one reading, others hearing. The author is perfectly right (p. 37) in opposing Jacoby's view that in I Tim. 4:13 the reading was something new in public worship. But there is no need today of dating the epistles to Timothy and Titus late, for Harnack's chronology of Paul leaves time for them during his life. In consequence it does not seem at all possible to suppose with the author (p. 38) that I Timothy can count any book of the New Testament a part of sacred Scripture.

It would perhaps be better (p. 40) to bring in the reading of the epistles before the reading of the gospels and to place the reading of the gospels at the first as desirable from the point of view that they replaced the gospel by word of mouth. The words of the author imply that without the gospels the Christians only had prophecy, the Old Testament lessons, without fulfilment, whereas they had had, in the living preaching, the fulfilment from the first. The reading of the gospels came in, not to bring for the first time the good news of fulfilment, but to replace the more vivid personal oral announcement of that fulfilment. We should not forget that at first the change was not to be thought of as a very welcome one. The speaker who narrated with the fulness of an evangelist must have seemed much more varied, much more attractive than one who read a brief statement. The wandering preacher was gospel and commentary fused into one.

On p. 41 the reference to papyrus as dear, should be accompanied by the statement that it was the cheap writing material of that day. The description of the way in which books were circulated is not incorrect, although the author appears to presuppose more critical judgment than was in general then to be looked for. My impression is that the churches in those days usually knew very well what they got and how

good it was, but that they were not in a position to have exercised any very great skill in sifting bad from good, had there been great quantities of bad books to attract their attention. On p. 43 the author reaches the thought that the new books replaced the sermon, but he should have given this far earlier. Moreover, he should have distinguished between the sermon as a discussion of an Old Testament text, after the manner of Jesus in the synagogue at Nazareth, or let us say after the custom of today, and the sermon as a gospel, as the living story about Jesus, which has just been mentioned.

In connection with the references to Paul's letters and their acceptance in the church of the second century the author says, on p. 47, that "the position of the growing catholic church over against Paul was by no means a friendly one." That sentence seems to me to be a complete reversal of the facts. There are perhaps one or two authors during the second century who, in the writings that we possess from them, do not refer especially to Paul. But as a rule, from first to last, from Clement of Rome to Irenaeus of Smyrna and Lyons, Paul is the great hold of the Christian churches and the Christian writers. It is true that Marcion liked Paul, but that did not make the church dislike him. Marcion liked and kept the Gospel of Luke. The church did not therefore reject the Gospel of Luke. The heretics used the books of the New Testament because there was nothing else to use, that is to say nothing else normative and of authority to which they could turn. If they made books for themselves, or even concocted gospels of their systems, they based these on the books of the New Testament and did not, so far as can be seen, put their own books in the place of these churchly books. To say that the church was unfriendly to Paul because the heretics were friendly to him and because his advice was "often unintelligible, uncomfortable, and disagreeable" to the rising churches, seems to me to be totally wrong. Paul is and remains for them "the apostle" and they turn to him and his "uncomfortable" books at every moment. The author takes up (p. 48) Clement of Rome, Hermas, the letter of Pliny, and the Teaching of the apostles, even though he says himself that neither Hermas, Pliny, nor the Didache says anything about the reading. But all these belong in the next division of the book, in which the reading of the Scripture in Rome in the year 150 is treated of. The author has apparently not thought over the plan of his discussion beforehand, but has written hit or miss as the points occurred to him.

I do not think that it is right to suppose (p. 49) that Clement's letter was in Corinth put upon the same level as the Old Testament lessons or as the letters of Paul in being read in church. The author refers thereby to the

Codex Alexandrinus, but he should observe that if Clement were to be placed in the series of the New Testament books it should have its position with the letters of the New Testament and not be tacked on after the Revelation. The copying of certain books in the manuscripts of the Bible may well have been for convenience, because they were often read in church, and need not be regarded as a sign that they were held in precisely so high esteem as the books of the New Testament. The author opposes (p. 52, note 65) unnecessarily Probst's application of the beautiful sentence in the letter to Diognetus to the reading in church. The sentence does not say "reading," but it is based upon the fact of law, prophets, gospels, and apostles' tradition being read. The sentence does not speak of worship, yet it is based upon worship.

On pp. 57-62 the author discusses the number of Christians at Rome in the year 150. He thinks there were probably 4,000 and that they were divided into five or six groups for Sunday services, and he places the probable officers before us. Although much in this is mere hypothesis, it is suggestive and may lead to the observation of trifling phrases that will make some points clearer. It cannot for a moment be conceded (p. 63) that Justin Martyr, who had spent so much time in different places, and who was as we know a questioner, and who knew personally so many Christians from many widely separated districts, did not know what the usages in other churches were. On p. 65 the author assumes, I think without reason, that Justin's *Memoirs* included a gospel that is not among our four gospels, and he does not even feel sure that Justin had the Fourth Gospel in his *Memoirs*. The *et*, the "or" in Justin's sentence that they read the *Memoirs* or the Prophets is not to be pressed; the author says himself (p. 67) that the sentence is inexact. He is right in counting the Law as here included under the word Prophets. The question as to when the lessons were defined is not yet settled. The author will perhaps tell us more about it in his continuation. The description of the settling of the canon (p. 84) appears to me to be rather more detailed and certain than the sources would permit it to be. On the whole this book is useful as a brief summing up of the literature upon the question. May the author in the next parts give us a more orderly and a less dogmatical view of the field.

CASPAR RENÉ GREGORY

LEIPZIG, GERMANY

THE MODERN-POSITIVE MOVEMENT IN THEOLOGY¹

No more interesting movement has appeared in the realm of systematic theology in recent years than the attempt of several gifted scholars to find an acceptable *via media* between the extremes of theological contention. So long as theologians could be divided into two parties, one of which was characterized by strict adherence to the principle of authority and the other by a somewhat daring delight in new and untested hypotheses, wholesome progress was difficult. Too much energy must be spent in maintaining or in resisting the weight of authority. Exactly as modern natural science has inherited an antitheological bias, because in the past theologians have obstructed free investigation, so it has been difficult for the scientific movement in biblical and systematic theology to free itself from a polemic attitude toward ecclesiastical devotees. The appearance of this new movement in theology is an indication that in Protestantism the days of party warfare in theology are numbered. The Catholic church, with its ecclesiastical machinery, can prolong the warfare, to the lasting damage of both science and religion. Protestantism cannot follow the uncompromising course of the Roman church, for it has not the necessary ecclesiastical authority. And no more hopeful sign can be observed than this frank abandonment by conservative theologians of a mere formal appeal to authority.

Until recently, the so-called "modern-positive" movement has been most vigorous in Germany. Professor Reinhold Seeberg, the year after the delivery of Harnack's famous lectures on the Nature of Christianity, delivered a similar course, entitled "Die Grundwahrheiten der christlichen Religion." This series of lectures, after passing through four editions in Germany, has been translated in the "Crown Theological Library" series. Professor Seeberg further elaborated his theological ideals in *Die Kirche Deutschlands im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (1903), and in two volumes of essays and addresses, containing primarily theological studies,

¹ *The Fundamental Truths of the Christian Religion*. By Reinhold Seeberg. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908. xiv+331 pages. \$1.25 net.

Zur systematischen Theologie. Abhandlungen und Vorträge. Von Reinhold Seeberg. Leipzig: Deichert, 1909. vi+395 pages. M. 6.60.

Zur Beurteilung der modernen positiven Theologie. Von Martin Schian. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1907. 121 pages. M. 2.80.

Positive Preaching and the Modern Mind. By P. T. Forsythe. New York: Armstrong, 1907. 12+374 pages. \$1.75.

Offenbarung und Wunder. Von W. Herrmann. Giesen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1908. 71 pages. M. 1.40.

the second of which has just appeared. Theodor Kaftan, R. Grützmacher, and Karl Beth have also published systematic treatises dealing with the problem of preserving the "old faith" in a "new theology." A considerable literature has grown out of the movement in Germany.

In English-speaking countries, the same tendencies have been long felt, but have often found somewhat unmethodical and popular expression. The principles of the Ritschlian theology or the philosophical tenets of English Hegelianism have in the main been dominant in efforts at reconstruction. But these types of theology have been viewed with suspicion by both conservatives and liberals because they seemed to be too exclusively subjective either to do justice to the objective revelation which the conservative desires to retain or to the scientific method which is so real to most university men. The Lyman Beecher lectures of Principal Forsythe brought to America a vigorous presentation of the modern-positive ideal which had for two years been attracting attention in Germany. D. S. Cairns's *Christianity in the Modern World* about the same time gave a glimpse of a reconstructed Christianity which should not forsake the supernatural elements of the gospel, but which should also keep in touch with the modern movements of thought. And now we have the translation of Professor Seeberg's Berlin lectures in the widely influential series of the "Crown Theological Library." We may expect that under the stimulus of these publications, there will be a general recognition of the fact that the new age demands a new theology. The great question will be as to the nature of this new theology?²

* Of the books reviewed in this article, *The Fundamental Truths of the Christian Religion* is the translation in the "Crown Theological Library" of Seeberg's Berlin lectures of 1901. It is a most readable and engaging discussion of the elements of Christian belief in a spirit of honest inquiry, but with the retention of faith in a supernatural revelation. The brevity of treatment often leaves one in doubt as to just where Dr. Seeberg stands, but this doubt can be removed by other writings of the author. *Zur systematischen Theologie* is a collection of essays and addresses, some of which have previously been published in pamphlet form. Of especial interest are the following titles: "Die Moderne und die Prinzipien der Theologie," "Die Wahrheit des Christentums," "Der evangelische Glaube und die Tatsachen der Heilsgeschichte," and "Die kirchlich-soziale Idee und die Aufgaben der Theologie der Gegenwart." Schian has given an admirable survey and criticism of the modern-positive movement in a collection of essays, two of which had been previously published in periodicals. The title of the pamphlet, *Zur Beurteilung der modernen positiven Theologie*, indicates the nature of his critical investigations. He finds that the modern-positive school is genuinely interested in making Christianity intelligible to the modern world, but that its main sympathy is with the orthodox conception of supernatural redemption rather than with the inductive spirit of the modern world. Principal Forsythe's Lyman Beecher lectures treat the matter from the point of view of the preacher, but he attempts

What, then, so far as they can be gathered from these publications are the fundamental principles of the movement? The most important is the complete abandonment of that conception of biblical authority which has been dominant in historical Christianity. Seeberg distinctly calls this view an "error,"³ and rejoices that we are in a position to make a better use of the Bible than to cite proof-texts. Forsythe utters scathing criticisms of orthodoxy, which he calls "canned theology gone stale."⁴ The older effort to construct a system of theology from mere external authority is seen to be scholastic, and sterile. We must have a religious message which will seem real to men of the twentieth century. And this means that the right of actual experience to determine theological results is admitted. If a biblical doctrine has not the inherent power to compel from men a recognition of its truth, no appeal to authority can revivify it. The far-reaching consequences of this position are evident. It makes a place for that freedom which is the charter of modern scholarship, and it must in consequence make positive use of the well-established results of scholarship.

But the movement is also a protest against the presupposition which reigns in much scientific work of historical theology, that the abandonment of the methods of authority means also the abandonment of the ideal of the supernatural. The word "positive" is intended to mark off this type

to draw the contrast between the "positive" and the "liberal" preacher. For the positive preacher the gospel is a supernatural provision for the salvation of men; for the liberal it is a historical form of religion to be judged by human criticism. The book is written in the author's well-known epigrammatic style; and the effort often seems to be to find picturesque rhetorical contrasts rather than to investigate the subject under discussion. The following will illustrate the distinction which Dr. Forsythe draws between the two forms of theology: "The methods differ in their start, then. The one begins with man, the other with God; the one with science and sentiment, the other with the gospel; the one with the healthy heart and its satisfaction, the other with its ruined conscience and its redemption. The one begins with the world (as I say), the other with the Word" (p. 249). Herrmann's pamphlet contains a revised edition of his address on Revelation, published in 1887, and his address before the theological conference at Giessen in June, 1908, entitled, "*Der Christ und das Wunder*." It is of especial interest as showing his own attitude toward the position of Seeberg. While admitting that Seeberg is not far distant from him in the matter, both passing from the inner experience of redemption to a consequent reverent and expectant attitude toward the Bible, Herrmann feels that we must always make the certainty of experience primary, while Seeberg inclines to pass from this experience to a primary emphasis on the objective miraculous elements of redemption-history.

³ *The Fundamental Truths of the Christian Religion*, p. 108.

⁴ *Positive Preaching and the Modern Mind*, p. 203.

of theology from the extreme liberalism which comes to "negative" conclusions concerning many of the central doctrines of Christianity. To use Kaftan's phrase, it is the "modern theology of the old faith" which is to be expounded. And this "old faith" is faith in a supernatural revelation and a supernatural redemption. As Forsythe puts it, "For the positive theologian the course of history has been chiefly determined by the due intervention of supernatural and incomparable factors" (p. 219). "The positivity of the gospel means the effectual primacy of the given" (p. 211). Hence criticism must not be allowed to eliminate all objectivity to the gospel. "Of course a modern positivity admits the reason as a critic of the Bible, of mere sacred history, but not of the holy gospel. The gospel which recreates our moral experience in the end criticizes us. We cannot judge our judge" (Forsythe, p. 219). The movement is thus in close sympathy with orthodoxy, in so far as the latter insists upon an external revelation as the basis for belief. Man would never have come to an adequate conception of God by the natural growth of experience. The thought of God must be "given to man from outside" (Seeberg, *Fundamental Truths*, p. 10). This positive objectivity of the gospel seems to save us from the necessity for beginning over again our theological task. The *Heilstatsachen* are already provided. Theology has only to expound their significance.

The all-important question is how we are to determine the objective content of the "gospel." Under the theory of biblical infallibility the problem was easily solved. But if we admit the right of critical scholarship how can we be sure what elements of the biblical narrative will survive the test? The representatives of the modern-positive movement generally follow the Ritschlian school in declaring that we cannot expect historical criticism to give us the gospel. Criticism can establish indubitably that the writers of the New Testament believed in a supernatural Christ who brought a supernatural redemption to men. "But these are not the prime questions. If they were, our faith would be at the mercy of the critics. The great question is, Did he (Christ) really do the things the apostles believed? Was he really what he held himself to be?" (Forsythe, p. 275) The answer to this question, as Forsythe declares, following Theodor Kaftan, must be "dogmatic." What is meant by this we must examine a little in detail.

No man can be absolutely free from presuppositions in dealing with the traditional beliefs of Christianity. He will be either predisposed to credit them or he will be prejudiced against them. Whether one takes a priori a favorable or an unfavorable attitude constitutes the "dogmatic" element in the decision. Now if because of one's religious experience one

has come to have a certainty of the presence of God in his life, it is easy to believe in the genuineness of the biblical accounts of the intervention of God in the events of the world. Seeberg, in his address, "Der evangelische Glaube und die Tatsachen der Heilsgeschichte," (*Zur systematischen Theologie*, pp. 127 ff) depicts the process, perhaps biographically, as follows:

I came into the presence of the traditions of the church. These seemed strange. They belonged to a past age. I found a protest arising within myself at the very thought of believing this supernatural account of things. Then something happened. The words which had been said to me were transformed into living power; their complexity was changed to simplicity. I did not bring this about myself, and no man was the cause of it. The will of God in his omnipotence penetrated into my heart. The complexity of tradition gained power and unity by becoming means for the activity of God (p. 140).

This inexplicable transformation Seeberg declares is a miracle. He has therefore experienced a miracle in his life; and it is no longer incredible that miracles should have occurred at other times in the history of the world. He can now read the Bible and the gospel with a confidence in its supernatural power. This confidence is constantly verified by his religious experience. Thus, the personal experience of a miracle is the prerequisite to the confident affirmation of the miraculous *Tatsachen* on which Christian theology must build. We may thus oppose a supernatural bias born of genuine experience to the antinatural bias of negative criticism. Seeberg carries this principle so far that he can declare that miracles were limited to the biblical times because of the contemporary religious needs which are not paralleled in modern times.

Forsythe, in a similar way, affirms the possession of a superior standard of criticism due to religious experience.

The man, the church that is in living intercourse with the risen Christ, is in possession of a fact of experience as real as any mere historic fact, or any experience of reality, that the critic has to found on and make a standard. And with that experience a man is bound to approach the critical evidence of Christ's resurrection in a different frame of mind from the merely scientific man who has no such experience (p. 276).

On the basis of this present experience of the supernatural it becomes possible to affirm belief in the objective reality of the supernatural facts on which Christian redemption is founded. This does not necessarily carry with it the affirmation of the historicity of all the biblical narratives. It simply affirms the miraculousness of the redemption history contained in the Bible. This history culminates in Christ, who is the miraculous incarnation of divine power, and by virtue of whose work we may be redeemed.

Thus to Jesus Seeberg ascribes omnipotence, limited, indeed, by his human organism, but actually his. The real Jesus is to be found in the "God-will that guides the history of mankind." This God-will "fashioned the man Jesus as its organ and as the clear and definite expression of its being. . . . What He felt, willed, thought, said, and did, was worked in Him by the personal God-will that dwelt in Him." Although Seeberg constantly and powerfully depicts the moral achievement of Jesus, he nevertheless leaves us in some perplexity as to whether this achievement is the outcome of a real moral development, or whether it is a supernatural manifestation of virtue in human form. Could the man Jesus help working out the indwelling God-will? Was there any human will at all in the union of this God-will with the man miraculously created to be its "organ?" Can this supernaturalism be maintained without a more or less explicit docetism? On this point one cannot help feeling that Seeberg is constantly wavering between two different conceptions of salvation—between the orthodox Lutheran ideal of sacramental transformation and the Ritschlian ideal of inner awakening due to the moral power of the inner life of Jesus. Seeberg thus retains the objective metaphysical deity of Jesus, but at the expense of casting suspicion on the genuineness of the psychological experience of Jesus. Forsythe likewise insists that the deity of Christ, not his human moral achievement, is the foundation-stone of Christianity. But he finds the real center of Christianity pre-eminently in the cross. He demands that we shall preach a "real, objective and finished redemption."

The real acting person in the cross was God. Christ's death was not the sealing of a preacher's testimony; it altered from God's part the whole relation between God and man forever. It did not declare something, or prove something, it achieved something decisive for history, nay for eternity (p. 358).

The peculiarity of the movement is that it employs the Ritschlian method of determining theological doctrines by religious valuation, as a means of affirming historical "facts." It regards value-judgments as adequate to establish the objective existence of supernatural cosmic forces. Seeberg takes the content of traditional theology as a whole and affirms the truth of all which may receive positive religious value. Forsythe selects the cross as the central element. The positivist emphasizes certain "facts" or "deeds" or "truths" as elemental where Herrmann points to the inner life of the personality of Jesus. Thus, while the general content of the modern-positive theology is not so very far from that of the conservative Ritschlian, there is really a fundamental difference. This difference grows out of the fact that the ultimate realities to which the positivist appeals are historical and cosmic "facts," while the ultimate reality for the Ritschlian

is inner spiritual life. We may put the issue as follows: Does Christianity bring to us a mysterious transformation due to the transcendent supernatural efficacy of certain *Heilstatsachen*? Or does Christianity stimulate the inner spiritual apprehension of man so that he grows into psychological possession of the reality which Jesus embodied? Does Christianity mean that we have faith in Christ or that we share the faith of Christ?

The positivist would exalt religion by making it essentially the product of supernatural forces. Religion thus gives us something better than we could expect from the evolutionary process of the universe. God stoops down and lifts us up into another world. It is not enough to find a symbolic significance in the cross, by which its moral influence becomes potent. The cross "did not declare something—it achieved something." It is not sufficient to affirm the deity of Jesus as a valuation of his character. Jesus must be affirmed to possess divine omnipotence. In the *Heilstatsachen* is thus deposited an actual divine potency.

Now this is precisely what the Catholic affirms concerning the sacrament. It is not enough to make the sacrament a mere symbol. The Catholic would say that the sacrament "does not declare something—it achieves something." To reduce it to a symbol of the inner spiritual life seems to the Catholic to be cutting oneself off from the sure objective foundations of regeneration. No actual physical grace enters into man unless we can affirm the real presence of divinity in the sacrament. But Protestantism generally abandoned this realistic conception of the sacrament. To be sure this abandonment has been slowly accomplished. Both Luther and Calvin felt that to reduce the efficacy of the sacrament to a value-judgment would mean the elimination of its redemptive power. Christ must be physically or at least spiritually present in the bread and wine in order to justify men in a religious use of the sacrament.

But it is hard to see why the same process which has eliminated the belief in a "real presence" in the sacrament should not apply equally to the *Heilstatsachen* of the modern positivist. If, as Forsythe says, the cross makes it possible for God to forgive me as it would not have been possible if Christ had not died on the cross, have we not a counterpart of the Catholic doctrine of the localization of God's grace in a definite material event? Why should not Protestant theology do in this case exactly what it has done in the case of the sacrament? Why should not the cross become the symbol of a religious experience which comes not from a magical external cause, but from an actual sharing of the moral and religious devotion for which the cross stands? If it is a gain to put a universal human experience in the place of a peculiar magical efficacy in the case of the sacrament, why is it not also a gain in the doctrine of the atonement? The whole trend of

modern discussion points in the direction of just this change. "The cross on Calvary can never save thy soul; the cross in thine own heart alone can make thee whole."

And can we ultimately escape the same development of religious thought in the doctrine of the incarnation? Is it because of a divine "substance" or "nature" that Jesus is able to bring to man redemption? Is the metaphysical substance of the Chalcedonian Christ more divine than the moral achievement of Jesus of Nazareth? If it is desirable to substitute the spiritual value of the sacrament for the doctrine of transubstantiation, why is it not also better to find the real grandeur of Christ in that which directly commands our moral and religious adoration rather than in a mysterious substance which must be metaphysically defined in order to be pronounced divine?

It would seem, then, that the logic of the position of this interesting movement in theology must drive it to a deeper evaluation of the religious life, than is found in the present dependence on *Heilstatsachen*. Just as Luther insisted on retaining the belief in the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, although the religious efficacy of the sacrament for him actually demanded no such guarantee, so the momentum of past realism in theology makes the transition to the religion of the spirit a slow process. We retain certain realistic supernatural elements in our theology long after we have outgrown the actual need for them. But confidence in Protestant circles is to be secured not by holding to a *few* redemptive facts in contrast to the *many* of strict orthodoxy. If salvation must come essentially by miracle, then the religion which can provide the most miracles is the best. Catholicism will prove itself far more satisfactory than "modern positivism" to those who hold this point of view. If, on the other hand, one comes to believe that God may be found in the normal process of events, that ordinary bread and wine with no magical qualities may be a genuine means of enabling the soul of man to find God, that the cross by its moral significance has power to summon men to moral transformation, that Jesus, by the glory of his spiritual achievement in human history brings the supreme revelation of God, then one abandons the attempt to find a supernatural metaphysical vocabulary to express something better than spiritual values. The modern-positive movement is significant in its willingness to pass from the position of external guarantees to one of trust in the voluntary affirmations of man in his spiritual struggles. When once confidence shall be placed here, theology will be no more disturbed by changes in its conclusions than is science at the revision of its hypotheses.

GERALD BIRNEY SMITH

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

EERDMANS' INTERPRETATION OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF ISRAEL

In the first *Heft* of his *Alttestamentliche Studien*, reviewed in this *Journal* (October 1908, pp. 637 ff.), Professor Eerdmans applied a new analytical key to the problem of Genesis. It is his purpose to carry his principle through the remaining books of the Hexateuch. First, however, he finds it necessary to discuss "Die Vorgeschichte Israels,"¹ in order to reach correct views of the political and social condition of the people in the pre-Mosaic age.

A preliminary polemic is directed against certain present-day tendencies which would reduce the patriarchs to humanized gods (pp. 5 ff.), or mythological figures (pp. 14 ff.), or personified reflections of ethnological and religious movements, conditions, and institutions of the regal period (pp. 28 ff.). On the basis of this Eerdmans develops his own position. He readily acknowledges that "exact history, as we understand the term," is not to be looked for in the deposits of ancient tradition (p. 26). In this region "imagination always plays a highly significant rôle." Not only are mythical motives woven into the texture, and other "fabulous" elements incorporated from alien sources, but reflections from a later age are by no means infrequent (pp. 26 ff.). Eerdmans cites the local and tribal traditions which have gathered round the figures of Lot, Shechem, Ishmael, and Esau; the promises to the patriarchs, which "undoubtedly presuppose a later date;" as well as the explicit references in Gen. 27:29; 36:31; etc., to historical facts and conditions of the early monarchy (pp. 28 f.). But from this it by no means follows that these early traditions are robbed of all historical value. Traditions passing from generation to generation "often contain real historical reminiscences" (p. 27). "The period of the judges and kings has no doubt left its influence on the narratives, but one has to reach back to an earlier age to understand their origin" (p. 34.) "The personalities themselves are not invented by legend. Rather, those who can tell stories about their fore-fathers at their gatherings together, though they may spin the most incredible legends about them, yet attach these to the names which their fathers have already known, and to which tradition assigns the origin of the clan or family" (p. 49).

¹ *Alttestamentliche Studien*. Von B. D. Eerdmans, ord. Professor der Theologie in Leiden. "Die Vorgeschichte Israels." Giessen: Töpelmann, 1908. 88 pages. M. 2.50.

It seems to us most unfortunate that Eerdmans should have identified these general principles with his present hostile attitude toward Old Testament criticism. There are, no doubt, critics of repute so sensitive to the honor of "exact history" that they have failed to do justice to oral tradition. But recognition of the value of tradition is not confined to the opponents of modern critical methods. Representative scholars like Schultz, Cornill, Guthe, Driver, and Smith are as ready as Eerdmans to acknowledge that a kernel of solid historical fact underlies all national legend. The question is one of degree rather than fundamental difference of principle. As Eerdmans himself admits, "on the basis of the Old Testament sources alone we cannot reach beyond speculations!" (p. 51). In this wide region, therefore, whatever our critical or anticritical position, room is left for endless diversity of judgment.

The real sting is found in the application. According to Eerdmans, the mass of Old Testament scholars have treated the ancestors of Israel as "pure nomads," an idea, he asserts, no one would gain from the "simple reading" of the legends of Genesis (p. 39). Eerdmans insists that they should be regarded as "semi-nomads." Few would be disposed to quarrel with the term in itself. All scholars are agreed that the Hebrew tribes passed, not at one bound, but through various transitional stages, from the purely nomadic to the fully developed agricultural state. As Eerdmans points out, the term "semi-nomad" has actually been used by Wellhausen, Meyer, and other scholars, to describe the patriarchal conditions of life. In Eerdmans' hands, however, the word assumes a somewhat different complexion. His "semi-nomads" have a heavy list toward the purely "agricultural" side, and this bias is evidently destined to play a large part in his future studies of Old Testament problems. Even Abraham, he maintains, stood far more nearly related to the peasant than to the nomad (p. 40). In the case of Isaac and Jacob the "peasant type" is still more developed. In fact, Isaac is a "settled agriculturalist" (pp. 40 f.), and Jacob and his sons "peasants who change their homes" (p. 42). "The patriarchs are out-and-out settled people, who merely seek for a spot more suitable for their settlement than that which they leave" (p. 43).

We can hardly acquit Eerdmans of begging the whole question. In his statement of general principles he has openly acknowledged that the stories of Genesis do not contain "strict history," but have woven around them a garland of legend, and that reflections of later historical conditions, among other influences, have left their impression on them. In carrying out his principles, however, he abandons the scientific method altogether in favor of the "simple reading" of the stories. But even before this

court of appeal we feel he has failed to substantiate his case. In the stories of Genesis, it is true, there are found certain references to the keeping of cattle and oxen, the explicit mention of Isaac's plenteous harvests in Gerar, as well as indications of the use of corn and meal. But these conditions are all perfectly compatible with even a relatively "pure" nomadic state (cf. G. A. Smith's *critique* of Eerdmans' thesis in *Expositor*, September, 1908, pp. 260 ff.), and therefore by no means surprising in the case of tribesmen who have penetrated so far within the confines of civilization. But the broad fact remains that in all the sources of Genesis the patriarchs are portrayed as "dwellers in tents" (the technical term for nomads), wandering easily from place to place and occupied mainly with the tending of flocks. The cases of Nabal and Job, to whom Eerdmans compares the patriarchs, are by no means parallel. Neither of these was a "dweller in tents," or a wanderer from place to place. In spite of Eerdmans' assertion, "settled agriculturalists" do not wander in search of more suitable fields for tillage over ranges so widespread as from Ur to Haran, and Haran to Palestine, or pluck up their stakes so easily as Isaac after his harvesting in Gerar, or move on like Jacob from place to place in Palestine. According to the whole tenor of the stories, the patriarchs were not peasants, but "herdsmen," who were guided in their migrations chiefly by consideration of the exigencies of their flocks (cf. 13:5 ff.; 26:19 ff.; 37:12 ff.; 47:1 ff.). To Pharaoh they describe themselves as "shepherds, both we and our fathers" (47:3). Eerdmans can only turn the force of this direct statement by the strange suggestion that Joseph intended to mislead the Egyptians as to their true character and calling, lest they might press them, as they afterward actually did, into servile labors at uncongenial tasks (p. 42)!

Although Professor Eerdmans is able to draw from the stories of Genesis so certain conclusions as to the social condition of the early Hebrews, he admits that on this basis alone "we cannot reach beyond speculations." "Fortunately the Egyptian monuments come in at this point to fill up the gap" (p. 51),—but really to confirm Eerdmans' reading of the history! A number of responsible scholars have found in the Tel-el-Amarna letters parallel testimony to the earlier Hebrew invasion of Palestine. Eerdmans rejects, out and out, the identification of Chabiri with חַבְרִי. The *Ch*, he admits, corresponds to Heb. ח; but "*ha* never stands for an *i* or *e*" (p. 64). Surely Professor Eerdmans has overlooked the "Chatti" (mentioned so frequently in the letters) who appear in Hebrew as חַתִּי. He himself identifies the Chabiri—which he suggests may be a corruption of Cha-wi-ri—with the native population of Palestine. But this is hardly in keeping with the facts that the Chabiri appear alongside

of the Chatti and Suti, both certainly foreign invaders, and that the native population is elsewhere in the letters spoken of as Amurrû in the north, and Kinahhâiû in the south. Eerdmans rejects as decisively the proposed connection of 'i-s-ru with the land of Asher (pp. 65 ff.). For him the decisive testimony is found on the Stele of Merenptah, where the spoiling of Israel's land is celebrated alongside of the devastation of Libya and the Hittite territory, and the capture and destruction of Gezer, Ashkalon, and Jenu'am. It is historically impossible to refer this raid to any date after the Exodus. To Eerdmans it seems equally impossible to identify the "Israel" of the Stele, as Spiegelberg and Flinders Petrie do, with some portion of the people left behind in the migration to Egypt (pp. 55 ff.). We are shut up to the view, therefore, that the Egyptian invasion took place *before* the migration of Israel to Egypt (p. 67). This alternative Professor Eerdmans finds perfectly in harmony with his "agricultural" theory of early Israel. At this time the people were in possession of definite territory, which foreign invaders found it worth their while to devastate. The migration to Egypt must then be placed in the reign of Septah (*ca.* 1210 B. C.). Eerdmans finds a striking confirmation of his theory in the Papyrus Harris, which records that about this time Egypt was reduced to a condition of absolute chaos, when "each killed the other among noble and mean," and Arisu, a Syrian, "made the whole land tributary to himself" and his companions, and "treated the gods in the same manner as they treated the people," until a new king arose who "cut off the abominable who were in Egypt, and purified the great throne of Egypt" (p. 68). He admits the difficulty of identifying Arisu with Joseph, but finds in the conditions described "entire harmony with what we learn from the stories of Joseph" (p. 68). In the same way, the 'Apiru who figure on the Egyptian monuments down to the reign of Ramses IV are found to correspond to the children of Israel in every respect—"in date, character and name" (pp. 52 ff.). Accordingly, the Exodus is brought down to the year 1130 B. C. or thereabouts (p. 74).

In support of his theory of the "settled agricultural" condition of the patriarchs Professor Eerdmans pled only for a "simple reading" of the stories of Genesis. To this principle he now sits very loosely indeed. It requires a very considerable stretch of imagination to find in the simple household of Jacob, as portrayed in Genesis, a warlike people whose defeat and spoliation are worthy to be inscribed on the triumphal stele of the king of Egypt, or the "entire harmony" which Eerdmans so positively asserts between the conditions described on the Papyrus Harris and the picture of Egypt set forth in Genesis. Still more unwarranted are the liberties which Eerdmans takes with the dates of the Old Testa-

ment. He no doubt recognizes, with other scholars, that the chronological notices in Genesis belong to a later source. But the documents whose value Eerdmans professes to champion so strongly against the dominant critical school certainly lend no support to his view that the wanderings in the wilderness, the confused struggles of the judges, and the establishment of the kingdom were all compressed within a period of 125-130 years! The charge this critic of the critics levels against Steuernagel recoils upon his own head: "He takes from the stories only what suits his own ends, and for the rest simply goes his own way" (p. 35). Eerdmans' method of harmonizing his own personal interpretations of the monuments with the "simple reading" of Genesis is fundamentally false. Progress in historical knowledge demands far more exact scientific treatment of the texts.

ALEX. R. GORDON

PRESBYTERIAN COLLEGE
MONTREAL, CAN.

SOME RECENT BOOKS ON THE OLD TESTAMENT

Dr. Rothstein, a teacher in a *Gymnasium* in Berlin, with the assistance of his brother, J. W. Rothstein, the well-known professor of theology in Halle, has published a textbook for instruction in the Old Testament in the German schools.¹ Part I discusses briefly in the introduction the place of the Old Testament in the plan of instruction, and the Old Testament as a source of the history of Israel's religion. The history proper is discussed in thirteen sections, viz., I, The times before Moses; II, the foundation of the Jahwe religion by Moses; III, the conquest of Canaan and its consequences; IV, Israel united in the kingdom and divided; V, religious syncretism in the ninth century, reaction against it, early prophecy; VI, Amos and Hosea; VII, Prophets in Judah in the eighth century; VIII, Manasseh and Josiah; IX, Jeremiah and his times; X, the Exile; XI, the Jewish community to ca. 300 B. C.; XII, its religious life; XIII, from 300 B. C., to the time of Jesus. In each section political history is briefly described, then the religion of the period is expounded. Notes and explanations follow. The appendix contains a table of the history of Old Testament literature and brief notes on Palestinian geography and archaeology.

Part II presents the sources, selections from the Old Testament in the main, supplemented by non-biblical Jewish and other important outside material, Assyrian, Egyptian, etc. It is divided in four sections: (1) From

¹ *Unterricht im Alten Testament*. Von Dr. Gustav Rothstein. I, "Hülfsbuch für den Unterricht im Alten Testament." M. 2.60. II, "Quellenbuch für den Unterricht im Alten Testament." M. 2.60. Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1907. I, x + 230 pages; II, xii + 216 pages. M. 2.40 each.

Moses to the establishment of the kingdom; (2) From *ca.* 900–500 B. C.; (3) 500 B. C. to the time of Jesus; (4) Beginnings of history. Explanations and discussions are given in notes. The selection seems to be on the whole excellent. Only the most important sources are quoted, the parallels to the early chapters of Genesis being naturally the fullest. They are given not to satisfy idle curiosity, but to lead to a correct appreciation of Israel's religion in comparison with the religion of related nations with a high degree of culture (II, p. v.). Outside influences are carefully noted and weighed (e. g., in the fine discussion of the beginnings of history in Part I, pp. 17 ff.).

The two books are a fine example of the constructive work that is being done in Germany now. While the political history of Israel and the literary features of the Old Testament are not neglected, all is subordinate to the primary purpose of biblical instruction. It aims to give the student an insight into the religious history of Israel from the beginning to the time of Jesus. The attitude of the author to the Old Testament is reverent. His positions are critical, but not radical. For example, in regard to the work of Moses, messianic passages in Isaiah, and individualistic psalms, the views given are fairly conservative. Some statements of the author will undoubtedly be questioned, e. g., that we find before Amos the teaching that Jahwe's power is not limited to Israel and that his union with Israel is not indissoluble (I, p. 55), that all the sources of the Hexateuch began with a story of creation (I, p. 156). It seems evidently getting to be a dogma, that there never was religious doubt in Israel (II, p. 175). The language of the book is clear and chaste, the style good. One slip we have noticed in I, p. 122: the most important of the two is Isaiah.

Undoubtedly the weakest part of the work is the plan. If the books are to be used as textbooks together, the arrangement should have been parallel and the smaller sections numbered in succession on the margin. It is exceedingly difficult to refer to the different parts of the books under the present arrangement. Both books have full tables of contents, the second an index of passages. Part I should have had an index. These defects can easily be remedied in the promised second edition of the book, which, we hope, will come soon.

We would like very much to see the book translated into English, not only for college students, but also for those who seek accurate information in popular form about the results of critical work.

In Dr. Genung's commentary^a 108 pages are given to Leviticus, and

^a *An American Commentary on the Old Testament. Leviticus and Numbers.* By George F. Genung, D.D. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publishing Society, 1907. xvi + 144 pages.

144 to Numbers. In the short introductions (Lev., pp. i-xvi; Num., pp. i-x) the names of the two books, contents, divisions, authorships, influence, and present value are discussed. The author holds a moderately critical position, quoting with approval Kautzsch (Lev., p. vii.: Deuteronomy, Ezek., chaps. 40-48, "Law of Holiness," "Priests' Code"); though at times he loses patience with minute criticism and "reconstructions of Israelitish history concocted in German brains" (*ibid.*). His remarks on the influence and present value of the books are excellent. Both the English versions are printed in the commentary in parallel columns. This waste of space hardly commends itself. If any revision of the King James text is employed, why was not the American revision selected? In a few places (words of Balaam) the commentator prints his own careful translation in the footnotes, or quotes George A. Smith (Num. 21:27 ff.). The comments are full and to the point. The author aims evidently at a psychological and rational explanation of the ceremonies. He criticizes the extreme of old typology, as having "perhaps fallen into an error in supposing that the older sacrifice foreshadows Christ by its form rather than by its effect on men." (Lev., p. 18.) On the other hand, he does not altogether escape the danger of attributing to the old Hebrews modern ideas. One often misses the spirit of a historian in the exposition. The Balaam section, in some respects the best part of the commentary, is a striking example (cf. also Num., pp. vii, 40, 82, etc.).

The author states (on Lev. 10:8 ff.) that "שֵׂכָרִי designates any kind of strong beverage except wine made from the grape" (but cf. Num. 28:7, 14). What "rites redolent with chemico-ethical suggestion" mean we do not understand (Num., p. 74). That "Hor" means mountain (*ibid.*, p. 79) is doubtful. The explanation of the names "Elohim" and "Jehovah" (*ibid.*, p. 89) is too fanciful. That Mic. 6:8 quotes Balaam or is inspired by some unknown saying of Balaam (*ibid.*, p. 90) is rather fantastic. In defending the war of extermination against Midian (*ibid.*, p. 122) the author tries to prove too much.

The commentary is written in a lucid style, though occasionally one meets with a curious phrase like the offensive reference to "reconstructions concocted in German brains" (Lev., p. vii; cf. Num., p. xi), a "sight, which tends to picturableness in terms of visible form" (Num., p. 48), "the figure interpretable as Messianic" (*ibid.*, p. 102). The print is very small. There is some carelessness in printing Hebrew words and their transliteration: *hîqtîr* (Lev., p. 21), *qārbān*? (Lev., p. 20), *mînc'hāh* (p. 22), *minchas* and *mîmchahs* (*ibid.*, p. 36), *פִּחֵי* (p. 39), etc. The commentary is evidently intended for the general reader rather than the critical scholar, and is a good,

popular exposition, which will help those who will use it to find the "living worth and messages" of Leviticus and Numbers "for this late day of the world's unfolding."

The purpose of Dr. Eiselen's commentary on the Minor Prophets,³ according to the preface, is to assist the students of the Bible in English to understand as nearly as possible the thoughts which the prophets desired to express. As in the other volumes of the series the Authorized Version is used as a basis, Jehovah being substituted for Lord. This use of the old version is inexcusable, especially in a commentary on the Prophets. It is true the author quotes the Revised Version frequently or suggests a better rendering of difficult passages. But this device is not sufficient.

Introductions to the individual books are quite exhaustive and careful, dealing with the person of the prophet, the times, contents and outline of the book, the teaching of the book, and its integrity and other general problems. The following dates are given: Hosea, 750-35; Joel, *ca.* 400; Amos, 760-55; Obadiah, soon after 586; Jonah, between 450 and 200; Micah, before 722 (?); Nahum, shortly before 607-6; Habakkuk, shortly before 600; Zephaniah, 630-25; Haggai, 520; Zech., chaps. 1-8, 520-18; chaps. 9-11, after 350; chaps. 12-14, after 450 (?); Malachi, either before 458 or 432. In discussing disputed points the author is very cautious; sometimes he will hardly commit himself. In questions of integrity he is quite conservative; the only important exceptions we have noticed are Mic. 7:7-20; Zeph. 3:14-20, and the Book of Zechariah. Hosea's marriage is held to have actually taken place and then to have served as a means of divine revelation. The locusts of Joel are a real plague, neither allegorical nor apocalyptic. Obad., chaps. 1-9, and Jer. 49:7-12 use an older oracle, likewise Mic. 4:1-5 and Isa. 2:1-4. Jonah is not historical, but didactic. Most of the introductions are excellent, though at times the teachings of the books are forced into a dogmatic scheme (Amos!).

The careful scholarship of the author and his diligent use of literature appear both in the introductions and the commentaries proper, though too technical discussions are naturally excluded. Of course we cannot always agree with the author. That the Baal, against whom Elijah fought, is an entirely different deity from the Baalim (p. 46) we doubt. 𐤁𐤏𐤍 in Hos. 8:5 is taken to be intransitive: "Abominable is thy calf." Is the verb ever so used? Why is it not impersonal, if the author objects to an emendation? (Cf. Mic. 6:8.) That the yoke remains on the animal (Hos. 11:4) when the animal is to be fed, one can hardly believe. The idea that fasting "was to

³ *Whedon's Commentary: Old Testament*. Vol. IX. The Minor Prophets. By Frederick Carl Eiselen. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1907. 741 pages. \$2.

symbolize a spiritual condition, the earnest yearning of the heart which finds expression in right doing" is too modern (p. 160). Do not the prophets rather suggest abstinence from evil-doing as a substitute for abstinence from food? Who ever claimed that Amos is the original founder of Yahwism? (p. 211). The comparison between Micah and Isaiah (p. 373; cf. p. 396) is too general in view of Mic. 3:11 f. and Isaiah's teaching about the inviolability of Jerusalem. The place of Zerubbabel in messianic prophecy is treated in an easy fashion (pp. 570, 636). That legalism was consciously substituted for prophecy that failed (pp. 703 f.) we cannot believe. The apology for Mal. 1:2 f. is rather weak. But during the rapid examination of the book we have found a great deal more that we heartily accept, and indeed admire. The readers, for whom the book is primarily intended, will find rich treasures. The style is simple and flowing, and very interesting. The print (except in the introductions) is rather small but clear. The commentary has a brief, but fairly full index. Considering its purpose, the whole book is an excellent piece of work.

Mr. McWilliam has given us what he modestly calls "plain" lectures on the Minor Prophets.⁴ In the introduction he discusses briefly the prophets in general. Then follow interpretations of the individual prophets: Amos (2 parts), Hosea (2), Micah (4), Zephaniah (2), Nahum (2), Habakkuk (2), Obadiah (2), Haggai (2), Zech., chaps. 1-8 (1), Malachi (2), Joel (2), Zech., chaps. 9-14 (2), Jonah (1). Chronological tables and a brief index conclude the volume. Two historical résumés are inserted in proper place (623-586 B. C. and 586-538 B. C.). The order shows the author's critical position. The work is a fine example of popular interpretation of the Bible; scholarly but not dry, lofty in style and sentiment, but not superficial or affected. Amos and Hosea do not get as much space, in proportion to the other prophets, as they deserve. It is doubtful, if Amos taught "the remnant" (p. 17) or gave a philosophical (!) basis to the religion of Israel. The translation of Mic. 1:8 ff. on p. 57 is quite useful in showing the play on words. The rain in Mic. 5:7 does not illustrate Jacob as a peaceful refreshing influence, but rather suddenness of destruction without human intervention (cf. Marti, *ad loc.*). That the priest was more useful for the continuity of the religion of Jehovah after the exile than the prophet seems to be a curious philosophy of history (p. 259). That Jonah is an allegory of the history of Israel (Exile) is George Adam Smith's theory eloquently and attractively expounded by the author. Yet we cannot accept it. Has there ever been an allegory which has not betrayed its true character by a hint or two?

⁴ *Speakers for God*. By Rev. Thomas McWilliam, M.A. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1907. 356 pages. \$1.

We have noticed only a few expressions that we do not like; repentings (p. 41), religiousness (for religion, pp. 46, 61), "almost bound to have, etc." (p. 100, twice), selfishism (p. 338). The note on Zech. 1:18-21 is not quite clear (p. 240). The volume is instructive and inspiring. Thoughtful people will read it eagerly and will not be satisfied with one reading.

Dr. Haupt holds the Song of Songs⁵ to be a collection of popular wedding or love songs composed in Damascus after 312 B. C. The songs (12) are composed of strophes of two trimeter couplets (=4 half-lines, 3, 3, 3, 3, occasionally 2 for 3); the only exception is X, which has strophes of four couplets with a refrain (also a couplet.) In his translation (pp. 1-20), which follows the meter of the original, Professor Haupt rearranges and cuts down the text quite freely. Copious notes follow the translation (pp. 21-133). A table at the end enables us to compare the new arrangement with the old (Luther's translation).

The breadth of scholarship displayed in the little volume is wonderful with literary parallels ancient and modern, metrical discussions, and arguments from philology, archaeology, exegesis, and natural science.

We admire but cannot feel that all will be found of direct assistance in studying the book (e. g., the long discussion of *כֶּסֶף*, etc., pp. 127 ff.). The author's general view of the book, however, seems most plausible and natural. That the collection comes from Damascus or its neighborhood is possible, but not proved. The reasons given (pp. xx, 39, 51, 101 ff.) are not sufficient. The remarks on the meter (pp. xiv f. and elsewhere) are excellent. The strophic arrangement is as yet a difficult problem. The present form of the text is well-nigh hopeless. Professor Haupt rearranges as follows: I, The bridal procession (3:6, 7, 8b, 9, 10b, 11-4×4 ll.); II, The sword dance of the bride (6:9a, d, b, c; 6:12; 7:1, 7, 5, 4, 9, 6, 2b, 2a, 7×4 ll., transpositions not necessary, hardly an improvement); III, The brothers of the bride (6:2; 7:10; 2:1; 1:5 f.—3×4 ll.; 8:8-10—3×4 ll.; 8:1 f.—2×4 ll., incomplete); IV, I desire nothing but thee (8:11 f.; 6:7 f.—4×4 ll.); V, I will protect thee from all danger (4:8—4+2 ll., incomplete); VI, Beauty of the lover (5:2-5a, d, b, c, 6, 8, 17, 9-12a, d, c, 13-16—15×4 ll.); VII, The bride praises the bridegroom on wedding day (1:16 f.; 2:3-6; 1:12-14, 2-4; 2:16, 17, 7-10×4 ll.); VIII, The charms of the beloved maiden (4:1-4; 1:9, 10 [!]; 4:5, 7; 6:3, f.; 4:9, 10 ab, 11, 10c, 12, 15, 13 f., 16—12×4 ll.; 1:9 f. break up a good connection 4:4+5; even 6:3 f. hardly necessary); IX, The pleasure garden of the bride (bride: 4:17; 7:11-13—3×4 ll.; bridegroom: 6:10; 5:1a—2×4 ll.; bride: 6:1-4 ll.); X, The Spring—the time of love (2:8, 9b, 10-14—3×8+2 ll.); XI,

⁵ *Biblische Liebeslieder*. (Das sogenannte Hohelied Solomos.) Von Paul Haupt. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1907. lvi+133 pages.

Feed thy kids (I, 7 f.—2×4 ll.); XII, Omnia vincit Amor 13:1-4; 8:6 f.—5×4 ll.). The whole scheme is very attractive and reads exceedingly well. But logic (in folksong!) and a theory about the poetic form of the book are not sufficient to justify so radical a treatment of the text.

The translation of 1:16b, "unser Bett wird grünen," and its explanation (pp. 62 f., 124) = "our union will be lasting" are hardly correct in view of vs. 17. The "green bed" = grass is quite usual in poetry. It was hardly necessary to note, that the beloved breathes through her nose especially when being kissed (p. 37). The remark about the American woman on p. 55 is rather out of place; or does Professor Haupt really believe that she is more like an oriental woman than a German lady? But in spite of defects, Dr. Haupt's discussion will stimulate interest in this book which is as yet little understood in Christian circles.

Moritz Mengel's discussion of the first chapters of Genesis⁶ is the "life-work" of a lawyer, who died shortly before its publication, as we are informed by Professor Holthfeld in the preface. The first half of the book is devoted to a critical study of Gen., chaps. 2-4, with the following results: The chapters are the combination of two stories: J₁ written probably by a priest ca. 950 B. C. (2:4b-8a, 10-15 [8b], 15, 18-23; 3:20; 4:1-16, 25 f. [probable sequel 11:18, 20, 22, 24, 26-32]) to prove that the ancestors of Israel were once settled in the garden of Eden, which is correctly described (second half). J₂ was written by Huldah ca. 650 to supplement J₁; the union of the two is her work (2:8a, 9, 16 f., 25; 3:1-19, 22 f.; 6:1-8; 2:24 and 3:24a + "of the tree of life" are late editorial glosses). It has an exoteric and an estoric significance: It openly sets forth the knowledge of good and evil = sexual knowledge and its consequences, etc. But its deeper meaning is that while knowledge of future events (divine foreknowledge) is possible for man, man is warned not to attempt to reach it by astrology.

In the second half the attempt is made to identify the garden in Eden with the oasis Ruchēbe in Ḥarrā eastward from Haurān. The description of the oasis makes the possibility plausible; but the linguistic and exegetical arguments seem weak. The description in Gen. 2:10 cannot apply to a river: four streams (רְאשֵׁי) unite in one body of water without outflow (pp. 198 ff.), the main river of a country never has a name, it is *the* river (p. 202), the word "eastward" must be the near east (beyond Haurān) and cannot possibly be in Babylonia (p. 195), etc. Possible alusions to the oasis in the Old Testament are discussed. In II^{II}-II^{III} is a discussion

⁶ *Wirklichkeit und Dichtung*. Von Moritz Engel. Dresden: Wilhelm Baensch, 1907. 301 pages. M. 4.

of the tables of nations in Genesis with curious results: Cham=South, Shem=Sham or Shâm=North, Japhet=Jâm=the Mediterranean Sea, the division of the Kingdom is a revolt of Israel against Judah's attempt to force him to accept Judah's tribal god, Jahwe, etc. III^{IV} (on Gen. 9:20-27) is fantasy pure and simple: Noah=Cambyzes, Canaan=the Samaritans, Shem=Judah, Japhet=the Persians; the whole is an allegory. To be just to the author, we must say that he has often correctly apprehended the difficulties of many current interpretations (on Gen. 2-4, the location of Paradise); but his constructive work is rather fantastic.

A brief systematic treatment of the religious and ethical ideas of the Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha⁷ is based on the well-known translation edited by Kautzsch. After a short literary introduction (pp. 1-16) the author treats the late Jewish ideas of God, the angels, God's relation to the universe, man and sin, ethics, messianic hope, and eschatology. He points out carefully the Old Testament basis and the later growth of the various conceptions and their relation to the New Testament. Very full references are given to the passages on which his conclusions are based. The writer is rather sceptical about foreign influence on Jewish thought, admitting chiefly Greek influence only. We question whether he can explain, e. g., the doctrine of angels (p. 52) without foreign influence. The treatment is too brief and seems therefore in places dogmatic (e. g., אֱלֹהִים, pp. 35 f.; heathen ethics, p. 135; son of man, p. 204, in note). On the whole, the work is done in a careful and solid fashion and forms a useful summary. The style is pleasing and readable. In places the sentences are somewhat broken up by parentheses, which would better appear in footnotes. The relation of the book of Enoch to the hope of immortality is not quite clearly expressed on p. 112. On p. 54 בְּיָמָיו ought to be בְּיָמָיו, on p. 228 "früher" should undoubtedly be "später."

It is a wearisome task to read the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha through. The author, who has given us this handbook, which helps us to find the necessary information, deserves many thanks.

ALOIS BARTA

GERMAN PRESBYTERIAN SEMINARY
DUBUQUE, IOWA

⁷ *Die religiösen und sittlichen Anschauungen der alttestamentlichen Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen*. Von Ludwig Couard. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1907. vi+248 pages. M. 4.

THE RELIGION OF THE POST-EXILIC PROPHETS

Dr. Bennett's volume on the post-exilic prophets¹ is the first to appear of a projected series of ten on the literature and religion of Israel under the editorship of Dr. James Hastings of *Bible Dictionary* fame. As may easily be surmised another volume will be forthcoming on the pre-exilic prophets. So far as the titles go, and they often do not go very far, we notice a big gap, viz., the exilic prophets. But from the author's preface it appears that the hiatus is in the titles only; for the volume before us covers Ezekiel and II Isaiah, while Jeremiah is to be included in Professor Kennett's book. As the whole of Ezekiel and a large part of II Isaiah are exilic, one wonders why the title was not made more accurate by saying, "Exilic and Post-Exilic Prophets," especially as the former are the larger in volume and more important in substance.

One other point about titles. It seems strange that, with an accomplished editor and author, we should find, in the title of the series "Literature and Religion," as the title of this volume the "Religion of the Post-Exilic Prophets," while the author's preface opens thus: "The subject of this volume is the Prophetic Literature of the Old Testament of the Exile (*sic*) and the period after the Exile." As a matter of fact the author's work follows the title of the series, covering both the literary and the religious.

The character of a book is more important than its name, and we turn to that. The author has not confused the two branches of his subject, but has dealt with them separately, formally dividing the work into two parts, the first covering the literary treatment and the second the doctrinal. The spatial assignment is justly made, 133 pages for Part I, 243 pages for Part II. In a work like this the religious teaching of the prophet is far more important than his date.

A glance at the critical position shows how completely wrong are the once oft-heard predictions of a coming reaction in Old Testament criticism. This book is conservative in the best sense of the term; but Obadiah is placed after Haggai and Zechariah, and Jonah, Zech., chaps. 9-14, Jonah, and the Isaianic apocalypse, chaps. 24-27, are put in the Greek period. In the critical work Professor Bennett shows that he has but one norm, and that is whatever is best supported by the evidence. Critical discussion, however, occupies but a small space in this treatise. A date is assigned to each prophet, often not very positively. Indeed it is impossible to be over sure

¹ *The Religion of the Post-Exilic Prophets*. By W. H. Bennett, Litt.D., D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Scribners, 1908. xii + 396 pages. \$2.

in some cases, and a brief statement of the reason is given. The student whose primary interest is the date must consult the many other works in which that subject has a more conspicuous place.

We find an attempt in this part to state the contents of the various prophecies. In dealing with Ezekiel there is a little else given than the contents of the chapters. That task is a very hard one. Many have tried to put in brief modern phrase the substance of prophetic utterances, and surely the last word has not yet been said. The fact is that the Hebrew prophets do not lend themselves to condensation, but only to expansion. At their best these utterances, like all great speeches, are already abbreviated to the utmost. He who essays to render them more intelligible for a modern reader will find the only successful road that of free amplification.

In the doctrinal treatment the work is marred at least in form by following too closely the scheme of modern dogmatics. "Atonement and Reprobation," "The Individual after Death" are not subjects under which the teaching of the Old Testament prophets naturally falls. They make but a poor basis for theological doctrines of the modern type. They were chiefly concerned with the character and fortunes of the nation, while Christian dogmatics seem almost to ignore the fact that there is a kingdom of God.

In spite of these and numerous other defects—like the oft printing of a Hebrew word in a footnote when a transliteration has been given in the text, a note useless to the general reader and needless for the scholar—this book will be a useful addition to the library of the student of the prophets after the fall of Jerusalem. Dr. Bennett is clear in his thinking and so in his writing. He is sympathetic with his subject. He does not, for example, dismiss anthropomorphism as a crude product of an unenlightened people, but says that "it means that man discerns a personality behind or immanent in the universe, endowed with some or all of those qualities which he himself possesses" (p. 140). His treatment of the Hebrew religious terminology is often very good, giving a distinct lexicographical value to the book. It is especially gratifying that he has pointed out the hopeless confusion to the English reader of the everlasting rendering of *nephesh* by "soul," whereas with a pronominal suffix it is generally but an emphatic pronoun, like "myself." Furthermore, despite the faulty divisions of subject, most of the great ideas of the prophets do find exposition somewhere in the volume.

L. W. BATTEN

ST. MARK'S CHURCH
NEW YORK CITY

WHAT CAN WE KNOW ABOUT JESUS?

Did Paul and Jesus preach the same gospel? Nowadays much interest is centering about this question. If the Synoptists give us the gospel of Jesus, and if Paul's letters are a true exposition of his preaching, the difference between the two is very noticeable. This raises the further question, Is Jesus or Paul the actual founder of historic Christianity? Scholars now recognize the fact of this breach between the two, but they differ either as to the possibility or as to the method of bridging it. The solutions usually presented fall into fairly distinct classes, according to what each writer regards as *fundamental* in Christianity. Some find this in the realm of dogma, while for others it is to be sought in the content of the religious life. Those who hold the former view, if they belong to the conservative wing, maintain a continuity between Paul and Jesus by discovering the essential presuppositions of the Pauline doctrines in the gospels; while the radicals, interpreting historic Christianity as primarily a fabric of dogmas of the Pauline type, find nothing of this in Jesus and so credit Paul with being the real founder of the new faith. It goes without saying that these interpreters ascribe no permanent validity to Paul's theology. Others who find the essence of the Christian faith in the inner life of piety, are able to detect a real unity in this respect between Jesus and Paul, and so can maintain that the former is the true founder of our religion. Jülicher,¹ Meyer,² and Wustmann,³ have recently made contributions to this question. Of the three, Jülicher is the most critical and scientific. He approaches his task having in mind especially Bousset's *Jesus* and Wrede's *Paulus* which previously appeared in the "Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher" series. The former had indirectly and the latter had explicitly emphasized the wide breach between Paul and Jesus, Wrede going even to the extreme of declaring that Paul was the real founder of our religion—had there been no Paul there would have been no Christianity. Wrede's work so impressed Jülicher that, instead of entitling his own treatise, *Jesus and Paul*, as he had formerly intended, he changed it to *Paul and Jesus*. He grants that Wrede is right in pointing out the remarkable uniqueness of the apostle, but thinks he errs in having presented only one side of the

¹ *Paulus und Jesus*. Von A. Jülicher. ("Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher," Reihe I, Heft 14.) Tübingen: Mohr, 1907. 72 pages. M. 0.50.

² *Wer hat das Christentum begründet, Jesus oder Paulus?* Von A. Meyer. ("Lebensfragen.") Tübingen: Mohr, 1907. 104 pages. M. 1.20.

³ *Jesus und Paulus. Die Abhängigkeit des Apostels von seinem Herrn*. Von G. Wustmann. ("Für Gottes Wort und Luthers Lehr!") Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1907. 84 pages. M. 0.60.

case; he has spoken only of Paul's theology and has utterly ignored the significance of his piety and personal religion. This gives Jülicher his cue. First he treats of the gap between Paul and Jesus, and shows that it is not so wide as has sometimes been supposed. In advocating gentile missions Paul was merely giving a theoretical dress to what was already implicit in Jesus' own teaching, and in attaching importance to Jesus' death, resurrection, and lordship he was following lines already indicated by his predecessors; and to say that he wholly ignored the earthly Jesus is to forget that the earthly humility was as necessary for Paul's gospel as was the heavenly exaltation. Jülicher next deals with points of resemblance, particularly within the realm of the religious life. Nowhere else in the entire New Testament or in the ancient church is the piety of Jesus found with such fulness and warmth as in Paul (p. 53); and Jesus' conception of salvation as a life of love and obedience to the will of God is also the center of Paul's gospel. Paul set up his theology not in place of the religion of Jesus but around it (p. 72). Jülicher, in the third place, tries to account for Paul's uniqueness without denying his real agreement with Jesus. This is done by noting three explanatory considerations: First, the peculiar circumstances under which Paul became a Christian, second the difference in personal characteristics between him and Jesus, and third, the difference between the two in historical situation. This last explains the stress Paul lays upon the cross, but it would be absurd to say that without the cross there would have been no Christian religion. It was in Jesus' life, not in his death, that the seed of the new religion was planted. He indeed founded no church, proclaimed no dogma, and propounded no theology, yet he brought to the world a new religious ideal—a new piety; and though his followers came to revere him as a martyr and to believe him alive in heaven, it was still the power of his new ideal of the pious life and not the fact of his death that furnished the real basis for Christianity (pp. 69 f.).

Meyer covers much the same ground as Jülicher, though in a less argumentative and critical way, and arrives at a similar result. He concludes that the power of Jesus' holy life produced the early belief in his messiahship and resurrection, and made possible the conversion of Paul; so we must grant that the true founder of our religion is Jesus only (p. 103).

Wustmann is not content to maintain so little. He thinks the important question for us is ultimately not whether one is right or wrong in making the life of piety fundamental or only incidental in the relation between Jesus and Paul, but whether we have before us in Jesus only a religious genius that created his gospel in the depths of his own heart as a message for the elevation, purification and instruction of humanity, or whether we have

in him the living Lord of whom Paul says God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself (p. 83). Thus Wustmann seems not inclined to find the fundamental content of Christianity in the religious life of Jesus but in an interpretation of that life. He recognizes that Jesus was not a theologian in the Pauline sense, and it was not from this source that Paul derived his dialectic, but after his conversion he lived *in Christ* and thus, guided by the spirit of the risen Lord, he came to attach a spiritual significance to him which answered to Jesus' own self-consciousness and self-testimony. Hence we are not at liberty to choose Jesus *or* Paul but must still hold to Jesus *and* Paul, "Paul the true apostle and true disciple of his Lord . . . and Jesus Christ, his Lord and our Lord, whom we confess to the glory of God the Father" (p. 81).

This general problem still needs further elucidation, notwithstanding the numerous booklets and magazine articles, some of which have been excellent, that have been given to its treatment. Not all writers define the elements of the problem clearly, nor is this always an easy thing to do. In the historical situation alone there are three distinct items: Paul, the pre-Pauline Christians, and the historical Jesus. It is not so difficult to deal with Paul by himself, for his letters as far as they go may be assumed to represent him accurately; but how shall we learn of his predecessors? A thoroughgoing examination of the Pauline epistles, to discover just what their author knew of the story of Jesus' life and teaching, would be pertinent to the enquiry, thus supplementing such information as may be derived from the gospels since these do not come directly from the first believers and are still farther remote from the earthly Jesus. Also it is hard to determine the exact relation between Paul and the first Christians, but it does not lend clearness to the discussion of the main question to slur over this point as some seem inclined to do. And to distinguish between Jesus and his first interpreters is also a difficult task. Wellhausen thinks it impossible, but Jülicher, on another occasion⁴ expressed his opinion to the contrary (though somewhat falteringly it is true), yet in the present study he has not always been careful to observe the distinction. Then there is the other perplexity of deciding what the *fundamental* thing in Christianity is. Surely it will be granted that if the enquiry is to be scientific in spirit one's answer to this question should not be made the major premise in his investigation. Moreover one ought to be concerned primarily to discover the fundamental thing for *Jesus* or for *Paul*, unprejudiced by what may seem to be the most essential thing in the religion of the modern Christian.

⁴ *Neue Linien in der Kritik der evangelischen Überlieferung* (1906), p. 56.

Dole,⁵ Otto⁶ and Resa⁷ aim to get nearer the historical Jesus than the synoptic tradition as it now stands will take them, but their contributions are popular in character and so are deficient in critical value. Dole calls attention to the extreme scantiness, as he thinks, of our trustworthy knowledge of Jesus, yet he finds sufficient evidence to prove to him that Jesus should not be given any position of supreme uniqueness among other good men of the past. Some of his deeds and words when judged by a true standard seem to be thought actually immoral, the more worthy side of his work was not new, and it was not he but Paul who was principally responsible for the founding of Christianity. The Synoptic Gospels, or at least so much of them as suit the author's purpose, are used to illustrate inconsistencies in Jesus' life and teaching, which are thought to bring him quite to the common level. This conclusion, however, is not based upon any thorough examination of the sources; and of all the recent investigations upon the life of Jesus, Schmidt's *Prophet of Nazareth* is the only work to which reference is made. The interest of the author seems to be more dogmatic than historical—he is chiefly concerned to show that the estimate which the church has put upon the person of Jesus is wholly fallacious. Otto, on the other hand, confines himself more strictly to historical background, but he sets forth in only barest outline the story of Jesus' life and teaching. The evaluation of sources rests upon the well-known two-document theory. The picture of Jesus' career is the one with which readers of O. Holtzmann are familiar, and Jesus' message is seen to be concerned chiefly with the essentials of the inner spiritual life. His thinking was not pervasively colored with eschatological ideas. Resa has conceived the idea of presenting separately the narrative of Jesus' life and the account of his teaching as it stood in the two original sources used by the first three evangelists. Hence the stories of the infancy and resurrection are omitted, and such other things as seem not to have belonged to the earliest form of the tradition. The author presents no elaborate defense of the critical principles which guide him in the selection of original matter, but the few remarks he cares to make are given in an appendix. Throughout, the material is arranged topically with such other devices of printing as give attractiveness to the page and help the reader to grasp the meaning.

⁵ *What we Know About Jesus*. By C. F. Dole. Chicago: Open Court, 1908. xiii + 89 pages. \$0.75.

⁶ *Life and Ministry of Jesus*. By R. Otto. Chicago: Open Court, 1908. 85 pages. \$0.50.

⁷ *Jesus der Christus. Bericht und Botschaft in erster Gestalt*. Von F. Resa. Leipzig und Berlin: Teubner, 1907. iii + 111 pages. M. 0.80.

In dealing with the resurrection of Jesus, Lake⁸ intentionally confines himself to the historical side of the subject. His treatment falls into three main divisions. In the first place, all the narratives which have any serious claim to give information about the facts of the resurrection are collected and interpreted. Thus he examines the testimony of Paul, the accounts of the four gospels and Acts, the gospel of Peter, and the gospel according to the Hebrews. Secondly, he attempts to reconstruct from these sources the content of the earliest tradition. This requires him to retrace the lines of development underlying the growth of the narratives now extant. His guiding principles in this undertaking are two: intrinsic probability and transcriptional probability, to borrow terms from the field of textual criticism. That is, one is to seek that form of the tradition which is in itself the most probable, and to ask what elements in the present story can be eliminated as natural traditional developments of the others. These principles when applied reduce the extant tradition to its lowest terms, with the following result: Joseph of Arimathaea buried the body of Jesus on Friday evening, not however because of his secret discipleship but probably as a representative of the Sanhedrin in order that the Deuteronomic law might not be violated. On Sunday morning some women visited an empty tomb in the vicinity, mistaking it for the one in which Jesus' body had been placed. The disciples had returned to their homes but their courage was gradually revived by appearances of the risen Lord, first to Peter in Galilee and afterwards to others, both in Galilee and in Judea; and thus they were led to return to Jerusalem to take up the Master's work. Here they met the women who told them of the empty grave, and so there was added the statement that the resurrection took place on the third day. The third division of the book is an attempt to discover the *facts* which are behind this earliest tradition, for example, Was the tomb empty? Was the resurrection on the third day? What significance is to be attached to the appearances? These questions are answered briefly. The grave was not empty. It was assumed to be so by the disciples the moment they experienced a vision of the risen Lord, and this inference was confirmed by the testimony (erroneous though it was) of the women. Special mention of the third day rests upon accidental inference from the experience of the women, but in later apology it was supplemented by Old Testament citations and by special interpretations of statements which Jesus had made while alive. The third question admits of a less definite answer. The

⁸ *The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ*. By K. Lake. London: Williams & Norgate; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1907. viii + 291 pages. \$1.50.

author believes the earliest tradition regarded the appearances as spiritual, the emphasis upon the material side in Luke and John being due to apologetic interests; but to explain the nature of a spiritual manifestation is difficult. The theory of subjective hallucination is rejected, and it is maintained that the disciples actually witnessed certain appearances dependent upon the spirit personality of the heavenly Jesus. How these are to be explained we are as yet unable to say, but the author thinks evidence collected by the Society of Psychical Research may ultimately shed new light on this elusive subject. Lake's treatment throughout is clear and candid. His readers may reject some of his conclusions, yet he has written an important book in a truly scientific spirit.

It aids greatly in the study of the first three gospels to have them printed side by side with the parallel sections set off against each other. But if one attempts to prepare such a "Synopsis" he is at once confronted with the question, Which gospel shall be taken as the norm for determining the order of arrangement? For example, shall Luke be followed in putting Jesus' rejection at Nazareth in the beginning of the ministry (Luke 4:16-30) or shall it be placed in the later period where Mark has it (Mark 6:1-6)? And shall the Sermon on the Mount be bulked as in Matthew or be broken up into parts and put in different contexts as in Luke? The method usually adopted makes Mark's order the basis for material common to all three gospels, follows Matthew for common material peculiar to Matthew and Luke, and arranges incidents peculiar to a single gospel in the most probable historical setting. The result of such procedure is disastrous for the continuity of the third gospel and sometimes seriously dislocates the order of the first. Only Mark remains intact. Huck,⁹ in the third edition of his *Synopse*, has done something to relieve the situation. He has adhered to the conventional method of making first Mark and then Matthew the basis for arrangement, but when a section of the text has thereby been disturbed a cross-reference is given to its original context, and where the break occurs a reference is given to the page upon which the removed section will be found. Thus one may, with a fair degree of convenience, read consecutively in any one of the three gospels. This is a marked improvement upon previous editions. As another new feature, he omits his former notes of the opinions of modern editors and gives instead the variants of the principal manuscripts and versions, and also extra-canonical fragments. A valuable Prolegomena has been inserted, the *Parallelenregister* has been improved—the subject-matter has been more

⁹ *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien*. Von A. Huck. Dritte, gänzlich umgearbeitete Auflage. Tübingen: Mohr, 1906. xxxviii + 208 pages. M. 4.

minutely subdivided and columns indicating parallels and doublets have been added. This is much after the manner of Burton's scheme in *Principles of Literary Criticism* (1904). Huck, however, makes no acknowledgment of Burton's work, so probably he is not to be charged with borrowing. More recently Huck¹⁰ has issued a German translation of the Greek, using in the main Weizsäcker's rendering. A new and more popular introduction has been written, and the analytical outline has been omitted. Even the index of passages has been left out, but the seriousness of this defect is somewhat lessened by printing the gospel references consecutively at the top of each page with references back or forth when necessary to the page where the passage occurs. Müller¹¹ had intended to issue a new *Synopsis* on the basis of Weizsäcker's translation, but since Huck has anticipated him he now publishes what would have been his Introduction. It is a contribution to the problem of arrangement, and advocates a Mark-Luke-Matt. order instead of the usual Mark-Matt.-Luke order. The author accepts the two-document theory and is in general sympathy with the recent attempts at reconstructing the original source for Jesus' sayings (Q), but he contends that Luke, not Matthew, is the proper norm for indicating the original order of material in Q. Accordingly he gives a minute analytical outline for the grouping of the gospels. Müller's pamphlet merits careful perusal by those who are interested in the question of the original literary arrangement of the gospel sources. While Q is receiving so much attention these days can we be quite sure that the *Textfolge* of Mark, from the standpoint of originality, is entirely beyond criticism?

SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Dr. Warfield states the purpose of his work¹² to be generally, to acquire a vivid sense of the attitude, intellectual and emotional, sustained by the several writers of the New Testament, and by the New Testament as a whole, to our Lord's person . . . particularly, to order the material in such a manner as to show that they thought of him above everything else as a Divine Person . . . to throw into prominence the unitary presupposition by the entire New Testament of the Deity of our Lord.

¹⁰ *Deutsche Evangelien-Synopsis mit Zugrundelegung der Uebersetzung Carl Weizsäckers.* Von A. Huck. Tübingen: Mohr, 1908. xvi+150 pages. M. 4.

¹¹ *Zur Synopsis.* Von G. H. Müller. (Forschungen zur Religion und Literature des Alten und Neuen Testaments. 11. Heft.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1908. 60 pages. M. 2.40.

¹² *The Lord of Glory.* A Study of the Designations of Our Lord in the New Testament, with Special Reference to His Deity. By Benjamin B. Warfield. New York: The American Tract Society, 1907. xi+332 pages. \$1.50.

When one considers the amount and character of the material which is discussed and the success with which it has been handled it is impossible not to recognize the hand of a master and to admire the knowledge, ability, and skill which the work discloses. Professor Warfield has achieved large success in respect to the general purpose of his work. Every reader of whatever school or opinion cannot fail to be impressed with the unitariness of the New Testament conception of Jesus and the supremacy which it uniformly accords him. The author is at considerable pains to show that this conception is that of the primitive church. To the present reviewer he seems here also to have written with strength and wisdom. But his treatment of the critical canon, that whatever the Apostolic writers attribute to Jesus that is not characteristic of their own belief has paramount trustworthiness, is lacking in fairness. He rightly rejects the absurdity of the applications of the canon which some writers have made, but even his fine sarcasm fails to show that the canon is essentially unsound.

But the particular purpose of Professor Warfield is to show that the New Testament conceived Jesus as God. His method of interpretation, however, can hardly escape the charge of being seriously defective in two respects. He does occasionally propose for a passage an interpretation which he apparently first projects as possible or, at most, probable; but when he next uses it this interpretation has moved into the realm of certainty, and ere he ceases to wield it in behalf of his thesis it is taken for granted. Professor Warfield's conclusions would in several instances be less dogmatically stated if he had not erred in this respect. Nor is it a less defensible procedure to ignore or explain away data which do not accord with the conception of Jesus which the author seeks and finds in the New Testament. Examples of this may be found on pp. 232, 236, 237, 254. But his position can be saved only by such methods.

Only general reference may be made to the interpretation of particular passages. Certainly Dr. Warfield frequently finds more in a text than the writer of it intended. We may illustrate by reference to three passages from the Synoptics of which he makes large use. He can hardly be justified in taking it for granted that Matt. 28:19 declares Jesus to be a sharer in the ineffable Divine Name. Nor is there any evidence that the references in Acts to "the Name" for which the disciples were persecuted connoted to either writer or readers the ineffable name of God. If, as our author insists, Mark 13:32 and Matt. 24:36 show that Christ claimed to be above all creaturely existences by setting himself over against and above the highest of them, the angels (Professor Warfield makes much of this), it as distinctly subordinates him to the Father. This Dr. Warfield

appears not to see. The present tense of Matt. 11:27 and Luke 10:22 is made to bear too heavy a burden. It does not guarantee that any such eternal relation is asserted as Professor Warfield postulates. That the New Testament interprets Jesus as a divine person is patent enough. But the connotation of the terms used is to be determined, not by calling into requisition the theological formulations of the Nicene Fathers, but by an honest historical study of the New Testament and the soil out of which it grew. If the New Testament writers thought that Jesus was God they had abundant opportunity to say so. But a sound interpretation shows that they never do say this. The fact is Professor Warfield finds the Nicene theology in the New Testament simply because he imports it. He thinks the New Testament would be in confusion without it (see p. 238). As a matter of fact with it even Dr. Warfield cannot obviate confusion without ignoring a constant element of the New Testament record.

JOHN WILLIAM BAILEY

OSHKOSH, WIS.

None save specialists will seriously endeavor to keep pace with the steady output of literature on the Life of Jesus. Few even among specialists are constantly abreast of those works in this field that have serious worth. Obviously acquaintance with even the real and permanent advances in the knowledge of Jesus is beyond easy acquisition for most laymen. There is the barrier of language; so much that is best is in other tongues. It is a vital service, therefore, that is rendered by Professor Sanday in his survey of recent literature on the Life of Jesus.¹³ And the work is marked by the author's characteristic excellences: openmindedness, candor, balance, sympathy, precision, in short, the judicial attitude. There is nothing equal to this work for the reader of English only who desires to know what the leaders of New Testament thought in Germany and elsewhere are now setting forth as their convictions about Jesus.

Sanday acknowledges adequately his indebtedness to Schweitzer's admirable *Von Reimarus zu Wrede* for the substance of his survey of recent studies.¹⁴ Schweitzer includes in his work an extended statement of his own position on the main problems. Sanday finds himself much in accord

¹³ *The Life of Christ in Recent Research*. By William Sanday. New York: Oxford University Press, 1907. vi+328 pages.

¹⁴ One could wish that Schweitzer were made available for English readers; publishers could well spare some other German works, recently translated, but of narrower general interest, in favor of such a helpful broad sketch of movements and tendencies, past and present, in the interpretation of Jesus.

with Schweitzer, who is one of the most consistent and thorough-going expounders of the eschatological theory of the life and teaching of Jesus. In this theory, taken in its main features, Sanday finds a very large element of truth, confessedly new truth, for himself and for others. One main argument for such a construction of the history, Sanday thinks, is found in the precise way it fits in with the eschatological attitude of mind that evidently prevailed in the early Christian community. Moreover, such an interpretation does not do that violence to the obvious meaning of the gospel records, as they stand, which is exercised by those who seek to avoid the eschatological conclusion. Under those forms of the theory fashioned by Schweitzer, Sanday seems ready to accept, in all of its main and far-reaching implications, the belief that Jesus was essentially an eschatologist in his conception of the kingdom of God.

Is it to be granted then, as consistency seems to demand, that Jesus was in these things no more than a child of his generation, and was mistaken about the form and the time of the coming of the kingdom of God? Here Professor Sanday's characteristic caution asserts itself. Caution is an admirable quality in this field, and takes on new attractiveness as exemplified in most of Sanday's work. One regrets, therefore, to find it leading to such an enormous and arbitrary leap in thought as the following: "What is the essential meaning of the kingdom of God? Is it not the asserted and realized sovereignty of God, divine influence and divine power felt as energizing in the souls of men? Is not this the eternal reality—as distinguished from any temporary expression—of what we mean by the phrase?" It can hardly be held that the critical question is what *we* mean; the sole problem in historical inquiry is what *Jesus* meant. When we know that, we shall know what we *ought* to mean. And to reach the definition given, Professor Sanday completely abandons, by a sudden and unexpected turn, the whole body of results reached and conclusions accepted by the eschatologists, and apparently, up to this point, by himself. For it surely is true that if recent research has led anywhere it has led diametrically away from such a content as that here given to the kingdom of God. So understood, the whole problem of consistency in the reputed words of Jesus about the kingdom remains where it was before the eschatological theory was advanced, and has to be attacked afresh. To vindicate his definition of the kingdom, Sanday chooses the single passage on the future of the kingdom that best lends itself to such a content (Mark. 9:1). But what of all the other sayings with an outlook upon the future?

On the other hand, against Bousset's contention that the messianic idea was a heavy burden to Jesus, Sanday protests: "The whole notion of

a burden is pure modernism of the most gratuitous kind. That was not the way in which our Lord thought of the work that the Father had given him to do." This surely begs the question; it assumes that the work given was messianic. Joyfully Jesus did the assigned task, as Sanday contends. But is it proved that Jesus understood the task to be adequately subsumed as messianic?

As with previous works that have come in recent years from the hands of Professor Sanday, this survey is one of the forms of preparation for the larger task he has set himself, the complete treatment of the Life of Jesus. Only in a secondary degree is there an endeavor to state personal views. In the main, these are found in certain chapters that do not deal with the content of recent literature. Among these, that on Miracles is a model of historical method and reasonableness. Not until Professor Sanday has the opportunity for complete and defended statement will it be possible to determine his solution of the serious problems in the records of the Life of Jesus that have been so bravely faced and unflinchingly challenged by scholars who have been led to hold consistently to the eschatological theory. Meantime, it is of profound interest and significance to observe the concessions made to this school by so conservative and fair a scholar as Professor Sanday.

HENRY BURTON SHARMAN

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

SOME STUDIES IN THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

There is no preliminary work more important than the determination of the method of construction of our Synoptic Gospels. Every contribution to a solution of the many problems raised by the obvious relationships of these gospels must be warmly welcomed by all workers in the New Testament field. Under the title *Gospel Development*¹ another study is given to the phenomena presented in the gospel records. Mr. Ward is of the opinion that the beginning was made by Matthew's Logia. Subsequent to this time, or about the same time as the production of the Logia, came the first draft of Mark, afterwards systematically arranged and enlarged. Shortly following this revision of Mark, Matthew's Logia was taken in hand, translated into Greek, arranged in regular discourses, like the Sermon on the Mount, and the denunciation of the scribes and Pharisees, to which other discourses were added, compiled mostly from Mark, like the charge to the

¹ *Gospel Development. A Study of the Origin and Growth of the Four Gospels.* By Caleb Theophilus Ward. Brooklyn: Synoptic Publication Company, 1907. xiii + 404 pages. \$2.00.

twelve apostles, and the eschatological discourse, with a number of parables from an unknown source. Among these were interspersed various incidents, taken principally from Mark, the entire work constituting our Gospel of Matthew. Sometime during the first century John wrote a short gospel, which became the basis, in the hands of a follower of John, of our Gospel of John. Last of all, someone undertook to write a gospel for the Gentile Christians. It was based mainly on the existing gospels of Mark and Matthew, while also indebted to other records, as the Gospel of John, the Gospel of the Hebrews, and to various traditions current in his day. This was known from the first as the Gospel of Luke. The true chronological order of the present gospels is therefore John, Mark, Matthew, and Luke.

Though the author's discussions run into hundreds of pages, there is entirely wanting any broadly based and severely accurate method in his work. It is altogether too late in the history of the subject for anyone seriously to put forward the theory that Luke is dependent upon our Matthew, and has a different order in many of the sayings of Jesus because of his desire to magnify the final journey of Jesus to Jerusalem. It may be regarded as fully settled that Mark is the basis of Matthew and Luke, and that Luke and Matthew are not interdependent but mutually dependent upon some other documentary source or sources. What value there is in Mr. Ward's work lies in certain of the multitude of suggestions made by him in the course of his detailed treatment of the likenesses and differences of the gospels and their explanation. But these are unfortunately so buried in a mass of arbitrary and subjective judgments that they will not receive the serious attention they deserve.

HENRY BURTON SHARMAN

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Nicolardot's volume on the synoptic problem² is not primarily a study of the sources from which the evangelists drew their information, but of the editorial aims and methods pursued by them in putting together the material at their command. In devoting his entire volume to this particular phase of the synoptic problem, the author is conscious of making a departure in this important field of investigation. In the absence of such an independent treatment as is offered by him, he is of the opinion that the majority of exegetes have been able to bring to the solution of the synoptic problem only sporadic and fragmentary contributions. He does not claim to have discovered the need of such a work, but freely ascribes that honor to MM.

²*Les procédés de rédaction des trois premiers évangélistes.* Par Firmin Nicolardot. Paris: Fishbacher, 1908. Pp. xxi + 315.

Maurice Vernes, and Loisy. He quotes the following from the latter; "Before formulating conclusions on the history of the gospel tradition one ought first to study the editorial processes of the evangelists," or, as Loisy elsewhere expresses it, "the measure of liberty which each editor has been able to take with his immediate source."

The vexed problem of the sources our author disposes of briefly in his Introduction, and bases his work upon the following hypotheses: (1) Mark is the oldest of the three Gospels; (2) Matthew and Luke have followed, in a very great number of cases, our canonical Mark; (3) the points at which Matthew and Luke have departed from our present Mark are not attributable to their having access to a form of Mark's Gospel older than ours, namely, a "proto-Mark," but to their utilization of the Sayings of Jesus, which, by most moderns, are denominated the "Logia," but by our author, the "Discourses," *Les Discours*; (4) his refusal to designate this source the "Logia" is due to his maintaining that Papias meant by the term "Logia" "the entire First Gospel which he incorrectly considered to have been composed originally in Hebrew;" (5) Mark, as well as Matthew and Luke, used these Discourses of Jesus; (6) Matthew and Luke are not interdependent.

The editorial work of Matthew is easily seen in his use of types, figures, prophecy, allegory, also in the apologetic treatment of facts, shown in the elimination of superfluous facts and the idealization and dramatization of other facts. Again, the hand of the editor is shown in the formal agreement of details among themselves, as also in the grouping of the material. Matthew, in the opinion of the author, is a theologian, an apologist, a harmonist, "a past master in the art of arranging facts in accordance with a thought scheme. He is a rabbi."

Luke, on the other hand, is a litterateur, an artist, having an eye for proportion and fitness. He has enlarged the gospel frame-work. Matthew traced the genealogy of Jesus as far back as Abraham; Luke carried it back to Adam, to God. Looking towards the future, he includes in his scheme "the times of the Gentiles" and their conversion. The litterateur appears again in the minor details, such as introductions and conclusions of narratives, also in the use of dialogue.

In the opinion of our author, Papias has not faithfully portrayed the task of Mark in constructing his Gospel. It is not a direct echo of Peter, nor of any immediate witness of the life of Jesus. On the other hand, it is not the free invention of an imaginative brain. In other words, the compiler had access to the "Discourses," as well as to oral tradition and to certain written documents which had already been reworked. Mark is not

a creator; he is not a historian; but the writer of a "Gospel"—his own word; a catechist, under the guise of a historian.

It is impossible, within the space of a brief review, to pass upon the accuracy of the author's conclusions on the many questions involved in such a study. Indeed, the value of the treatise does not consist in the correctness of the specific conclusions, but rather in the suggestiveness of the method and the grouping of the material. The book will have to be reckoned with by all who discuss the synoptic problem. It is a valuable contribution to the subject.

HENRY BEACH CARRÉ

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

This second half of Vol. III of Spitta's *Urchristliche Litteratur*³ appears after an interval of six years. Those who recall the keenness and minute scholarship of his earlier contributions will welcome its appearance.

On the Temptation story Spitta's acute analysis presents the Lucan form as least altered from the original tradition underlying all three synoptic accounts. In the representation of an actual journey from the wilderness of Judaea to Jerusalem such as Luke contemplates Spitta finds room (with allowance made for editorial modification by the third evangelist under the influence of Mark and Matthew) for a real experience of Jesus in some measure corresponding to the three solicitations of Satan, which therefore are not merely symbolic as modern critics usually conclude, but foreshadow the later opposition to Jesus' loftier messianic ideal just because of his realization of actual conditions. As Spitta rightly says (p. 92): "the historicity of the Temptation story stands or falls with that of the Baptism." If such a consciousness of his messianic calling as is there implied came to Jesus before the beginning of his ministry, such a psychological reaction as the Temptation represents is to be expected. Spitta thinks it possible to find traces of it even in John, chaps. 1-3.

In Mark Spitta endeavors to show besides the admitted lacuna at the end, that the beginning also represents mere editorial reconstruction of a lost page, and that between chaps. 3 and 4 the substance of Luke 6:20-8:3, except 7:11-17, 36-50, has been lost by accident from the original MS.

Spitta disagrees with the judgment of M. R. James, whose edition of the *Testament of Job* appeared in 1897, with the statement by the editor: "I began by looking upon it as purely Jewish and indeed pre-Christian in date.

³ *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristenthums*. Von Friedrich Spitta. Dritter Band, zweite Hälfte. "Die Versuchung Jesu. Lücken im Markusevangelium. Das Testament Hiobs und das Neue Testament." Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1907. 210 pages. M. 6.

"I do not hold that view now." In company with a strong group of experts Spitta gives the great weight of his authority to James's earlier view. It is not even worked over by a Christian hand. The many and close correspondences with New Testament ideas and phraseology are not due to dependence on the part of the *Testament of Job*. On the contrary dependence upon the *Testament* is evinced in James, Revelation, and perhaps in Luke, Acts, and John. More especially the figure of Job, the hero of the tale, developed as representative of Israel, and of Israel as the suffering Servant of Yahweh, a protagonist of the poor and lowly against Satan, reduced to "the dust of death" as an innocent and uncomplaining sufferer, but exalted again by God to glory and honor, is of the utmost value when its independence of New Testament influence has been demonstrated, to exhibit the atmosphere in which the gospel story was molded.

We owe a debt of gratitude to such minute and discriminating study as Spitta's, however reluctant we may be to follow his inferences in detail.

B. W. BACON

YALE DIVINITY SCHOOL
NEW HAVEN, CONN.

THE DESTINATION OF GALATIANS¹

Two years ago Dr. Steinmann published a study of *Die Abfassungszeit des Galaterbriefes* which was at once recognized as heralding a powerful restatement of what is known as the North-Galatian theory. The present monograph forms a sequel to his earlier work. It is written with the same exhaustive knowledge of the relevant literature,² the same independent judgment, and the same evidence of original, indefatigable research. Hitherto those of us who were profoundly dissatisfied with the South-Galatian theory, on exegetical and historical grounds, have had to fall back upon Schmiedel's article in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* for a detailed refutation. But Schmiedel had his limitations. His view of Acts rather discounted certain of his proofs, or they handicapped others. Now we have Dr. Steinmann coming forward from a conservative position in the criticism of Acts and Galatians alike with what seems to the present writer a convincing and comprehensive presentation of the older view that Galatians was written after the Council of Jerusalem to the Christian churches of

¹*Der Leserkreis des Galaterbriefes*. Ein Beitrag zur urchristlichen Missionsgeschichte. Von Dr. Alphons Steinmann. Münster: Aschendorff, 1908. xx+251 pages. M. 6.80.

²To the adherents of the North-Galatian view we might add Professor G. H. Gilbert (*The Student's Life of Paul*, 1902, pp. 260 f.) and Bousset (in J. Weiss's *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, on Galatians).

North Galatia. Zahn and his own countryman, Weber, are sharply criticized throughout. But Professor Ramsay naturally receives the lion's share of attention, and it must be admitted that the Aberdeen scholar comes very badly out of the ordeal, all the more so that Dr. Steinmann grapples with the vital issues of the problem instead of contenting himself with the easy triumph of exposing the rash and confident remarks of his opponents.

After a brief introduction (pp. 1-18) which states and defines the problem, the author goes forward with an elaborate linguistic and historical discussion of Galatia and the Galatians (pp. 17-109), which leads practically to the same conclusions as those of Felix Stähelin in the third edition (Leipzig, 1907) of his standard *Geschichte der kleinasiatischen Galater bis zur Errichtung der römischen Provinz Asia*. He proves in a series of important paragraphs that Ancyra, which Ramsay admits to have been "one of the greatest and most splendid cities of Asia Minor," was the capital of South as well as of North Galatia (pp. 50 f.), and was connected by road, not simply with Northern Phrygia, but also with Pisidian Antioch (cf. J. Weiss, himself a South-Galatian adherent,³ on pp. 559 f. of his article on "Kleinasien" in the third edition of Hauck's *Realencyklopaedie*). As the center of the provincial organization, Ancyra was the residence of the governor; it is actually named on one inscription the *μητρόπολις τῆς Γαλατίας*. An examination of the pagan usage proves (pp. 69 f.) that the inhabitants of the entire province could be called "Galatians," and biblical usage confirms this (pp. 76 f.).

Steinmann then discusses (pp. 110-75) Paul's real mission to South Galatia (Acts 13:16-41:26a; 15:40-16:5) and proceeds (pp. 175-208) to investigate the allusion to the North-Galatian mission in Acts 16:6 and 18:23. Here he is at the heart of his problem. In the former passage he brushes aside Ramsay's and Weber's plea for *διελθόντες*.⁴ The verse obviously (cf. the *οὖν*) narrates not a recapitulation but a fresh advance into new territory, and no other exegesis would have been dreamt of, had it not been for the exigencies of the South-Galatian hypothesis. The country differently named in both verses is the same, i. e., North Galatia, not

³ J. Weiss presents the case more persuasively, because more moderately, than Weber, Zahn, or Ramsay. He is not given to airy inferences or to feats of exegetical ingenuity.

⁴ Cf. Harnack's *Apstelgeschichte*, p. 87 f., where he shows that the North-Galatian mission was not unimportant in itself, but simply unimportant to Luke, who was hurrying on to Paul's European mission. On pp. 60 and 90 Harnack explains Luke's use of *ἡ Γαλατικὴ χώρα* by the fact that the region was "stadtearm;" Luke must not be taken as witnessing, by this usage, to the South-Galatian hypothesis. The contrary is the case.

South Galatia. If the phrase meant "the Phrygo-Galatic" region around Iconium and Antioch, then Lystra and Derbe (15:36) would be included in the cities revisited in 16:4, 5, whereas (cf. 14:6, 11) they belonged not to Phrygia but to Lycaonia. Furthermore, *καλυθέντες, κτλ.*, must give the reason for the missionaries not pushing westward. Steinmann therefore agrees heartily with Chase that, so far as the evidence of Acts is concerned, "the South-Galatian theory is wrecked on the rock of Greek grammar." In reply to the favorite plea that Luke ignores the founding of the North-Galatian churches, Steinmann not only argues with Schmiedel that even if such were the case, it would not be unexampled in Acts, but points to 15:41 (cf. Gal. 1:21) where Paul's important mission-work in Syria and Cilicia is presupposed, although Luke never makes the slightest allusion to it (pp. 193 f.). Ramsay's assertion that "the North-Galatian theory lands every-one of its advocates in geographical absurdities" receives an equally trenchant refutation (pp. 196 f.). After fulfilling his first task (15:36=16:4) Paul found himself obliged to go north instead of west (to Asia, i. e., Ephesus and its environs), as he originally seems to have intended. The details of the route are not clear; Luke's narrative is too summary at this point. But, as J. Weiss himself admits, the mission tour through North Galatia is perfectly credible, and from a place like Dorylaeum they could be said to have been *κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν*. The *πρῶτον ψεῦδος* of Ramsay's theory (p. 200) really lies in the assumption that Paul left Antioch or Iconium with Bithynia as his objective. As the narrative shows, he had nothing of this kind in view. He moved from one place to another, evidently uncertain of his route; he had no fixed plan in his mind, and therefore did not seek out the large centers. Hence the churches of North Galatia were less numerous and consolidated when he returned (Acts 18:23) than usual. He confirms not churches in fact but *all the disciples* whom he had previously made.

A short discussion (pp. 208-17) of Paul's own narrative (Gal. 4:12-15) is followed by a comparison of this with the Lucan evidence (pp. 217 f.). The Paul who preached the gospel in North Galatia was not the impressive figure who had moved the people of Lystra,⁵ but a sick man (Gal. 4:13); of this sickness Luke, when describing the South-Galatian mission, makes no mention (pp. 217 f.). Taken with the rest of the evidence, this is

⁵ On the South-Galatian assumption that Paul confined himself to great centers, Lystra proves a sad difficulty, for it was neither central nor important, but a rustic backwater (Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 408). Even Derbe "was one of the rudest of the Pauline cities; education had made no great progress in it" (*ibid.*, p. 399). Yet we are told that Paul would never have visited so second-rate a district as North Galatia!

justly held to corroborate the conclusion that Acts and Galatians imply a North-Galatian destination for the epistle. Neither the internal evidence of Galatians nor the geographical data of Acts warrants any reasonable suspicion of this interpretation.

The monograph goes into a considerable amount of accessory details, on which it is not always possible to follow Dr. Steinmann. But his main conclusions seem proved, and the merit of the essay lies not so much in their novelty as in the freshness and thoroughness with which the evidence for them is presented. The proofs already adduced by Sieffert and Zöckler are here restated in the light of recent investigation. It is a sound and timely piece of work, for which all interested in the problem will be heartily grateful.

JAMES MOFFATT

BROUGHTY FERRY
SCOTLAND

A PRACTICAL COMMENTARY EMBODYING RECENT CRITICISM

What are the conclusions of the most recent criticism, and how can they be used by the modern preacher and pastor? In particular, how shall the results of the last two decades' intensive study of philology, archaeology, and comparative religion, enriched by the new finds of inscriptions and papyri, the new editions of Hellenistic writers, and the recent detailed investigations of Jewish and early Christian theology, be summarized in a commentary on the New Testament, and then be made practically available for the confirmation-class and the pulpit? To answer these questions is the rather ambitious purpose of Lietzmann and his associates in their new commentary on the New Testament.¹

As far as the external form is concerned, there is to be first an introductory volume containing a grammar of New Testament Greek by Radermacher, and discussions of early Christian literary forms and Graeco-Roman culture, by Wendland; then three volumes of commentary proper, consisting of a German paraphrase, brief grammatical and critical notes on the original, with frequent scholarly excursus on the separate historical

¹ *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*. In Verbindung mit H. Gressmann, E. Klostermann, F. Niebergall, L. Radermacher, und P. Wendland, herausgegeben von Hans Lietzmann. Fünf Bände: 1, 2, 5-7th Lieferungen; viz., Römer- und I Korintherbrief von Hans Lietzmann; Markus Evangelium von E. Klostermann unter Mitwirkung von Gressmann erklärt. Und eine praktische Auslegung zum Römerbrief und Markus Evangelium von Niebergall. Tübingen: Mohr, 1906-1907. (Price of entire work about M. 33.00).

and biblio-theological problems raised; appendices containing extra-canonical texts, not easy of access, and a discussion of the introductory problems at the close of each volume. Then there is a final volume containing the practical exposition, with a general introduction on purpose and method.

Enough of the work has appeared to afford a fairly intelligent estimate of the character and success of the attempt. Romans and I Corinthians by the editor are excellent examples of brief, clear, and scholarly exposition. They have the further advantage of presenting, in wonderful fulness, the parallels contained in the inscriptions, papyri, etc., as well as in contemporary authors, Jewish, Christian, and profane. In fact, this excellence is not possessed to the same degree by any other commentary on the New Testament. A real treasury of new, illustrative material is thus afforded, which is always suggestive and often illuminating. The commentary, however, shares the faults of its virtues. It is often too brief and positive. Results are stated as obvious and certain where many scholars would consider a more extended investigation necessary. One feels also the cold analysis and detachment of the scholar, for whom Paul's thought has little real interest beyond that of the historian and literary critic. Sanday's great commentary on Romans is a sufficient demonstration that a personal religious interest, and a scholarly method are not mutually exclusive.

The Gospel of Mark, interpreted by Klostermann (assisted by Gressmann) is somewhat less suggestive. The parallels from the papyri and inscriptions are far less numerous, and their absence is hardly compensated for by the increase in the comparisons with contemporary Judaism and apocalyptic literature, which, of course, the subject permits. Among the most valuable features here are the frequent excursus which present briefly the conclusions of recent gospel criticism. The attitude shown is often less positive and dogmatic than Lietzmann's and doubtful questions are handled with more reserve, but the general standpoint is that of a thorough-going naturalism, and the impossibility of the miraculous is assumed as a critical axiom (cf. on the "empty grave," pp. 144 f.).

The standpoint of the practical exposition by Niebergall is that of a member of the Ritschlian school, who seems to have been most influenced in his dogmatic attitude by Wilhelm Herrmann. The exposition contains much that is suggestive and helpful, and will doubtless prove of value especially to the preacher who is grappling with the problem of a practical interpretation of Christianity from the liberal point of view. One may best learn Niebergall's method, perhaps, by taking as an example his treatment of the resurrection (Mark, chap. 16). The underlying truth of the ac-

count is set forth as the fact of the exaltation of Jesus, once for all, above the limitations of his race and time, into a life of permanent activity, as the guide and helper of every individual and every age. The biblical accounts of the virgin birth and the resurrection were but the attempts of the early church to give expression to their faith that "God was in Christ;" but it is dangerous to stimulate faith by connecting its content, essentially, with a *Weltanschauung* that may be superseded. It must be the task of the preacher, therefore, to show that this connection is unnecessary, and to elevate the whole thought from this unworthy sphere of the naturalistic-religious to that of the purely spiritual. He must train himself and his hearers not to measure the lessons read from the altar with a dogmatic yard-stick, but rather to understand them with a poetic as well as a religious mind. The Easter sermon should either positively elucidate the underlying thought, or pass immediately to the practical application. A cold criticism destroys the Easter spirit quite as much as would a pointless apologetic. In the teaching of the children one should enter into the story with a joyful naïveté. To older pupils (those in the *Gymnasium*, etc.) one owes the fullest clearness. Those who are to be the teachers and leaders of the nation should be made familiar with the entire critical position.

To those who have no more concrete and positive message to bring to their people on Easter morning, these suggestions of Niebergall's may prove helpful.

SAMUEL DICKEY

MCCORMICK THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
CHICAGO, ILL.

LEIPOLDT'S SECOND VOLUME ON THE NEW TESTAMENT CANON

True to his promise in the first volume of his work (reviewed in Vol. XII, p. 275, of this *Journal*), Professor Leipoldt has given us his concluding volume "within a twelvemonth."¹ The work consists of two distinct parts, namely the canon in the Catholic church (pp. 1-60), and the canon of the Protestant church, notably the Lutheran church (pp. 60-181). The same pleasing traits of style and scholarship, the same saneness of judgment and balance of evidence that characterized the first volume, appear again here. Also the same fault of overloading of material and a rather incomprehensible fondness for writing as *Zusätze* in fine type paragraphs which should be in the normal text. In our judgment, the footnotes

¹ *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*. Zweiter Teil: "Mittelalter und Neuzeit." Von Johannes Leipoldt, Ph.D. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908. 181 pages. M. 2.40.

too are excessively long—in many cases simply reproducing the Latin original of passages translated or very fully quoted in the text.

Professor Leipoldt calls attention to the gradual shifting of the guarantee of the canonicity of the New Testament from the apostles to the church (complete with Isidore of Seville, †636), and again from the church to the pope (cf. Cardinal Deusdedit's *Dictatus papae*, §17). All the while, however, there was no history of the canon. It was not till the reformers compelled the church of Rome to formulate its faith at the Council of Trent that the solemn indorsement of the Catholic canon was made.

In a very interesting section on Erasmus, the author unwittingly gives aid and comfort to those enlightened Roman Catholics who contend that had it not been for Luther the "reform" of the church would have proceeded sanely and peaceably. Erasmus, on the basis of the "fact theology" of the Thomists, was making notable progress in his literary criticism of the canon. He had freely rejected the *Comma johanneum* (I Jno. 5:7), and the Pauline authorship of Hebrews. But as Luther's revolt grew more and more menacing to the unity of the church, Erasmus hushed his critical promptings in protestations of loyalty. He reinstated the *comma* "um niemand Anlass zum Verleumden zu geben." Other bold scholars fully launched on the path of the higher criticism of the canon just before the Protestant revolt were Nicholas of Lyra and Cardinal Thomas of Vio (Luther's Augsburg censor, Cajetan).

Leipoldt suggests a very ingenious reason why the Catholic critics like Cajetan were so easy toward the second Epistle of Peter, which on internal ground had less to recommend its canonicity than either Hebrews or Jude. It was, thinks he, because the great growth of Peter's name made every bit of writing purporting to come from his pen doubly precious and every attack on its genuineness doubly harmful to the great church reputed to be of his foundation.

In the Council of Trent the church destroyed all the work of Erasmus and Cajetan on the canon, and announced in the *Decretum de canonicis scripturis* the uncriticized canon of the sixth century, sanctioning even the Vulgate rather than the original text to give greater point to the absolute domination of Latin Rome over the Scriptures. The unity of the church demanded *one* authoritative text, and that a Roman text. This victory of the reactionists was not won however without a bitter struggle of eight weeks' duration in the committee.

Leipoldt's treatment of Luther's criticism of the canon is very fine. He is at his best when dealing with Luther, and every paragraph shows his profound appreciation of the courageous and sensible spirit of the great

reformer. Especially clear is the discussion of why the apostolicity of the New Testament was of prime importance, despite the subjective religious standard ("was Christum treibt") which Luther announced as fully determinative of "canonicity."

Only in one point does it seem to us that Leipoldt deduces too much from his data. Because Luther speaks of the Epistle of James as lacking in *apostolica majestas*, he infers that Luther knew Erasmus' criticism of the epistle, which contains the same phrase. The phrase is not uncommon or striking; and it is far too slim a basis for the hypothesis of Luther's early acquaintance with the Erasmian criticism. Leipoldt says even that Luther "ist *swei/jellos* durch Erasmus angeregt worden."

The interest flags considerably after the brilliant sections on Luther. The book closes with some remarks on the English and Reformed critics of the canon, and the dismal neo-mediaevalism of the seventeenth century.

D. S. MUZZEY

NEW YORK CITY

RECENT HISTORICAL EXPOSITIONS OF ORIENTAL CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

The firm of C. F. Amelang, of Leipzig, has been publishing since the beginning of the present century a series of excellent histories of oriental literatures in popular form, yet written by representative men.¹ While intended, primarily, for the educated general reader they are also of interest and value to the specialist who cares for an exact statement of facts rather than a mass of critical apparatus and bibliographies. A special feature in this series is the frequent extracts from the works of authors discussed and estimated. These specimens, printed in translations, are cited, preferably, from the editions of the texts themselves, which proves that the contributors have translated these anew rather than relied on the rendition of others.

While the literatures of all the individual nations treated in this series have been presented and written up a number of times by other men, the

¹ George Alexici contributes the history of Roumanian literature (1906); Carl Brockelmann that of Arabic literature (1901); Alexander Brueckner one on Polish literature (1901); and another on Russian (1905); Carl Budde writes on Old Testament literature (1906), with a most interesting appendix, by Alfred Bertholet, on the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha; Carl Dieterich gives a succinct account of Byzantine and modern Greek literature (1902); Carl Florenz describes Japanese (1906), and W. Grube Chinese literature (1903); Paul Horn, the great Persian and Turkish scholar, summarizes the literatures of these two nations (1901, 1902); Ignác Kont writes the history of Hungarian literature (1906), and Moritz Winternitz that of Indian (Sanskrit) literature. Others are announced as shortly forthcoming.

history of the Christian literature of the orient, i. e., Asia Minor and northeastern Africa, is here given, in a precise form, for the first time.²

Professor Carl Brockelmann, of the University of Königsberg, summarizes, on 74 pages, the history of Syriac literature with an appendix, in three chapters, on modern Syriac folk-literature, Syro-palestinian, and Christian Arabic literatures. While we have had for some time such excellent manuals as the late William Wright's *A Short History of Syriac Literature* (London, 1894); and Rubens Duval, *La littérature syriaque*, 3d edition, Paris, 1907 [=Bibliothèque de l'enseignement de l'histoire ecclésiastique. Anciennes littératures chrétiennes], yet this new summary by a specialist of great reputation, written from a point of view somewhat different from that of his predecessors, is quite welcome. Attention is called here also to the truly classic presentation of the same subject, "Die aramäische Literatur," by Altmeister Theodor Nöldeke.³ While more than brief, it is the work of the greatest authority on Aramaic languages and literatures.

Dr. Franz Nikolaus Finck contributes the history of Armenian literature, which, to be sure, is Christian from its very beginning. The present summary is an expansion of the same scholar's contribution to "Die orientalischen Literaturen," pp. 282-98. In four paragraphs are described: (1) the golden age of Armenian literature (the fifth century), following close upon that of Christian Syriac literature, represented by Aphraates and Ephrem, of the fourth century; (2) the aftermath (centuries 6-11); (3) the revival of classicism and the beginnings of popular literature (twelfth century); (4) the period of decline (13th-18th centuries). It is a pity that the same scholar has not added here a brief survey of Georgian literature, as he has done for the history of oriental literatures in *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, pp. 299-311. We hope that, in a second edition, this may be done.

While Syriac as well as Armenian literature has been written up by others, the same cannot be said of the contributions of Leipoldt and Littmann, whose survey of Coptic and Ethiopic literatures is the first attempt

² *Geschichte der christlichen Literaturen des Orients*: C. Brockelmann, "Die syrische und christlich-arabische Litteratur;" F. N. Finck, "Geschichte der armenischen Litteratur;" J. Leipoldt, "Geschichte der koptischen Litteratur;" E. Littmann, "Geschichte der äthiopischen Litteratur." Leipzig: Amelang, 1907. viii + 281 pages. 8vo. M. 4; Die Literaturen des Ostens in Einzeldarstellungen. VII. Band, 2. Abteilung.

³ *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*. Herausgegeben von Paul Hinneberg. Teil I, Abteilung 7: "Die orientalischen Literaturen." Leipzig und Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1906. Pp. 103-25.

ever made at presenting a connected history of these literatures. Both are scholars well known to the readers of this *Journal*, especially Leipoldt, whose contributions to the *Texte und Untersuchungen* of Gebhardt and von Harnack have been noticed in this *Journal* from time to time. The history of Coptic literature occupies pp. 131-83; that of Ethiopic literature, pp. 185-270. Both literatures, Coptic as well as Ethiopic, are rather limited in scope and character. It was thus a much easier task than that of Brockelmann and Finck. These two histories are by far the best thus far produced and will prove of great value, interest, and benefit to theologians as well as orientalists. It is to be regretted that, here also, the limited space prevented the authors from entering more deeply into their chosen subjects, especially inasmuch as both are well-known authorities in these comparatively new fields of study and research. The history of Coptic literature, especially, deserved more space owing to its importance for the origins of Christian literature. May we hope that ere long we shall be favored with adequate histories of these literatures by Professor Littmann and Dr. Leipoldt.

W. MUSS-ARNOLT

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY
BOSTON, MASS.

TWO IMPORTANT BOOKS ON ETHICS

To have in two successive years philosophical problems discussed in the lectures of the Lowell Institute by such radically differing men as Professor James and Professor Royce is an interesting phenomenon of American public education. Professor James has won many friends by his rare ability to express his ideas in concrete and sometimes whimsical fashion. His books are delightful as literature, apart from their other merits. In this happy capacity of clearness of exposition, Professor Royce is also a master. His volume on *The Philosophy of Loyalty*,¹ like his *Spirit of Modern Philosophy*, is intelligible even to the untrained student, while at the same time preserving its philosophical interest for experts.

Throughout the book one feels in the background Professor Royce's evident distrust of the extreme empiricism represented in so many tendencies of modern thought, and sanctified by pragmatism. His purpose, as stated in the first lecture, is to discover some means by which we may not become demoralized during the reconstruction of our ideals. "I do not believe that unsettlement is finality. . . . I believe in the eternal. I am

¹ *The Philosophy of Loyalty*. By Josiah Royce. New York: Macmillan, 1908. 409 pages. \$1.50 net.

in quest of the eternal. . . . I want, as well as I can, not merely to help you to revise some of your moral standards, but to help you to give to this revision some definite form and tendency, some image and hint of finality" (pp. 10, 11). And after the positive exposition of his own conception of the moral problem, he gives a chapter to explicit criticism of pragmatism.

Professor Royce is well aware of the social process by which our moral ideals arise. He elaborates, in a somewhat typically Hegelian manner, the conflict which arises between the desires of the individual and the demands of society and tradition. The individual's growth is thus a never-ending interplay between the subjective and the objective factors of his social life. Out of this conflict arises the ultimate synthesis, which Professor Royce sums up in the term "loyalty." By loyalty he means "the willing and practical and thoroughgoing devotion of a person to a cause." In this devotion the opposition between self-interest and the demands of the outer world is resolved in a higher unity. Loyalty is thus the supreme principle of morality. It is the all-inclusive term in which can be summed up all the special forms of morality. By anchoring to this fundamental ideal, we may revise our practical behavior without danger of falling into confusion.

The application of this principle to the development of personal character is wholesome and uplifting. One realizes afresh what a genuine moral power resides in philosophical idealism. The attainment of individual capacity and achievement is seen to be dependent upon the individual's surrender to something bigger than self. The complete failure of the ideals of hedonism or of individualistic self-realization to justify moral distinctions is admirably shown. The author's comment on certain extremists in this respect is worth quoting:

In view of such considerations, when I listen to our modern ethical individualists—to our poets, dramatists, essayists, who glorify personal initiative—to our Walt Whitman, to Ibsen, and, above all, to Nietzsche—I confess that these men move me for a time, but that ere long, I listen with impatience. Of course, I then say, be indeed autonomous. Be an individual. But for heaven's sake, set about the task. Do not forever whet the sword of your resolve. Begin the battle of real individuality. Why these endless preliminary gesticulations? "Leave off thy grimaces," and begin. There is only one way to be an ethical individual. That is to choose your cause, and then to serve it, as the Samurai his feudal chief, as the ideal knight of romantic story his lady—in the spirit of all the loyal (p. 98).

So far, there would be so serious quarrel between Professor Royce and the empiricist. Both realize that morality consists in loyalty to the larger

social good, and both would seek to cherish this spirit of loyalty as the *sine qua non* of any practical social morality. But when we ask the further question as to how it is to be cultivated, the paths divide. The empiricist would analyze the historical genesis of our actual moral social situation. He would attempt so to classify the empirical data that the next step might appear evident, and he would expect that in the process of tracing this exact account of the rise of moral goodness among men, a lively sympathy would be developed which would carry one with enthusiasm over into the practical expression of loyalty in working out future problems. Professor Royce, on the contrary, "believes in the eternal." He would secure our moral progress by inculcating devotion to an ideal principle which may be applied a priori to all concrete moral problems. And this ideal is thus formulated: "Be loyal to loyalty. It is this larger principle which enables one to differentiate between such evil-bringing forms of loyalty as are seen in warfare and those desirable forms which make for universal welfare. Mere partisanship can thus be distinguished from real devotion to human welfare.

But so stated, the principle is merely a formal precept. If we are to obey it with any enthusiasm, we need some assurance that loyalty is indeed of value in the universe. Following the clue furnished by our idealizing of the causes which we serve, and by the persistence of loyalty to a lost cause, Professor Royce rejects any utilitarian sanction for morality. We need some assurance, other than mere worldly success, that our loyalty is not thrown away. And this assurance can come only from philosophical religious faith. Our ideals point to a superempirical reality, an absolute, in whose experience are gathered up all the fragmentary valuations which we are able to make. By relating our conceptions and ideals to this absolute experience, they attain eternal validity. Thus loyalty becomes something more than a formal moral maxim. It is a form of religious faith, akin to the belief in truth as an ultimate. From this point of view, Professor Royce enters upon a criticism of Professor James's lectures of the previous year. In seeking to be loyal to the truth or to the good, he contends that we are not making use of the "cash-payment" view of experience. "Loyalty does not live by selling its goods for present cash in the temple of its cause." The pragmatist will rightly object to the gratuitous introduction of the word, "present," into the above criticism; and will inquire in turn whether a system which provides no empirical cash-redemption of pledges at all is not a form of the "fiat-money" system by which Professor Royce characterizes one aspect of pragmatism. However, the criticism is all too brief to constitute any contribution to the situation.

The total effect of the book on the reader is that of a stimulating philo-

sophical and ethical homily; while Professor James's book gave an almost journalistic type of entertaining description. It must be admitted that an age which is wont to be satisfied with an exact examination of facts needs such a summons to turn attention to the realm of ideals. But in spite of the logical completeness of the principle of "loyalty to loyalty," the reader is left just where he was before whenever concrete moral problems arise. Like Kant's formally universal principle of legislation for morality, it serves to give a sense of satisfaction to the philosopher in the analysis of his problem, rather than to furnish guidance for practical life.

These two differing methods of dealing with the problem of human life suggest that possibly neither one is adequate to deal with the total field. Are there not two somewhat distinct tasks to be undertaken by the teacher of ethics? Is there not the specific task of arousing and developing the moral personality? And is there not the quite different task of analyzing social problems in the light of the history of morality? To take an analogy from another realm; it is one thing to cultivate the aesthetic sensitiveness of the artist, and another thing to understand the history and purpose of art. To exalt the former alone means unbalanced ebullitions of genius and impulse in art or in ethics. To devote sole attention to the latter means the production of an academic body of learning. Do we not need the points of view of both the absolutist and the pragmatist if we are to do justice both to personality and to social welfare? And since Professor James is quite willing to welcome the conception of the absolute in so far as it has an actual place in interpreting experience while Professor Royce is in the end compelled to affirm his absolute for the very pragmatic reason that he needs to feel that loyalty is not in vain, may we not hope that eventually we shall find for solving moral problems a method superior to either in its polemic aspect?

GERALD BIRNEY SMITH

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

What gives the *Ethics*² of Professor Dewey and Professor Tufts a real distinction amid the multitude of ethical textbooks is the fact that it makes the study of ethics appear practical, vital, pertinent to affairs, capable of contributing to the settlement of problems that contemporary mankind is really in doubt about. This is not only a great virtue but also a curiously rare one, in this class of books. "Moral philosophy" is frequently almost the least pragmatic of academic disciplines; it often seems to consist chiefly in

² *Ethics*. By John Dewey and James H. Tufts. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1908. xiii + 618 pages.

disputation about the reasons for accepting certain practical conclusions which nearly all the disputants do in fact accept, conclusions which the majority of civilized society is quite ready to take for granted. This discussion as to the best logical way of deducing the Golden Rule and the Ten Commandments is doubtless a necessary branch of systematic philosophy, and it sometimes leads to fresh and edifying modes of moral appeal; but it does not ordinarily impress the college student or the general reader as a thing of palpitating human interest. Unless ethics can connect directly with the concrete social problems that our generation is seriously exercised about, unless, indeed, its main *raison d'être* be conceived to be that it provides a method for dealing with those problems, the study is likely to remain academic in the worst sense, an inquiry in which differences in doctrine do not, to any important degree, 'make a difference.' From such a chaste and dignified sterility this new textbook should do much to rescue ethical science. The part of the book (by Professor Dewey) which deals with the traditional problems of ethical theory is preceded by a section in which Professor Tufts shows how the categories and preconceptions used by current moral thought were gradually evolved in response to both external and internal developmental changes, and how in new social situations, past or present, such working moral conceptions come, of themselves, to exhibit inconsistencies and inadequacies which make deliberate ethical reflection inevitable. And the theoretical section is in turn followed by a discussion of unsettled problems in the adjustment of human relations, the greater part of it dealing, in an unusually full, concrete, and definite manner, with the three phases of social organization that express the relations now most tending to strain and to readjustment—the political state (treated by Professor Tufts), the economic order, and the family (both treated by Professor Dewey). It is in the scope and quality of these opening and closing sections (together constituting about two-thirds of the volume) that the distinctive excellence of the book chiefly consists. There is space only for the briefest comment upon the three parts separately; and after this general recognition of the importance and value of the work as a whole, the space may perhaps be most serviceably devoted to points where criticism seems possible.

1. Readers of this *Journal* will perhaps be most interested in the two chapters in which Professor Tufts attempts to summarize and contrast the moral development of the Hebrews and the Greeks. That on the Hebrews may be considered inadequate in two not unimportant respects. First, the truly distinctive contribution of the Hebrew to mankind's moral ideas was the conception of a sort of ethical philosophy of history, the recognition of a dramatic unity and a beneficent pedagogic import in the sequence of

temporal events, and the consequent placing of the highest values in the future and the maintenance of an attitude of expectancy. This is also, perhaps, the most marked point of contrast between the deeper religious thought of Greece and Israel. Professor Tufts does not wholly ignore this; but he hardly brings it out sharply and illuminatingly enough. Second, there is (except for some references to Job) almost no consideration given to the one body of directly ethical reflection produced by the Hebrew mind—the Wisdom literature—and no recognition of the important place of that school in the development of Jewish moral ideas, especially through the curious dialectic by which it was led to insist upon the “inwardness” of moral qualities. No mention, either, is made of Hebrew skepticism and pessimism, such as that of Ecclesiastes. There is a certain air of chronological confusion about the whole chapter; distinct periods seem bewilderingly telescoped into one another. Thus, the conception of the relation of Yahweh to Israel, as originating in a deliberate choice and covenant, is apparently referred to “the earlier thought”—a view which is certainly highly debatable. At times, in the midst of what should be objective historical exposition, Professor Tufts lapses into a rather didactic and homiletic manner which seems inappropriate and pedagogically ineffective (e. g., pp. 99, 100).

2. A disquisition on ethical theory, such as Professor Dewey gives in the middle section, always demands consideration under two distinct categories—as literature and as logic. Regarded as literature—as the expression of the author's personal observations on life and his temperamental estimate of the relative values of things—Professor Dewey's little treatise is uncommonly interesting. It is infused with a steady and intense conviction that the inner good for a man consists wholly in a single-eyed, outward-looking absorption in concrete, objective, and social ends—a conviction that is often expressed with eloquence. “The true happiness of any individual,” says the author, lies “in the peace and joy that accompany the abiding and equable maintenance of socialized interests as central springs of action,” which “constitutes a kind of happiness with which others cannot be compared. It is unique, final, invaluable.” The ideal of the “socializing” of all interests and desires—that is, of their interpenetration by sympathetic feeling and a sense of their relation to a larger social process—is perhaps Professor Dewey's most characteristic moral conception. With it goes a certain absence of interest in the non-social or supersocial values which have been supposed to inhere in the inner religious experience of the individual—especially of the mystic—and in the aesthetic experience. The democratic spirit is so strong in Professor

Dewey that he is able to recognize as sins against that spirit modes of action or attitudes of thought that are often supposed to be admirable manifestations of it. Thus he points out that "the vice of the social leader, the reformer, the philanthropist, is to seek ends which promote the social welfare in ways which fail to engage the active interest and co-operation of others. . . . The inherent tragedy and irony of much that passes for a high kind of socialized activity is that it seeks a common good by methods which forbid its being either common or a good." In its practical teaching, in short, Professor Dewey's section expresses vigorously and impressively a well-defined type of moral feeling and attitude. But considered as logic—as a connected piece of reasoning from verified premises through well-defined steps to a clear-cut conclusion—the section leaves something to be desired. On its critical side, indeed, it is excellent; the arguments against, e. g., the psychology of hedonism, utilitarianism, intuitionism, the Kantian rigorism—arguments not in themselves novel—are expressed with unusual force and clarity. But the constructive argument is less lucid and convincing; and the moral criterion at which the author arrives is not—in itself or in its premises—so thoroughly distinct from the "self-realization" standard of Green and his disciples as it seems meant to be. The crucial transition in the argument seems to depend upon the observation that the individual's real good or happiness demands social well-being because the self is essentially a social self (pp. 296-98)—a characteristically abstract, loose, and shifty piece of neo-Hegelian phraseology that is susceptible of several senses and is, in some of its senses, decidedly open to question. It is impossible here to go adequately into this technical argument; one is, however, tempted to classify some of the reasoning of the section as an example of Professor Dewey's "first manner."

3. The concluding division of the book is too rich in matter to be fitly dealt with at the fag-end of a brief review; but the reviewer ought at least to commend it heartily to the general reading public. Both writers are thoroughly at home in the discussion of the grave practical questions to which the section is devoted, and both are admirably free from the use of crude moral abstractions so common in the discussion of the ethical aspect of social questions; for an example of a judicious and "concrete" treatment of a vexed question, note Professor Dewey's remarks on the "open" and the "closed" shop (pp. 559-61). The extensive use of this part of the book in colleges should go far toward making the rising generation capable of a much more sane, more open-eyed, more methodical, and less superficial way of thinking about the problems of modern society than has hitherto been common among our educated class.

ARTHUR O. LOVEJOY

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI
COLUMBIA, MO.

TWO STUDIES OF PLATO'S PHILOSOPHY

Two important contributions to the understanding of Plato are made by Robin. One treats the Platonic theory of ideas and numbers¹ and is novel in method. Realizing the difficulties in the way of authoritative interpretation of Plato's text, the author believes that indications of Plato's meaning can be deduced from the later philosophers. In the present work he attempts only so much of the task as involves Aristotle. By exposition of Aristotle's references to Plato and estimation of their value, he seeks to reconstruct Plato's doctrine. The method is exactly that which is applied to the doxographers in the case of the pre-Socratic philosophy. Doubtless there would be required a final checking of results against the text of Plato but Robin insists that this portion of his task may be more profitably undertaken when he has completed the thorough examination of the entire Platonic tradition. It is, therefore, impossible to make final estimate of his work at this time. However, it presents an interesting conclusion. He has chosen to limit his study to the theory of ideas and numbers because of the architectonic function of that theory in Plato. He shows that Aristotle sometimes misinterpreted his master, that not infrequently he viewed Plato through Xenocrates and Speusippus, that he was misled in his critiques by his love of dialectic and that often the very doctrine condemned survives in his own thinking. How far a reconstruction of Plato's doctrine from such data is possible cannot be definitely asserted. Yet Aristotle's conception of Plato involves a theory of gradations of being corresponding to which the two fundamental Platonic principles undergo transformations.

The elementary principles, the one and the dyad of the infinite; the ideal numbers and ideal dimensions; the ideas and that which lives per se; the intermediary sphere of the mathematical universe with its soul organized according to arithmetical numbers and its body formed according to geometric dimensions, and finally the sensible universe, here is quite a long series of degradations of primordial reality, to each of which corresponds a particularization of principles.

Robin concludes that Aristotle betrays indications of what may be, by anticipation, called neo-Platonism. Special mention should be made of the thorough discussion of controverted points in the notes.

Robin's other study² is on the Platonic theory of love. The discussion

¹ *La théorie platonicienne des idées et des nombres d'après Aristotle.* Etude historique et critique. Par Léon Robin. Paris: Alcan, 1908. xvi+702 pages. Fr. 12.50.

² *La théorie platonicienne de l'amour.* Par Léon Robin. Paris: Alcan, 1908. 229 pages. Fr. 3.75.

rests, in part, upon the chronological relation of the sources. He places *Lysis* early, makes *The Banquet* anterior to *The Republic* and maintains *Phaedrus* to be a work of Plato's old age. The fundamental importance of the study lies in the estimation of love as philosophic method. This follows from the synthetic character of love which unites the sensible and the intelligible. It affords a reconciliation of the Socratic intellectualism with the Heracleitan philosophy of becoming. Since love leads us to the idea of beauty, making known one of the universal principles of being, we may through it dominate all being. It is the liberator of the soul, the source of the virtues and sciences. Hence it is a method in which unites the motive and the cognitive powers of the soul and in which is expressed the might of order and of measure. It is akin to the world-soul and to the Platonic notion of an intermediate mathematical realm. At least this is true in its synthetic aspects. Many important topics are treated in the argument, as for example, the Platonic demonology as throwing light upon the assertion of Plato that love is a demon when he means that love has an intermediary function.

WILLIAM THEODORE PAULLIN

MONMOUTH, ILL.

FOSTER'S HISTORY OF THE NEW ENGLAND THEOLOGY

A recent writer in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* argues vigorously that the collapse of the New England theology has been overestimated. That will, of course, depend upon what one regards as New England theology. We certainly do not find in contemporary literature such treatises as Hopkins' *Sin an Advantage to the Universe*, or of Bellamy's *True Religion*. The theological literature of New England is at the present time far enough away from the religious logic of the eighteenth century. On the other hand, it is undoubtedly true that, to a considerable extent, the old forces continue to influence, more or less unconsciously, theological teachers. But the type of theology now taught in every significant theological school is not that which may be technically called "New England."

No one can appreciate this condition better than he who reads Frank Hugh Foster's notable book, *A Genetic History of the New England Theology*.¹ There have been plenty of essays on the subject which the volume covers and there have been, of course, general treatises on the history of doctrine which cover the period, but there is no volume dealing with the subject comparable with that of Professor Foster's in point of the use of sources, genuine historical method, and intuitive grasp of the real significance of the

¹ *A Genetic History of the New England Theology*. By Frank Hugh Foster. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1907. xv + 568 pages. \$2.

doctrinal development that ended with Professor Park of Andover. And Professor Foster has every right to be the expositor of the system. He himself was for years one of its followers and his estimate of the entire movement (p. 539) certainly does not lack of appreciation of its positions as represented by his great teacher, Professor Park. Yet his very study of the New England theology dispossessed him of his loyalty. Just because he understood it he saw its impotence to meet the changed condition of our intellectual world. As he himself says, relative to Professor Park's system:

Its defect was its failure to compose the strife between the idea of liberty in its fundamental theory, that of the nature of virtue, and its theory of the will. His failure at this point forces irresistibly upon us the question as to the possibility of success in the task which New England theology had set before it—to free Calvinism, while it still retained its characteristic features, from the paralyzing load of a doctrine of inability.

In this characterization Professor Foster undoubtedly strikes the very heart of the matter but the reader reaches it only after a discussion that is less in the nature of a criticism than of a discriminating exposition of the successive theologies from Jonathan Edwards to Park. In his treatment Professor Foster devotes three chapters to Jonathan Edwards, one entire chapter being devoted to his treatise on the "Freedom of the Will." It is Edwards' position at this point from which the New England theology radiated, both positively and negatively. And Professor Foster has done well to trace this significance. Indeed his chapters on Edwards give the clue to his entire discussion.

A man unlearned in the history of doctrine cannot fail to be astonished at almost every page of Professor Foster's history. The field of discussion is radically different from that of current theological interest. The attempt to solve metaphysical problems; the courage with which conclusions were drawn from premises and in turn made themselves premises, arouse only a sort of bewildered admiration. Were these the subjects over which men once fought? Were these the motives which wrought such changes in our western world and made American congregationalism the founder of school and college?

Professor Foster, however, does not attempt sensational situations. His position is that of the trained historian; his discussions are impartial, and he shows the strength as well as the weakness of these great systems. Unless all indications fail, his exposition of the New England theology will become final and the book will be a lasting authority for students of doctrinal history.

SHAILER MATHEWS

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

CHRISTIANITY AND MODERN CULTURE

Dr. Shaw recognizes that a crisis in the history of Christianity has been reached. It is his aim to meet this crisis by considering the essence of Christianity on the one hand and by fathoming the spirit of the age on the other.¹ Is there a modern Christianity which is germane at once to our thinking life and living thought? That is our author's question. It is required that he should know what our age, with its culture and civilization, with its ideals and duties, really is; also that he should know what Christianity is. In both of these directions, his survey and insight are of commendable order, much as his conception of the bearing of historical criticism and consequent historical doubt does not seem to me to be quite adequate. The question of Schleiermacher and Strauss: Are we still Christians? is happily turned into the question: Are we Christians yet? Modern life, he says, has not outlived Christianity by surmounting its ideals, or by exhausting their possibilities. "Outside Christianity nothing higher will arise; but within it newer forms will spring forth." Thus is his conclusion a judgment of faith understandable by the man who shares the faith; not a judgment of science which would need to be proved by arguments which compel the assent of the intellect—a need which, in the nature of the case, science is not competent to satisfy.

Dr. Titius has prepared an exhaustive review and criticism in a scientific but conservative spirit of the spiritual development of the gifted and *verewigte* pastor Kalthoff of Bremen.² Attention is first given to radicalism as idealism, both ethical and religious. Much appreciation is accorded Kalthoff's attitude toward the problem of autonomous personality and religious dependence upon God, in the first stages of his rather pathetic, if not tragic, development. For when Kalthoff passes on to think of God as infinite life, eternal mystery, and cosmic reality, he lands, with Haeckel, in a position which Titius evaluates as sub-Christian. Monism as pantheistic optimistic *Diesseitsreligion* is not Christian, Titius avers. True, but the thought of God is fast becoming once more the most serious question of the modern man, and Kalthoff has made a contribution to the subject.

¹ *Christianity and Modern Culture*. An Essay in Philosophy of Religion. By Charles Gray Shaw, B.D., Ph.D., Professor of Philosophy and Butler Lecturer on Comparative Religion, New York University. Cincinnati: Jennings & Graham, 1908. 310 pages. \$1.25.

² *Der Bremer Radicalismus*. Vortrag in der Versammlung der Freunde der christlichen Welt zu Marburg am 10. Oktober, 1907 gehalten. Von D. Arthur Titius, Professor in Göttingen. Tübingen, 1908. 132 pages. M. 2.

Next, Titius delineates radicalism and the history of primitive Christianity. The contention of Kalthoff that the Jesus of history is a Christological, sociological, *proletariat* construction does not merit the consideration which a scientific refutation would involve, Titius thinks. Yet Titius closes his criticisms with some observations, not a little astonishing, coming from such a source. No triumph is possible, he thinks, for either the party of a history-less world of ideas or that of an idea-less history. I simply point to this in passing. Of more interest is the fact that, while opposing supernaturalism in the natural world, Titius urges with utmost seriousness that the surrender of ethico-religious supernaturalism is tantamount to the sacrifice of our holiest experiences and feelings. Yet he adds:

I blame no one if he is not able to share this judgment concerning the religious uniqueness of Jesus, but sees therein merely a survival of the old miracle faith. I am not at all surprised that this in fact *enthusiastic* [italics mine] judgment is not every man's affair. On the contrary, often as I think about this matter, as often I indeed do, I am filled with astonishment that there are still thoughtful and critically endowed men who have the *courage* [italics mine] to hold fast to this enthusiasm . . . and that I find myself under the necessity of showing the same faith.

Here is a point for those who are betrayed into the attempt to found religion on historical criticism. Trusting to the judgment of historical science and not to the judgment of religious enthusiasm, Jesus loses his place in the religion of the Christian. He is sacrificed to skepticism, as Kalthoff says, according to Titius. In this conclusion Titius is without doubt right. Only recently such men as Johannes Müller and Rode have made the same admission. Men who have thought long and deeply upon this subject now see that it is at once irreligious and disastrous to found our faith upon the conclusions of historical science concerning Jesus. To that science the non-existence of the Jesus of history is now—and probably henceforth—admittedly a possibility. It is a question of finding God in the biblical portrait—historical or not—of the Christ, and if God was once there he is there still: not there alone, but there, there as nowhere else in the world. This judgment of faith incommensurable with, and wholly independent of, the judgment of criticism—relying on which we are irremediably doomed to skepticism, not to religion—this eternal foundation even Bremen radicalism cannot shake, or shaking, must itself go to pieces upon the shoals and breakers of the modern world, must perish from its own uncertainty and poverty.

GEORGE B. FOSTER

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

BRIEF MENTION

JONNIER, PAULIN. *Manuel du rédacteur D'Ordo, ou memento liturgique*. Permettant à tout prêtre séculier ou régulier de confectionner convenablement l'Ordo de son office. [*Manuale Calendaristarum. Quo utens quilibet saecularis vel regularis sacerdos officium suum recte ordinare potuit. Auctore Dom Paulino.*] Paris: Lethielleux, 1907. 100 pages.

This is a compilation of liturgical forms used in the Roman Catholic Church service. The collection is designed to assist the officiating priest in conducting the service with the utmost precision conforming to the prescriptions issued by the church. The value of such a work to the leader of the service in a communion where the distinction between proper and improper, regular and irregular, is carried into the minutest details, is naturally very great. To the non-ritualistic Christian, however, the book will have only an objective interest. The compiler has manifestly used extreme care to secure absolute accuracy and fullness and as the work bears the imprimatur of the proper ecclesiastical authority it may be taken to represent the best that can be obtained in its class.

VÖLTER, DANIEL. *Der Erste Petrusbrief, Seine Entstehung und Stellung in der Geschichte des Urchristentums*. Strassburg: Heitz, 1906. 58 pages. M. 1.50.

This pamphlet seeks to solve one of the very important knotty problems in the New Testament field. The first section deals with a critical investigation of the traditional form of the epistle; the second with the original form; the third with the character and origin of this first draft; and the fourth with the reworking into the present letter.

In the critical process Professor Völter starts with the section 2:10; particularly with the textual variation in 2:6. By a process of elimination he finds a purely theistic kernel stripped of all ceremony and national limitations. This earlier form exhibiting strong affinities with Romans, Galatians, I Clement, Hermas, and very markedly with Jas., was ostensibly written by Silvanus (Silas) in the name of Peter at Jerusalem to the Diaspora in general; in reality it originated at Rome during Domitian's reign.

The remodeling must be placed in the second century as early as possible; then a weakened Paulinism was injected. Its evident object is to bestow encouragement on the persecuted Christians in Asia Minor. Whether this interpolated letter appeared first in Rome or Asia Minor is left an open question.

The author's bias is too evident to make the pamphlet convincing. That a Christian in the early enthusiasm of his faith should compose an epistle without the slightest reference to Jesus and that the revision should follow the original composition so shortly is improbable.

FONTAINE, L'ABBÉ J. *La theologie du Nouveau Testament et l'évolution des dogmes*. Paris: Lethielleux, 1906. 576 pages.

This book appears with the "imprimatur" of Leo Adolphus, Arch. Sid. Coadjutor Parisiensis, and, as might be expected, defends those dogmas which the Roman Catholic

church feels itself divinely appointed to conserve. As its title indicates, it is divided into two parts, but one purpose seems to prevail throughout—the combating of the theories of evolution and their extreme consequences as expressed in naturalistic beliefs. Throughout his introduction the author calls attention to Professor William James' *Varieties of Religious Experience* which has recently been translated into French and which has been rather favorably received by the French readers. What the author looks upon as an extremely naturalistic tendency in this work seems the basis for alarm and the occasion for the writing of the book. In the first part of the book the author raises and attempts to answer the questions as to the nature of dogma, its relation to the New Testament, and finally its interpretation in accordance with the authority of the church. In the second part the author attempts to show the relation between immutability and progress, indicating that there are certain unchangeable and fundamental dogmas, but that there may be evolution in the understanding of dogmas.

FRANCIS, P. J., AND JONES, S. *The Prince of the Apostles: A Study.* Garrison, N. Y.: The Lamp Publishing Co., 1907. 223 pages. \$1.25.

The joint authors of this book are high-church Episcopalians. The real purpose of the book, which is not obvious in the title itself, is to set forth an argument and a plea for the reuniting of the Church of England with the Roman church. "Rome can change her discipline without violating her infallibility and other communities their dogmas. . . . Even the offensive 'papal infallibility' will be clearly received when we understand better the historic principle of tradition and the scientific principle of development."

BALDWIN, JAMES MARK. *Mental Development in the Child and the Race.* Third edition, revised. New York: Macmillan, 1906. xviii+477 pages. \$2.25 net.

Professor Baldwin, in this latest edition of his much-read book, has followed the same outline as in previous editions, enriching it, however, by references to his later volumes and to recent publications, so that it now even more adequately finds a vital place in the history of modern psychological research.

MEYER, F. B. *The Creed of Creeds.* A Series of Short Expositions of the Apostles' Creed. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1906. vii+226 pages. \$1 net.

Short, popular religious addresses, employing in each case a word or a phrase of the Apostles' Creed as the basis of a somewhat emotional homily. There is no attempt at dealing with the original significance of these words and phrases; hence the interpretation, from a historical point of view, is often somewhat subjective. Religiously the book is a characteristic expression of Mr. Meyer's type of piety.

HALLOCK, GERARD B. F. *The Teaching of Jesus Concerning the Christian Life.* New York: American Tract Society, 1906. 193 pages. \$0.75.

An edifying religious tract, which cites isolated texts to illustrate or confirm the elements in an outline derived from the author's point of view, rather than from a

historical study of the teachings of Jesus. Johannine and Pauline elements are prominent in the decidedly mystical view of religion depicted. Historical exposition and practical application are intermingled in a way which makes accurate scholarship difficult to attain.

DUPANLOUP, MGR. *L'Esprit Saint, la personne divine, son action dans l'église et dans les âmes.* Paris: Lethielleux, 1907. viii+256 pages. Fr. 2.

A posthumous publication of the last work of the bishop of Orleans, who died in 1876. Its value consists primarily in its reflection of the profound religious spirit of the author.

MÉZARD, D. *Medulla S. Thomae Aquinatis per omnes anni liturgici dies distributa, seu Meditationes ex operibus S. Thomae depromptae.* Paris: Lethielleux, 1907. 2 vols. viii+502 and 392 pages. Fr. 5.

BOURGEOIS, TH. *Le Christianisme et l'église.* Paris: Lethielleux, 1907. 454 pages. Fr. 3.50.

A Catholic refutation of the notion that Christianity is something different from ecclesiastical Christianity. The divine authority of the Catholic hierarchy is defended with the usual arguments.

Salz und Licht. Vorträge und Abhandlungen in zwangloser Folge. No. 12, "Der Wandel im Licht." von H. BAUER. 32 pages. No. 13 "Wie predigen wir das Evangelium den Gemeinden der Gegenwart," von EUGEN SACHSSE. 24 pages. No. 14, "Die Leiden der Christen," von A. SEEBERG. 20 pages. Barmen: Biermann, 1906.

Popular tracts dealing frankly, but in a spirit of conservative religious fervor, with present-day problems.

MÜLLER, JOHANNES. *Vom Leben und Sterben.* München: Buk, 1906. 58 pages. M. 1.

A popular discussion of the hope in immortality, employing the imagination to suggest possible conditions of the future life, intended to give religious comfort rather than to solve critical questions.

HOFFMANN, GEORG. *Das Wiedersehen jenseits des Todes.* Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906. 79 pages. M. 1.

A historical survey of the belief in personal recognition of friends in the next life, beginning with classic writers, and coming down to modern times. Only theological and philosophical views are considered. The survey thus lacks an important element in its omission of evidence from psychology and biology, and will impress the scientific reader as one-sided. In its narrow sphere, however, it brings together a large amount of interesting material.

PICK, BERNHARD. *Hymns and Poetry of the Eastern Church*. Collected and Chronologically Arranged. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1908. 175 pages. \$1.

This collection does not profess to be more than a compilation from sources "accessible in the English language" of five early and eight later anonymous compositions and eighty-seven others, the authors of which are known or which are attributed to some known author of the early Greek or Syrian Church. The known authors represented are Clement of Alexandria, Methodius, Gregory, Nazianzen, Synesius, Ephraem Syrus, Anatolius, Andrew of Crete, John of Damascus, Romanus, Cosmas of Jerusalem, Stephen the Sabaite, Theophanes, Theodore the Studite, Methodius I, Joseph the Studite, Metrophanes of Smyrna, and Simeon Metaphrastes. Some of the translators and editors are Bonar, Browning, Mrs. Charles, Chatfield, Julian, Neale, Philip Schaff, Shipley, Daniel, and the ante-Nicene Library. Brief bibliographical notes are prefixed to the translations, the Greek titles of the hymns are given, and there is an index of the first lines of the translations. The compiler could have done better than to write "Gregory of Nazienzen" (in the Table of Contents, p. 3, and three times on p. 33)!

GOODSPEED, EDGAR J. *Index Patristicus sive Clavis Patrum Apostolicorum Operum*. Ex Editione Minore Gebhardt, Harnack, Zahn, Lectionibus Editionum Minorum Funk et Lightfoot Admissis. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1907. 262 pages. M. 4.80.

The general adoption of the historical method has increased our sense of the importance of early patristic literature to an understanding of the development of Christianity. The above index, which is designed to serve the purpose of a concordance to this literature, is a work of scholarship for which we cannot be too grateful. The words and the forms of the Greek texts of the Apostolic Fathers are exhaustively covered by this index. The parts extant in Latin only are covered by a Latin index, and since every word, including the article and the particles, is represented, the task seems to have been so perfectly performed as to leave little room for improvement. The work is modeled upon Gehring's *Index Homericus* and will be of very great value in facilitating the lexical, grammatical, and historical study of the Apostolic Fathers. Hitherto no adequate index or concordance for this important work has appeared. Dr. Goodspeed has thus furnished a most important contribution to the means of understanding and interpreting patristic literature.

PFANNKUCHE, A. *Religion und Naturwissenschaft in Kampf und Frieden*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1907. 133 pages. M. 1.25.

A very interesting popular review of the main stages in the development of natural science in the Western world, with especial reference to the attitude which religious faith has taken toward the different scientific hypotheses. The author's own standpoint is Kantian dualism, by means of which religious postulates are freed from any dependence upon scientific theories.

FITCHETT, W. H. *The Beliefs of Unbelief. Studies in the Alternatives to Faith.* New York: Eaton & Mains, 1908. 293 pages. \$1.25.

Dr. Fitchett has outlined in his title an admirable path for apologetics. Are the alternatives to Christian belief satisfactory? But if this question is asked, the *really existing* alternate beliefs must be considered, and not the artificial antitheses of a special pleader. To defend the deity of Christ by enumerating as the only three alternatives to this belief the theories that Jesus never existed, or that he was an impostor or that he is a myth means to pass unnoticed the real difficulties which many devout men find in the way of accepting Dr. Fitchett's Christology. To differentiate the Bible from all other sacred books, calling the latter "a mass of clotted superstition, a nightmare of insane dreams, saturated with immorality—in which only stray passages that show a gleam of truth can be discovered" indicates either gross ignorance or else wilful perversion of the truth by the author. Christianity will lose more than it gains by such ill-advised defences.

An Alphabetical Subject Index and Encyclopedia to Periodical Articles on Religion, 1890-1899. Compiled and edited by Ernest Cushing Richardson. New York: Published for the Hartford Seminary Press by Scribner's, 1908. 1168 pages. \$10.

This great compendium of some 60,000 references has all the merits and the limitations of the indices compiled after the fashion of Poole's Index. It is an invaluable means of discovering what has been published on a given subject in periodicals; but it affords no clue as to the value of the various articles. The editor, with his well-known care, has attempted to eliminate mistakes, so far as possible, by taking his data from the periodicals themselves. Only about 10 per cent. of the references are said to have been taken from secondary sources. About 1,500 periodicals are cited. It would seem, therefore, that almost no important article which appeared during the decade has been omitted. The gratitude of all students of theology is due to the editor and his assistants for this volume, representing such an enormous amount of detailed work.

MULLINS, E. Y. *The Axioms of Religion.* Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1908. 316 pages. \$1 net.

A vigorous and eloquent popular presentation of the democratic and non-ecclesiastical ideal of a spiritual religion in which the principle of "the soul's competency in religion" is followed out to the logical conclusions of equal rights of men before God in church and in state. It is argued that the Baptists represent most completely this ideal. Some of the chapters in the book are republications or revisions of addresses on important occasions.

GEMMEL, SEWERIN. *Die Herrlichkeit der heiligen Taufe.* (Biblische Volksbücher Reihe I, Heft 2.) Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1907. 90 pages. M. o. 70.

A defense of the orthodox Lutheran conception of the significance of baptism on the basis of exegesis of the New Testament and with reference to the religious utility of the rite.

GRIGGS, EDWARD HOWARD. *The Use of the Margin*. ("The Art of Life Series.") New York: Huebsch, 1907. 64 pages. \$0.50.

A wholesome appeal to make wise use of leisure hours and surplus strength.

BOUSSET, W. *Die Mission und die sogenannte religionsgeschichtliche Schule*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1908. 36 pages. M. 0.80.

An address delivered at the twenty-third annual conference of the Evangelical missionary union in Germany, which attempts to remove misconceptions concerning this newer type of theology. Bousset insists that the leaders in this school believe in divine revelation, in the supremacy of Christianity, and in the need of missions. In spite of the differences which separate this movement from orthodoxy, it shares the evangelical spirit and aim.

VISCHER, EBERHARD. *Die Frage nach dem Sinne des Lebens*. Tübingen: Mohr, 1908. 31 pages. M. 0.60.

A vigorous popular address intended originally for a student audience, in which is expounded the importance of the scientific quest for truth, the moral quest for right, and the religious quest for the guarantee of scientific and moral values in the universe.

FAULKNER, JOHN ALFRED. *Erasmus: The Scholar*. Cincinnati: Jennings & Graham, 1908. 249 pages. \$1 net.

This is one of the "Men of the Kingdom" series which is planned and executed by scholars of the Methodist Episcopal connection. The little book is a readable compilation of a great mass of data. The chapter on "What Was the Renaissance?" is an original treatment of the idea that the culture of the renaissance period was due to the Greek church.

MONTGOMERY, JAMES ALAN. *The Samaritans: The Earliest Jewish Sect; Their History, Theology, and Literature*. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Co., 1907. x+358 pages. \$2 net.

The literature dealing with the interesting community at Nablus, now rapidly dwindling to extinction, is very large. The bibliography which Professor Montgomery has appended to the present volume covers twenty-five pages, and it might be considerably increased. Both from the historical and the philological points of view the Samaritans are attracting increasing interest. Many accounts have been given of their origin and relation to the Jews, and not the least interesting as an example of national apologetics is their own attempt to vindicate their history as the true children of the patriarchs. The interpretation of Professor Montgomery may be given in the statement that, "Even as the Samaritans are shown by anthropology to be Hebrews of the Hebrews, so the study of their religion and manners demonstrates them to be nothing else than a Jewish sect." Against the popular view that Samaritanism is a mixed religion, containing elements of Judaism and ancient heathenism, the thesis of intimate relationship to the older community is maintained.

The first seven chapters of the book present the most available facts regarding the origin, history, and present condition of the Samaritans.¹ The impression produced by the Old Testament narrative of the fate of northern Israel is that the Samaritans must be the heirs of the peculiar religious characteristics of that religion. They must be the lineal successors of the church of Elijah, Elisha, and Hosea. But the first authentic information, which comes from the New Testament, Josephus, and the Talmud, shows them to be nothing else than a Jewish sect. Their career under the Hellenic and Roman empires is traced, and under Islam. Later chapters discuss Samaritan literature, theology, sects, inscriptions, and religious customs.

The work aims less at an independent investigation of the problem than a statement of the known facts as they have been gleaned by the large company of scholars who have interested themselves more or less in the life and history of this strange relic of a once-numerous people. It is the most complete and convenient massing of material on this theme. It also renders valuable service as an index to the more elaborate treatments of special problems in this field. The text is illustrated with photographs of Nablus and the Samaritan community, and reproductions of the most important Samaritan Inscriptions.

ZUNG, LEOPOLD. *The Sufferings of the Jews during the Middle Ages*. (Library of Jewish Classics.) Translated from the German by Rev. Dr. A. Lowy, Revised and Edited with Notes, by George A. Kohut. New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1907. 96 pages. \$0.75.

This booklet reveals a pathetic chapter in the history of Judaism. It will be of interest to all students of the Old Testament and of later church history, showing the tenacity and bravery with which the Jews have dared to hold fast to their convictions.

ABRAHAM, ISRAEL. *A Short History of Jewish Literature from the Fall of the Temple (70 C. E.) to the Era of Emancipation (1786 C. E.)*. London: Unwin; New York: Scribners, 1906. 176 pages. \$1.

This is an admirable concise presentation of the main facts and characteristics of Jewish literature since the fall of the Temple in 70 A. D.

JAHN, HOLGER. *Bilder aus dem alten Israel*. Dresden: Ungelenk, 1908. 130 pages.

Here are grouped some of the best stories from the Old Testament told in simple language and in a vivid and striking style so as to hold the interest of children without fail. It should be of great value to all students of child-life as an example of what good story-telling is.

HAGEN, MARTINO. *Cursus Scripturae Sacrae*. Atlas Biblicus. Paris: Lethiel-leux, 1908. 115 pages. Fr. 9.

This atlas contains a series of splendid maps accurate in their geographical data and clear and distinct in their outlines. Such a work as this would be of exceedingly great value to all teachers of the Scriptures, enabling them to give definiteness and

background to instruction that is likely to be otherwise somewhat misty. The topographical index contains all the important geographical names occurring in the Scriptures, with a brief statement in Latin setting forth the significance of the name, and indicating on what map the place may be found, and on what part of the map.

KAUTZSCH, E. *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*. Lieferung 1, 2. Tübingen: Mohr, 1908. 64 pages. M. o. 80 each.

Kautzsch's translation of the Old Testament has proved so acceptable to the general public that it now enters upon its third edition, the first edition having appeared in 1890, the second in 1894. The plan of this new edition is somewhat changed from that of its predecessors. Exegetical and critical notes, together with the introductions that constituted a supplement to the former editions are now brought into connection with the text in the main body of the work, an arrangement which is very much more convenient and usable. Furthermore the sources of the documents are indicated by symbols on the margin of the translation. The translation has thus far arrived at the twenty-ninth chapter of Exodus. Fuller notice of the work will be given when it is complete.

GILBERT, GEORGE H. *Interpretation of the Bible: A Short History*. New York: Macmillan, 1908. 309 pages. \$1.25.

A thorough, competent account of how the Bible has been interpreted through the centuries, why the several types of interpretation have arisen, and what their influence has been upon religious thought, remains to be written. We have some good books in English upon the subject—Farrar's *History of Interpretation* (1886), Immer's *Hermenentics* (1873, Eng. trans., 1877), Terry's *Biblical Hermenentics* (2d ed., 1890), and Briggs' *General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture* (1899). Now we may add to the list this excellent manual by Professor Gilbert. The book, however, is only a sketch, and is designed for popular reading. It does not aim to furnish a comprehensive, scientific treatment of this important department of the history of Judaism and Christianity. The fundamental data of the development of biblical interpretation are indicated by Gilbert, and a fair perspective of the movement is presented. But even this book does not get far beneath the surface. All treatments of the subject are as yet superficial, because they do not work out the philosophical, psychological, and theological foundation underneath the point of view, the method, and the impulse of the interpretation of the Bible. Until an adequate work can be produced that will set forth this whole subject as it deserves, Gilbert's little volume will be a helpful contribution.

KRAÜTLEIN, J. *Die sprachlichen Verschiedenheiten in den Hexateuchquellen. Ein Beitrag zum Sprachbeweis in der Literarkritik des Alten Testaments*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908. 67 pages.

This study opens with a preliminary statement of the author's views concerning the nature and value of the argument from language as proof in questions of authorship and date. This statement is clear and discriminating, for it distinctly recognizes the limitations of the linguistic argument in general, and in the case of the Old Testament in particular. The bulk of the study consists of tables setting forth clearly the

linguistic usage of the various sources. The conclusion arrived at is indecisive except at one point, viz., that the argument from language does testify to the existence of P as a separate source.

MERX, ADALBERT. *Die Bücher Moses und Josua*. ("Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher," II, 3.) Tübingen: Mohr, 1907. 160 pages. M. 1.75.

Merx gives a synthetic history of Israel's laws (cf. p. 21). This method is unusual, but quite interesting. He is independent in his conclusions, dating some of the documents earlier than most critics: E, some time after 1000 B. C.; J, before 750, their union between 750 and 650, possibly earlier, D ca. 650, H (in its original form) older than D, P ("Tabernacle code") exilic; completion of the work 444-33 or later. The work is written primarily for laymen, but scholars will be interested in the occasional criticisms of current methods and in the attempt to bridge over the differences between the two main critical schools.

BERTHOLET, ALFRED. *Daniel und die griechische Gefahr*. ("Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher," II, 17.) Tübingen: Mohr, 1907. 64 pages. M. 0.50.

Bertholet's little book is a happy presentation of the critical view of the Book of Daniel. It contains five chapters: I, "Historical Background" (=the Greek danger); II, "Contents;" III, "Form and Style;" IV, "Date;" V, "Origin of the Material." The notes (pp. 60 ff.) consist mostly of literary references. Chap. v will be most criticized, because there is as yet much uncertainty in our knowledge of the ancient oriental religions.

JEWETT, J. H. *The Epistles of St. Peter*. New York. Armstrong, 1906. viii+345 pages. \$1.25 net.

Mr. Jewett makes no attempt to produce a Commentary in the usual sense of the term. He gives instead a series of semi-expository sermons setting forth the principles of the Christian life as they are reflected in these epistles. From a chance remark of the author one infers that the discourses were preached in his own pulpit. They are characterized by felicity of expression, richness of experience, and a discriminating knowledge of the inner life of man. Spiritual vision and religious fervor are not wanting. The work is both "devotional and practical." The author, however, misinterprets the Transfiguration experience of Jesus. He did not renounce the glory which opened to him and into which he might have gone directly from the mount. His transfiguration was the fruit of his self-surrender.

SCOTT, C. ANDERSON. *The Book of the Revelation*. New York. Armstrong, 1906. xii+337 pages. \$1.25 net.

Mr. Scott is mainly concerned with the original significance of the Apocalypse. He seeks to explain with what purpose it was composed and its adaption to the circumstances that called it forth. The volume is as much Introduction as Commentary and the homiletic element is minimized. Mr. Scott believes that Revelation is from the hand of the apostle John and that it is in the form in which it was originally composed. The sections which seem to break the connection are interpreted as consisting largely,

but not wholly, of quotations from earlier Jewish writings. Concerning this particular point the author's precise thought is sometimes difficult to determine. Mr. Scott has done his work in the full light of recent study of Jewish apocalyptic. The discussion is thoroughly historical in spirit and is eminently sane. For its purpose the book can be heartily recommended.

VOLLMER, HANS. *Vom Lesen und Deuten Heiliger Schriften*. Tübingen: Mohr, 1907. 64 pages. M. 0.50.

A sketch of the allegorical method of biblical interpretation to the time of the Protestant Reformation and then more briefly the rise of the grammatic-historical method which is regarded as a great advance over the other. It is too brief to be satisfactory or very valuable.

MENEGOS, E. *Pardon et Justice: Le pardon gratuit selon Jésus Christ et la justice imputé selon Saint Paul*. Paris: Fischbacher, 1907. 18 pages.

Jesus tells us that God forgives our sin because he is gracious. Paul teaches that Christ satisfies God's offended righteousness and that God imputes to us the righteousness of Christ and so justifies us. The apparent contradiction is not real for with Paul as with Jesus the free grace of God is the ground of God's action. The essay emphasizes a point frequently overlooked in Paul.

BRUSTON, CH. *La doctrine de l'expiation et l'apôtre Paul*. Paris: Fischbacher, 1907. 19 pages. Fr. 1.

This is a criticism of the essay of Menegoz. Bruston rejects *in toto* the idea of substitutionary satisfaction by Christ and declares the righteousness of God to be just equivalent in Scripture to his benevolence and grace. His view ignores some essential data.

CLARK, HENRY W. *The Gospel According to St. John*. (The Westminster New Testament.) Chicago: Revell, 1908. 255 pages. \$0.75.

Critically quite conservative, with notes simple, lucid and pertinent, the volume will be of real though not large service to the lay readers and Sunday-school teachers for whom it is written.

HEAGLE, DAVID. *That Blessed Hope: The Second Coming of Christ*. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1907. 176 pages. \$0.75.

The book is intended "to mediate somewhat between post-millennianism and pre-millennianism especially as to the time of our Lord's Second Coming." Neither in presuppositions, methods, nor results is it to be taken seriously by the historical student.

HOYT, WAYLAND. *The Teaching of Jesus: His Own Person*. New York: American Tract Society, 1907. x+200 pages. \$0.75.

Jesus used self-designations and makes assertions concerning himself which are explainable only on the supposition that "in the supreme meaning of Deity is Jesus

Deity." The virgin birth accounts for his uniqueness; yet parthenogenesis is a not infrequent phenomenon in biology. The book is hardly an exposition of the "Teaching of Jesus," is homiletic in style, and limps in its logic.

MABIE, HENRY C. *How Does the Death of Christ Save Us? The Ethical Meaning of the Cross.* Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1908. 160 pages. \$0.50.

As indicated in the subtitle, the purpose of the book is to show how the ethical energy resident in Christ's death becomes effective for our salvation. Though winningly written and of value, the book fails of its purpose. Rejecting the moral influence theory as too superficial, Dr. Mabie conceives the ethical energy as operating through cosmic rather than personal channels. But that is simply to say that the death of Christ is assigned forensic rather than ethical significance.

NASH, HENRY S. *The Atoning Life.* New York: Macmillan, 1908. x+148 pages. \$1 net.

This is a book worth reading. The author seeks a view of the atonement which will "not leave us moderns cold." With rich learning and profound spiritual vision and temper he interprets life in terms of unity that includes both the human and divine. He finds the "atoning life" to be the core of the divine life and of the human life which shares the divine life. His second chapter, "The Proving-Ground of Reality," is remarkably strong. The chapter, "The Atoning Life," takes too much for granted, is rendered unnecessary by the previous discussion, and so lacks grip. It "leaves us cold."

MÜLLER, J. KARL. *Our Lord: Belief in the Deity of Christ.* Foreign Religious Series. New York: Eaton and Mains, 1908. 103 pages. \$0.40 net.

The calling of Jesus Lord by the early disciples was equivalent to calling him Jehovah. They could have done this only on the authority of Jesus himself. Jesus' self-estimate implies nothing less than the claim to be God.

BACHMANN, PHILIPP. *The New Message in the Teaching of Jesus.* Foreign Religious Series. New York: Eaton and Mains, 1907. 60 pages. \$0.40 net.

The new message is not God's fatherhood, nor the spiritualizing of religion but the declaration that in Jesus himself God had begun a new and final work in humanity, for he was God's son. The book is compactly written but in translation subject to criticism. Many would not accept its thesis.

LEMMKE, LUDWIG. *Do We Need Christ for Communion with God?* Foreign Religious Series. New York: Eaton and Mains, 1908. 63 pages. \$0.40 net.

That which prevents communion with God is sin. This communion can be established only by one who is able to remove the sin. This Christ and only he can do. He and only he does bring us into true communion with God.

VON HASE, CARL. *New Testament Parallels in Buddhistic Literature*. Foreign Religious Series. New York: Eaton and Mains, 1907. 62 pages. \$0.40 net.

The parallels which have been adduced between Buddhism and Christianity are detailed and briefly but not strongly discussed. The difference between the two religions in the spirits of apparent similarities as well as deeper principles is rightly held to indicate but slight possibility that early Christianity borrowed from Buddhism.

FEINE, PAUL. *St. Paul as a Theologian*. Foreign Religious Series. New York: Eaton and Mains, 1908. Vol. I, 65 pages; Vol. II, 98 pages. \$0.40 net each.

This essay has the strength and independence of one intimately acquainted with Paul. The author seeks to determine the elements which enter into the apostle's theology and to describe briefly its main feature. He rightly minimizes the Hellenic influence and finds the two chief factors in the formation of Paul's theology to be his training in Jewish theology and his experience of the redeeming power of Jesus. Paul is Christocentric only in the sense that he regards Christ as the only one in whom God is fully known and expressed, for with Paul God is all. In the author's discussion of such topics as redemption, reconciliation, and justification he generally accords with the traditional interpretation, but in making these only explanatory formula of a deeper experience of Christ he stresses a point frequently forgotten and in so doing is really true to Paul.

SMITH, ARTHUR H. *The Uplift of China*. New York: Young People's Missionary Movement, 1907. 274 pages.

ZWEMER, SAMUEL M., F.R.G.S. *The Moslem World*. New York: Young People's Missionary Movement, 1908. 224 pages. \$0.50.

The men whose names appear on the title pages of these little volumes are acknowledged to have expert knowledge of the matters with which they deal. But Dr. Smith's manuscript has been edited by the committee to whom this right is reserved and one may doubt therefore just how far he is responsible for "The Uplift of China" in its present form. Dr. Zwemer's book is an adaptation to the needs of the Young People's Missionary Movement of his larger work, *Islam, A Challenge to Faith*, prepared for the Student Volunteer Movement. Presumably the "Young People" cannot digest the strong meat offered to the "student volunteers." Both books are well equipped with maps, questions, and bibliographies.

ZWEMER, SAMUEL M., F.R.G.S., AND BROWN, ARTHUR JUDSON, D.D. *The Nearer and Farther East*. Outline Studies of Moslem Lands, and of Siam, Burma, and Korea. New York: Macmillan, 1908. 325 pages. \$0.50.

Until now, the mission textbooks prepared for the Women's Missionary Societies have borne Latin titles, *Lux Christi*, *Dux Christi*, etc., which sounded pretty, but did not at all describe the contents of the volumes. One is glad to know that the

entire series is to be republished with titles in plain English. The book in hand, like its predecessors, smooths the way of the learner by various "helps" and relieves fatigue by the occasional insertion into the text of poems not too closely related to the subject under consideration.

ZEUBLIN, CHARLES. *The Religion of a Democrat*. New York: Huebsch, 1908. 192 pages. \$1.00.

Professor Zeublin, in *The Religion of a Democrat*, discusses in an interesting and stimulating way a series of suggestive topics, such as "The Decay of Authority," "Religion and the State," and "Impersonal Immortality." The thoughts expressed would not find ready acceptance in every circle, but among men and women familiar with the great sociological movements of today, these essays could hardly fail of appreciation, while even among those not yet hospitable to modern conceptions of life no little thinking of a valuable sort would probably result from their perusal.

The fundamental view seems to be that a religion should be constructed today to be the correlate of the complex democratic life which is constantly becoming more completely realized. In this he simply applies to modern conditions a principle which the scientific historians of religion maintain has always been true in the past.

SPILLER, GUSTAV. *Faith in Man*. London: Sonnenschein & Co., 1908. 192 pages. \$0.75.

This book comes from the circle of the Ethical Culture Movement, of which, in the last chapter, it gives a brief historical account, and very naturally emphasizes the ethical aspect of different factors in modern life. "Every complete religion," Mr. Spiller argues, "represents a *needed*, a *helpful*, and, usually, a *reasoned* philosophy of life," but not dissociated from ethics. "A religion without ethics and an ethics without religion are doomed to speedy deterioration and rapid extinction." While science has revolutionized the material side of life, it "has done a huge disservice to man." In the future there must be a slower social development and, in consequence, a reduced waste of human life.

RESCH, ALFRED. *Das lutherische Abendmahl*. Leipzig: Deichert, 1908. 48 pages. M. o. 80.

This little pamphlet, by a Lutheran pastor and writer, contains three essays on the Lord's Supper. The aim of the pamphlet is to stir the conscience, strengthen faith, build the church, fight indifference, increase a desire for the sacrament, and develop a better understanding of it.

LOOFS, FRIEDRICH. *Die Auferstehungsberichte und ihr Wert*. 3d ed. Tübingen: Mohr, 1908. 45 pages. M. o. 75.

This lecture is published now for the third time, with but few changes. Professor Loofs hopes to shake the confidence in the so-called freedom from prejudice (*Unvoreingenommenheit*) of the moderns, "who are ever ready to say to others that they presuppose their results, but are themselves more dependent upon presuppositions than many others." It is an admirable piece of work, and abundantly repays a careful reading.

PREUSCHEN, ERWIN. *Vollständiges Griechisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur*. Erste Lieferung: α bis ἀρρυσκῆρος. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1908. 160 cols. M. 1. 80.

As the title indicates, this is to be a lexicon of the New Testament books, the extra-canonical gospel fragments, and the writings of the apostolic Fathers. Nestle's Greek text is taken as the standard for the New Testament, the Gebhardt-Harnack-Zahn edition for the apostolic Fathers, and for the remaining early Christian literature the author's own *Antilegomena* is used. No systematic use of the papyri and inscriptions is contemplated. Within these limits the author aims at complete definition, brief and exact expression, and orderly classification. The numerous, and in many cases exhaustive, citations of a word's occurrence give the book value as a concordance. The Hebrew terms underlying the Septuagint usage are carefully listed, and sometimes Aramaic equivalents are given. The work promises to be one of much value. It is to be completed by a half-dozen more parts which the publishers announce to appear in the course of a year. When completed the journal will furnish its readers with an extended review of the book as a whole.

DRUCKER, A. P. *The Trial of Jesus from Jewish Sources*. New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1907. 64 pages.

Rabbi Drucker argues that the trial of Jesus, as presented in the gospels, would have been wholly illegal and could not have occurred in the courts of Judaea in Jesus' day. He gathers material from late Jewish sources and presents Jesus as a leader beloved by the Jews, "the great pacifier," who was crucified as the result of a plot between Pilate and Caiaphas, "the contemptible creature," who acted as Pilate's spy. It is to be regretted that the Rabbi has not made a more discriminating use of his sources and shown better logic in his thinking. Defects in both of these directions minimize the influence which a Jewish presentation of the trial of Jesus might otherwise have.

KÖGEL, JULIUS. *Christus der Herr*. Erläuterungen zu Philipper 2:5-11. ["Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie."] Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1908. 76 pages. M. 1. 50.

This is a labored attempt to show that "he who understands the meaning of Jesus 'Christ the Lord' and what that phrase directly presupposes, comprehends the meaning of Paul" in the passage under consideration (p. 16). Accordingly, Paul was not primarily concerned here with Jesus as a model but rather with his significance as a savior (p. 41). In spite of the skill with which the argument is put forth, however, the opposite conclusion seems irresistible. However much of soteriology the passage, taken by itself, suggests, that is merely incidental to the presentation of the self-sacrificing act of Jesus which, when the larger context is taken into account, offers itself so vividly, strikingly, and controllingly to the responsive reader.

GOUCHER, JOHN. *Christianity and the United States*. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1908. 52 pages. \$0.50.

This little book is the reproduction of an address delivered before the Tokyo Conference of the World's Students Christian Confederation. It is a defense of the

thesis, "Christianity accounts for the discovery and settlement of America, it determined our governmental organization, and has been the dominating influence in our national development." The contents are of the kind that the preacher uses for his sermon on Washington's birthday, Independence Day, or Thanksgiving Day. The field has been better covered by the late George C. Lorminer in his *Baptists in History*.

BAUER, JOHANNES. *Schleiermacher als patriotischer Prediger*. Giessen: Toepelmann, 1908. xii + 364 pages. M. 10.

This important historical study of the Koenigsberg professor of theology is of value to the American reader because of the influence of Schleiermacher on our theologizing on the one hand, and, on the other hand, because it affords another historical example of a ministry that addresses itself intelligently and with a deep religious spirit to the need of one's country. During the wars of liberation it was possible for men of smaller gifts to combine patriotism with piety in the sermon. Schleiermacher's greatness, however, showed itself in the days of the deepest humiliation of his people. It was then that he made himself well-deserved of his country and of his church in a faithful, joyous optimism, and in a clear recognition of the shadows and the remedies of the religious and the national life of his people.

Professor Bauer treats his subject in a unique way. In the first portion of the book he gives us a survey of Schleiermacher's activity as a preacher from 1804 to 1822. The second portion of the book analyzes one sermon, the one delivered in memory of Frederick the Great, and the third portion of the book gives a treatment of Schleiermacher as a homiletician. Fifty pages of previously unprinted sermon-briefs of Schleiermacher are appended. The book is important to the historian as well as to the preacher who desires the inspiration of a great example.

BAINVEL, J. V. *La devotion au Sacré Cœur de Jesus*. Paris: Beauchesne & Co., 1906. 373 pages. Fr. 3.50.

T'AI-SHANG KAN-YING P'IEN. *Treatise of the Exalted One on Response and Retribution*. Translated from the Chinese by TEITARO SUZUKI and PAUL CARUS. Containing Introduction, Chinese Text, Verbatim Translation, Translation, Explanatory Notes, and Moral Tales. Edited by PAUL CARUS. Chicago: Open Court, 1906. 139 pages.

YIN CHIH WEN. *The Tract of the Quiet Way, with Extracts from the Chinese Commentary*. Translated from the Chinese by TEITARO SUZUKI and PAUL CARUS. Chicago: Open Court, 1906. 48 pages.

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The more important books in this list will be reviewed at length.

ARCHAEOLOGY

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VON OPPENHEIM, MAX F. Der Tell Halaf und die verschleierte Göttin. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908. 43 pages. M. 0.60.
WRIGHT, C. H. H. Light from Egyptian Papyri. London: Williams & Norgate, 1908. 123 pages. \$0.75.

OLD TESTAMENT AND SEMITICS

- CASPARI, WILHELM. Echtheit, Hauptbegriff und Gedankengang der messianischen Weissagung Jes. 9:1-6. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1908. 69 pages.
CHEYNE, T. K. The Decline and Fall of the Kingdom of Juda. London: Black. 1908. xlviii+194 pages. 7s. 6d.
CORNILL, CARL H. Einleitung in die kanonischen Bücher des Alten Testaments. Tübingen: Mohr, 1908. 332 pages. M. 5.
HERTLEIN, EDUARD. Der Daniel der Römerzeit. Leipzig: Heinsius, 1908. 90 pages. M. 3.60.
JEREMIAS, ALFRED. Die Panbabylonisten, der alte Orient und die Aegyptische Religion. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908. 72 pages. M. 0.80.
JEREMIAS, ALFRED. Das Alter der babylonischen Astronomie. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908. 64 pages. M. 1.20.
KAUTZSCH, E. Die heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments. Tübingen: Mohr, 1908. Lieferung 4-6. 192 pages. M. 2.40.
LÖHR, MAX. Die Stellung des Weibes zur Jahwe-Religion und -Kult. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908. 54 pages. M. 2.60.
LOTZ, WILHELM. Hebräische Sprachlehre. Grammatik und Vocabular mit Übungstücken. Leipzig: Deichert, 1908. 184 pages. M. 4.
PEAKE, A. S. The Religion of Israel. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribners, 1908. 177 pages. 6d.
PSICHARI, JEAN. Essai sur le Grec de la Septante. Paris: Klincksieck, 1908. 50 pages.
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- FRIEDLÄNDER, M. *Synagoge und Kirche in ihren Anfängen.* Berlin: Reimer, 1908. 247 pages. M. 5.
- GOODSPEED, E. J. *The Epistle to the Hebrews.* (The Bible for Home and School.) New York: Macmillan, 1908. 132 pages. \$0.50.
- GOWEN, H. H. *The Revelation of "The Things That Are." An Exposition of Revelation IV and V.* New York: Whittaker, 1908. 74 pages.
- JACQUIER, E. *Histoire des livres du Nouveau Testament.* III. *Les Actes des Apôtres.* IV. *Les Ecrits Johanniques.* Paris: Lecoivre, 1908. 346, and 420 pages. Fr. 3.50 each.
- LAKE, K. *The Text of the New Testament.* New York: Gorham, 1908. 108 pages. \$0.24.
- LIETZMANN, HANS. *Das Muratorische Fragment und die monarchianischen Prologe zu den Evangelien.* Bonn: Marcus u. Weber, 1908. M. 0.30.
- LÜTGERT, W. *Freiheitspredigt und Schwärmgeister in Korinth.* Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1908. 157 pages. M. 3.
- NIEBERGALL, F. *Praktische Auslegung des Neuen Testaments. Matthäus und die Korinther I. Lukas, die Apostelgeschichte.* (Handbuch zum Neuen Testament.) Tübingen: Mohr, 1908. M. 1.20 each.
- PICK, BERNHARD. *Remains of Gospels and Sayings of Christ.* Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1908. 158 pages. \$0.75.
- PREUSCHEN, ERWIN. *Vollständiges griechisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur.* Erste Lieferung. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1908. 159 pages. M. 1.80.
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- SEEBERG, ALFRED. *Die Didache des Judentums und der Urchristenheit.* Leipzig: Deichert, 1908. 122 pages. M. 3.50.
- SMITH, DAVID. *The Gospel of St. Matthew.* (The Westminster New Testament.) Chicago: Revell, 1908. 256 pages. \$0.75.

- SWETE, H. B. *Zwei neue Evangelienfragmente*. Bonn: Marcus u. Weber 1908. 12 pages. M. 0.40.
- WEISS, JOHANNES. *Die Aufgaben der neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft in der Gegenwart*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1908. 56 pages. M. 0.40.
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- BIDEZ, JOSEPH. *La tradition manuscrite de Sozomène et la Tripartite de, Théodore le lecteur*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908. 96 pages. M. 4.
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- PETERS, M. C. *Sermons That Won the Masses*. Vol. I. *The Message Series*. Philadelphia, American Baptist Publication Society, 1908. 192 pages. \$0.50.

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- BAUDIN, P. *et al.* *Les forces productives de la France*. Paris: Felix Alcan, 1909. 252 pages. Fr. 3.50.
- ERNST, RICHARD. *Wie ich ein moderner Theologe wurde*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1908. 95 pages. M. 1.50.
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- LUBOMIRSKA, PRINCESSE. *Les préjugés sur la folie*. Paris: Blond, 1908. 87 pages. \$0.15.
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- THILLY, F. *La philosophie americaine contemporaine*. (Revue de Metaphysique et de Morale.) Paris: Armand Colin. 1908. 28 pages.
- VIOLLET, MARCEL. *Le spiritisme dans ses rapports avec la Folie*, Paris: Blond, 1908. 120 pages. \$0.16.
- VASCHIDE, N. *Les hallucinations télépathiques; la pathologie de l'attention*. Paris: Blond, 1908. 97, 115 pages. \$0.15 each.

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THE RESURRECTION FAITH OF THE FIRST DISCIPLES

SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE
The University of Chicago

The present inquiry is primarily historical in its aim. Moreover, it is limited to a particular item in the history of Christian doctrine, namely, the early belief in the resurrection of Jesus. Hence only indirectly will it have a bearing upon the actual historicity of Jesus' resurrection or upon the place of this belief in modern Christian thinking.¹ But the primitive resurrection faith, whether or not it rested upon any actual historical incident and whatever its proper relation to modern belief may be, was certainly a fact in the history of the Christian religion and merits study as such. Possibly, too, some service may be rendered to modern problems by an endeavor to appreciate the situation of the first disciples as nearly as possible

¹ These aspects of the problem have often been considered. Among recent works, Lake, *The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ* (1907) discusses critically from a strictly historical point of view all the extant tradition. The various theories of the way in which the traditional appearances of Jesus are to be interpreted, and the literature upon the subject, are summarized by Ryder in the *Harvard Theological Review*, January, 1909, pp. 1-27. To the books there cited one might add Ihmels, *Die Auferstehung Jesu Christi* (1906) and the third edition of Loofs' monograph, *Die Auferstehungsberichte* (1908). Jesus' resurrection as related to the doctrine of immortality is discussed by Fenn and Mackenzie in the *American Journal of Theology*, October, 1908, pp. 565-87.

from their own point of view. Their faith as a factor in the history of religion—its origin, nature, and content—is the center of interest for the present discussion.

The term "first disciples" as here used refers to the early group of Jewish Christians in Palestine, chief among whom were those who had a personal recollection of the earthly Jesus. Most of the number had been his sympathetic followers, but some may not have attained complete faith in him until after the crucifixion. Notwithstanding the unique position which these first Christians occupy in history, tradition gives them only an inconspicuous place. It is not difficult, however, to account for this neglect. The emphasis which the early historians placed upon Jesus' earthly career and the prominence given to Paul and his wonderful missionary enterprise have quite overshadowed the little company whose life bridged the chasm between the two great epochal events in the early days of Christianity: the crucifixion of Jesus on the one hand and the conversion of Paul on the other. At the present time it may be impossible to restore an exact portrait of the primitive church or to estimate fully its contribution to the faith of the first century, but to suppose its life to be insignificant, or at best merely a factor detrimental to the progressive thought of Paul, is certainly not justifiable.

There are several considerations which entitle these pioneers in the faith to claim more attention than is usually given them. In the first place, they possessed the power to survive the experiences of some of the most hazardous days that have overtaken the church. While Jesus was alive he gave stability to the movement he inaugurated, and later the vigorous personality of Paul guaranteed the success of the enterprise he championed, but the transition period could not claim for itself the leadership of any such overmastering personage, nor did the new movement begin with any show of prestige. Had a contemporary historian deemed it worthy of notice at all he doubtless would have termed it a lost cause. As for the new faith in general, its content was not yet defined nor was its power yet vindicated, and it was threatened by seemingly irresistible foes. Yet it lived and prospered, even triumphing over its bitter persecutor, Saul. These earliest believers certainly possessed the secret of Christianity's peculiar vitality.

Nor does their significance cease with Paul. On the strength of his own testimony he appears to have been under many obligations to them: they furnished him knowledge of the life and teaching of Jesus, it was their confidence in Jesus as a deliverer from sin to which he refers as the central thing in his own faith, and it was their testimony to Jesus' resurrection that substantiated the truth which he made the very corner-stone of his Christianity. Furthermore, in various quarters today students are attempting to recover the actual Jesus of history, thinking to find the essence of Christianity in his life and teaching, but this effort meets an immediate embarrassment in which the primitive Christians play the chief part. They are the original custodians of tradition, hence arises the question, Is the Jesus of the gospels the true historical personage or is he largely a creation of the first community? It has been suggested that we may regard as most authentic in gospel tradition that which would not naturally originate with the members of the primitive church. The legitimacy of this canon can scarcely be disputed, but the principal difficulty lies in determining just what would not naturally originate with the first believers. To one it appears quite possible that they and Jesus moved in much the same spheres of thought, while another would put a great gulf between him and them. For example, one tells us that the messianic self-consciousness which the gospels ascribe to him was merely a product of primitive faith, while another believes it to have been the central factor in determining his earthly career; to some the specifically eschatological interpretation of the kingdom of God appears to show the coloring of later elaboration, while others are confident that this is an original element in Jesus' own thought; and illustrations could be multiplied.

In view of the important position which the first disciples occupied and the comparative meagerness of our information about them, it seems appropriate that the initial item in their faith—the belief in Jesus' resurrection—should be examined with some care.

The first Christians confidently believed that Jesus really died, was truly buried, and actually arose from the dead and appeared to his disciples. The testimony of Paul alone is sufficient to convince us, beyond any reasonable doubt, that this was the commonly accepted

opinion in his day—an opinion at that time supported by the highest authority imaginable, the eye-witnesses themselves.²

But the exact content of their resurrection faith is not so clear. It has commonly been supposed to have been a belief in the resuscitation of Jesus' physical body. This was capable of ordinary physical manifestations yet it was wholly superior to all physical laws and was able to pass at will into a state of incorporeity, for thus only could it have passed through closed doors or vanished instantaneously from the sight of men whose faculties were in a normal condition. But this representation, taken in its strict literalness, is not altogether satisfactory. The gross blending of the material and the incorporeal as compared with the nobler conceptions of spiritual reality, and certain vague and seemingly contradictory elements in the New Testament narratives themselves, have led many to wonder whether tradition may not have misinterpreted the real occurrence. Perhaps there was no phenomenal event and the first disciples were merely deceived by their own fertile imaginations; or they may have received a reviving touch from the spirit world but wrongly materialized and objectivized its cause; or, finally, they may have comprehended their experience accurately while later interpreters misunderstood its real nature. Any attempt to discover the exact content of their resurrection faith must first determine what preparation they had had for entertaining the idea. On this point there are two lines of inquiry: current Jewish ideas, and the teaching which Jesus had imparted.

Belief in individual immortality, apart from a shadowy existence in Sheol, was a late development among the Hebrews; but by Jesus' day it had been generally adopted except among the Sadducees. In some circles the distinctly Greek conception of the soul's immortality apart from the body found acceptance, but in general it was the Pharisees' belief in the reanimation of the body in a future angelic state that became current. It would be very natural for the disciples, both during Jesus' lifetime and after his death, to expect for the individual—at least for every righteous man—a reanimation of the body when the new messianic age dawned. It is possible, too, that many Jews at this time could have conceived of a resuscitated body's returning to its former earthly existence, though they might not have

² I Cor. 15:3-7.

been able to point to a practical illustration of their belief. The possibility, however, underlies the expectation of Elijah's return,³ Herod's fear that Jesus was John the Baptist risen from the dead, and the assumption made in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus. The raising of Jairus' daughter, the restoration of the widow's son, and the marvelous reanimation of Lazarus at Bethany, if not further evidence of the idea's existence in pre-Christian times at least show the ease with which it passed into Christian tradition.

While the return of a deceased individual to his former earthly life may have been thought possible, and while a bodily resurrection to a heavenly state was commonly expected, yet there is no evidence that any Jew would have entertained either idea in connection with the Messiah's career, for it was not supposed that the Messiah was to die.⁴ If the disciples during Jesus' lifetime believed in his messiahship they could not have anticipated any such disaster as his death or cherished any expectation of his resurrection, unless they had been previously instructed on this point by the Master himself.

According to gospel tradition he had explicitly, and on several occasions, predicted his death and told them he would rise on the third day. It is not perfectly clear at just what time in his career he arrived at the full conviction that he must die. Though there are earlier intimations, such as his reference to the removal of the bridegroom, it is usually conceded that he did not make a deliberate attempt to prepare his disciples for the approaching calamity until shortly before his last journey to Jerusalem. After Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi there is an almost systematic recurrence of the topic in his reported teaching. What then were the disciples prepared to expect? The gospels present the following situation:

1. Immediately after Peter's confession Jesus is represented as

³ Elijah's return, strictly speaking, would not be a resuscitation, since he was thought to have been miraculously translated without undergoing death and burial. Restoration to a previous earthly condition, however, is presupposed (Mark 6:15; 8:28; 9:11-13; Matt. 11:14).

⁴ This opinion has occasionally been called in question but without sufficient reasons. Even II Esdras 7:28 ff., aside from the question of its source and date, is really no contradiction. Here the Messiah dies not after a life of humility and suffering but after a reign of 400 years, and then his exit is merely an event in the process of a new world-order. The real parallel of Esdras is the book of Revelation and not the gospel history of Jesus.

charging his disciples to keep their knowledge of his messiahship secret. With this incident the first evangelist connects Jesus' first formal prediction of his death, and the others make it the general period of time from which he began to give regular instruction upon the topic.⁵ According to the phraseology of Matthew and Luke the prediction was "the third day be raised up," while Mark has "after three days rise again." In this connection Mark alone asserts that "he spake the saying openly," yet there is no hint as to whether his hearers at this time comprehended his meaning. Judging from the implications of the context, they were so slow to believe in the possibility of his death that the thought of a resurrection made no impression upon them.

2. The second formal reference occurs immediately after the account of the transfiguration.⁶ According to Matthew and Mark, as Jesus was descending from the mountain with Peter, James, and John, he instructed them that they should not tell of the vision until the Son of man arose from the dead. Luke does not report this saying but simply records the fact that "they held their peace, and told no man in those days any of the things which they had seen." Mark alone makes the significant comment, "they questioned among themselves what the rising from the dead should mean;" although it is Mark who has already told us that Jesus had previously spoken openly upon this topic.

3. Matthew and Mark record a third prediction after the return to Galilee,⁷ again using their respective phrases "the third day he shall be raised up," "after three days he shall rise again." Here again Mark says "They understood not the saying and were afraid to ask him," while Matthew naïvely remarks that "they were exceedingly sorry." In Luke's parallel there is no explicit reference to the resurrection, but regarding Jesus' statement that "the Son of man shall be delivered up into the hands of men" he adds a threefold comment (*a*) the disciples understood not this saying, (*b*) it was concealed from them, (*c*) they were afraid to ask him about this saying.

4. The fourth occasion on which Jesus foretells his death and

⁵ Mark 8:30-32; Matt. 16:20 f.; Luke 9:21 f.

⁶ Mark 9:9 f.; Matt. 17:9; Luke 9:36b.

⁷ Mark 9:30-32; Matt. 17:22 f.; Luke 9:43b-45.

resurrection is recorded by all three evangelists,⁸ and assigned by Matthew and Mark to the days of the final journey to Jerusalem. Here Jesus predicts somewhat in detail the course of events to be followed at his trial, but the reference to the resurrection is merely a repetition of each evangelist's characteristic phrase, Luke following Mark. Here Luke adds another conflate comment (*a*) they understood none of these things, (*b*) this saying was hid from them, (*c*) they perceived not the things that were said.

It will be observed that all these direct references of Jesus to his resurrection are categorical in character, their contexts betray no effort to domesticate an idea radically new to the mind of the hearers, they lack the lifelike freshness of Jesus' customary discourses, and the recurring phrases show a tell-tale literary similarity. It might be overbold to assume that these sayings are insertions of an evangelist at those points where it seemed to him that Jesus must have given some intimation of the approaching event; but tradition is unquestionably emphatic in declaring that Jesus, if he made any effort whatever to create the expectation of his resurrection, was not successful in the attempt.

5. There are other passages which indirectly assign to Jesus a prediction of his resurrection, but they are of doubtful authenticity. According to the first evangelist only, this was Jesus' meaning when he spoke of the sign of Jonah,⁹ and it was the Jews' excuse for requesting a guard for the sepulcher.¹⁰ The angelic communication to the women who found the tomb empty implied that Jesus had forewarned his disciples.¹¹ In the narratives of Matthew and Mark, though their phraseology varies slightly, Jesus was accused at his trial of having spoken of the destruction of the temple and a reconstruction in three days,¹² but there are no grounds for making this a reference to the resurrection, except for the explanatory comment of the Fourth Gospel in a different context.

6. Lastly, one may call into evidence an array of passages which definitely state or indirectly imply the expectation of Jesus' second

⁸ Mark 10:32-34; Matt. 20:17-19; Luke 18:31-34.

⁹ Matt. 12:40; cf. Luke 11:30.

¹⁰ Matt. 27:63.

¹¹ Mark 16:7; Matt. 28:6; Luke 24:6 f.

¹² Mark 14:58; Matt. 26:61; cf. Mark 15:29; Matt. 27:40; Acts 6:13 f; John 2:21.

coming. These clearly intimate that he did not think his death would end all, and he seems to have sought to inspire in his disciples the same conviction. Some interpreters are inclined to put great stress upon this teaching of a second coming, even going so far as to say that otherwise it would be impossible to explain how the disciples came to be able to believe in the resurrection.¹³ According to this view these prophecies are more important than the definite predictions that he would rise in three days. Thus belief in the resurrection was ultimately derived from that confidence in his messiahship, interpreted eschatologically, which Jesus during his lifetime had inspired in his followers. Possessed by this conviction and impressed by the memory of his worth, their ecstatic temperament, working upon their highly overwrought nerves, so electrified their vivid imaginations that they were able to create for themselves a firm belief in the risen Christ.

This hypothesis is not altogether satisfactory. In the first place we do not know positively how much stress Jesus placed upon the prospect of his visible return. A large amount of his reported teaching represents the coming of his kingdom as a gradual development in the hearts and lives of men. On various occasions he took no small pains to correct current erroneous notions of the character of his mission. His followers looked for external display, and anticipated a personal share in the glories of the new messianic age, while he sought to teach that the members of his kingdom were to be controlled by the spirit of service; and with this conviction he was able to be reconciled to his death. Possibly he anticipated a miraculous vindication of his claims in the future when he would come upon the clouds, and so taught his disciples, but in the gospel picture of him the sober sanity of his message is quite as pronounced as are the traits of the apocalyptic visionary. Moreover, the thought of the early community was apocalyptic to the core, hence it would not have been at all strange for the stream of gospel tradition to gather to itself discoloration from the banks past which it first flowed. And though the disciples, while Jesus was with them, were expecting the kingdom to be brought to its consummation by his sudden appearance in heavenly majesty, the expectation did not logically involve his death and resurrection.

¹³ So Schmiedel, *Encyc. Bibl.*, Vol. II, art. "Gospels," § 145 (f), and Vol. IV, art. "Resurrection- and Ascension-Narratives," § 37 (b).

They were living in an atmosphere aquiver with miraculous possibilities and perhaps never asked how the earthly Jesus of today was to become the heavenly Christ of tomorrow. At any rate his death was not regarded as a step in the process, for when he admitted his messiahship and then spoke of his approaching death Peter called him to account at once for not better understanding the messianic programme. And even granting that Jesus may have clearly intimated to his followers that the kingdom was to be ushered in by his appearance upon the clouds, congenial as this idea would have been to their minds, there is no historical evidence that they ever reached the point during his lifetime where they accepted his revised form of the Messiah's schedule, which admitted the possibility of his death.

So far as the gospel records warrant any conclusion Jesus' prophecies of a second advent had not been successful in leading a single disciple to expect his resurrection, and whatever may be said of any teaching of his that may have given the disciples some premonition of the future event, we must concede that it had not produced expectancy. There is not anywhere the slightest intimation that any one of his followers cherished the faintest hope. If we are to understand their resurrection faith we should approach a study of the period in which it was produced as free from mental prepossessions regarding it as they were on the day of Jesus' crucifixion. Neither their inheritance from Judaism nor the instruction they received from the earthly Jesus opens to us the secret of their new faith. This was a conviction born of their later experience and based primarily, according to all the available evidence, upon those manifestations of himself which the risen Lord made to them. What, then, was the content of their new experience?

Paul's account of the appearances is the briefest and yet the most comprehensive.¹⁴ They are six in number, and seem to be enumerated in the order of their occurrence. The first was to Peter, the second to the Twelve, the third to above five hundred brethren at once, the fourth to James, the fifth to all the apostles, and the sixth to Paul himself. These statements are made without the least hesitation and in the full confidence of one who possessed the evidence. The last one was

¹⁴ I Cor. 15:5-8.

certified to by the writer's own experience, and the others were given on the authority of the chief eye-witnesses who were still living. Unfortunately the apostle does not explain the nature of these appearances, nor does he give any particulars connected with them; but he evidently regarded his own vision of the risen Christ to be essentially the same as that which the others had experienced. He nowhere describes exactly what he saw, so we are left largely to inference based upon his treatment of the subject of resurrection in general.

But his language to the Corinthians¹⁵ is very suggestive. To meet their peculiar needs he must do two things: first, demonstrate that the dead will be raised (vs. 12); second, show with what manner of body they will rise (vs. 35).¹⁶ Of course as a Pharisee Paul believed in bodily resurrection before he believed in Christ, and the Corinthians may have held that abstract idea of immortality native to Greek thought, but as Christians Paul and they had a common meeting-ground in the historic fact of Christ's resurrection, and to this, therefore, the apostle makes his sole appeal. He so far puts Christ on a level with humanity as to say, if dead men do not rise then Christ has not been raised;¹⁷ and, conversely, if Christ has been raised then dead men do rise.¹⁸ Now God has raised Christ, therefore he will raise men, particularly those who live a life of fellowship with the risen Lord. As the death of the first Adam was typical of the fate that awaited all other men, so the resurrection of the second Adam was prophetic of every man's future hope. Thus the whole proof of man's resurrection rests upon the fact of Christ's resurrection.

¹⁵ I Cor. 15:12-54.

¹⁶ This was long a moot question among gentile Christians, for the Hebrew idea of a restored body was not congenial to Greek thought. In the Apocalypse of Peter this perplexity is seen in the disciples' question: "Show us one of our righteous brethren who has departed from the world in order that we may know what sort of form they have;" and Justin, in defending the doctrine of a millennium, refers to certain ones who called themselves Christians and yet said there was no resurrection but the soul at death ascended at once to heaven (*Trypho*, lxxx). Ultimately Christianity absorbed both the Greek and the Hebrew conceptions: the former in the doctrine of the soul's immediate ascent to heaven after death, and the latter in the belief in its reunion with the resuscitated body in the indefinite future (cf. Knopf, *Die Zukunftshoffnungen des Urchristentums*, pp. 39 ff.). But in Paul's time the issue was a new one and called for greater attention on his part than we are apt to appreciate.

¹⁷ I Cor. 15:13, 15 f.

¹⁸ I Cor. 15:12.

It is sometimes urged that Paul did not know the tradition of the empty sepulcher, or did not accept it as authentic, else he would have mentioned it in this connection; he could not have passed over so weighty an argument.¹⁹ But this is not a necessary inference, and even its legitimacy seems doubtful. It was characteristic of Paul's dialectic not to cite hearsay evidence when he was able to mete out first-hand knowledge. On the question of Jesus' resurrection he regards himself a competent authority, consequently he mentions only by way of preface the authentically attested accounts of the post-resurrection appearances, and when he reaches the real argument it is the authority of his own knowledge alone to which he makes appeal. He tells them that he has himself seen the risen Lord, and the vital question is, Do they believe the truthfulness of his statement? They ought to believe it, he says, for he gives his testimony fully conscious of its sacred character, and if it is not true he is deliberately a false witness regarding the work of the Almighty (vs. 15). Surely they cannot think him guilty of so blasphemous a deception. And if they are not convinced by his solemn declaration, his conduct ought to be proof positive of his sincerity: he preaches a gospel which depends upon Christ's resurrection for its validity, his practice of baptizing for the dead further attests his belief, and the sturdy willingness with which he jeopardizes his life for the cause he advocates should be conclusive evidence to them of the honesty of his conviction. If he thus testified, both by word and deed, to his own positive knowledge there could be no stronger evidence adduced. He might tell of what others had seen that agreed with his own experience, but other evidence about which he had only hearsay information, as must have been the case regarding the account of the empty tomb, would have been of only inferior worth. For those to whom he claimed the supreme right of apostleship²⁰ the strongest grounds of certainty would have been his personal knowledge of the fact, in the second place would be put other information that corresponded with his, and lastly would come such knowledge as he might claim on second-hand authority only. Hence a mention of the empty sepulcher in his dis-

¹⁹ E. g., Schmiedel, *Encyc. Bibl.*, Vol. IV, art. "Resurrection- and Ascension-Narratives," § 15.

²⁰ I Cor. 9:2.

cussion with the Corinthians would have been a matter of only third-rate worth at best. His failure to mention it is therefore not sufficient evidence that he was either ignorant or skeptical at this point. We shall not know whether Paul held the idea or no, except as it may appear to be a logical inference from his doctrine of bodily resurrection in general.

The only particular in which he makes the resurrection of Christ differ distinctly from that of other men is the time of its occurrence—Christ is the “first-fruits.” Paul may have had some peculiar theory of a relation between this and man’s deliverance from sin, and possibly he believed it would exert some mystical influence in bringing about the resurrection of men, but these are dogmatic considerations which stand entirely apart from his doctrine of the nature of a risen body. We need here only to observe how close is the likeness which he draws between Christ and men and how far he answers his second main question, With what manner of body do the dead arise?

He does not regard the resurrection as merely a revivification of the physical body,²¹ nor does he speak of rising from the grave but rather from the dead, that is, from the underworld. This is an inheritance from Judaism which conceived of the spirit as lingering in the vicinity of the body for three days, then descending to the lower world to await a reunion with the resuscitated body at the end of the age. So in general Paul speaks of the raising of dead persons rather than the raising of dead bodies. He also makes it very clear that the individual in this new state is not clothed with flesh and blood but with a spiritual corporeity, incorruptible, glorified, heavenly. But when we ask him for his opinion of the relation, if any, which the new heavenly body bears to the material body of earth he has no decisive answer. The two are radically different, but are they mutually exclusive? Does he think the risen spirit reinhabits the old body purged of its corruptibility, its dishonor, its weakness, its earthly qualities, and surcharged with, and enveloped by, a glorious heavenly essence; or does the spirit personality ascend to its new abode in utter abandonment of its former earthly tabernacle? In attempting to force from Paul an answer to this question his would-be interpreters are in grave danger of becoming misinterpreters, for

²¹ I Cor. 15:45-49; II Cor. 5:1-8; Rom. 6:5-11; Eph. 1:18-2:6; Phil. 3:8-11.

he has made no final pronouncement upon this problem. If he followed the leading of his Pharisean thought he could easily have believed in the miraculous transformation of the earthly into the heavenly, the corruptible putting on incorruption and the mortal putting on immortality; but if he showed greater deference for Greek thought, as he may have been inclined to do when writing to the Corinthians, he may have granted an utter dissolution of the earthly tabernacle and the creation of an entirely new heavenly abode.²²

As for his view of Jesus' risen body, it seems safest to suppose that he followed his Jewish habit of mind, and so believed the tomb had been left vacant by a miraculous transformation of the earthly body. This would have been the most natural opinion for him to entertain when it was first reported to him that Jesus had arisen and appeared to his followers, and it would be further enforced by the short lapse of time since death, which had not been sufficient to effect a dissolution of the body, for Paul accepts the statement "he hath been raised on the third day;" and while he usually speaks of an arising from the abode of departed spirits, he says explicitly of Jesus: "He was entombed (*ἐτάφη*), and hath been raised." But it would be a mistake not to notice how supremely Paul emphasizes the spiritual reality of his risen Lord's existence. Whether this existence had its basis in the reanimation of a former physical habitat, or whether the new form of being was completely independent of the old, were probably questions to which he gave only secondary attention. Whatever the solution, the answer did not affect the vital truth; the Lord lives and because he lives we know we shall live also.

What, then, is the sum of Paul's testimony to the primitive resurrection faith? He is not a wordy witness but a weighty one. He gives almost nothing in detail. He does not locate the scene of the events, nor does he tell how long a time intervened between the resurrection and the first appearance; we are not positively certain that his enumeration of the appearances is intended to be comprehensive rather than representative; and that the disciples' vision of their

²² Cf. II Cor. 5:1 ff. As this idea seems to be more strongly emphasized in his second letter, some have supposed his thought gradually developed in this direction (see R. H. Charles, *Eschatology*, pp. 397-403). This may have been a concession to the Greeks who naturally regarded all flesh irredeemably bad, but for Paul mere flesh was not inherently evil.

risen Lord was the initial factor in establishing their resurrection faith cannot be positively affirmed though it is strongly suggested both by the implications of Paul's language and by the analogy of his own conversion experience. Notwithstanding these uncertainties, in some of the very essential features of the tradition his language is perfectly clear. He leaves not the slightest doubt as to the early date of the new faith. When he embraced Christianity, which according to some reputable chronologists was scarcely more than a year after the crucifixion, it was commonly accepted that Jesus had been buried, that he was raised on the third day, which for Jews implied belief in an empty tomb, and that he afterward appeared to men on several occasions. The body of the risen Christ, judging from the discourse to the Corinthians, was like the bodies of risen men, no longer material and earthly but spiritual and heavenly, and, on the analogy of Paul's own vision, the visions which other men had of the risen master, while objectively real, were primarily attestations of his living supremacy in the realm of the spirit.

Turning now to examine the testimony of the gospels we find the situation more perplexing. Details are presented much more elaborately but direct acquaintance with the facts is less in evidence. We ignore the manifestly apocryphal legends outside the canon²³ and confine our study to the New Testament sources of information.

It is felt by some critics that the accounts which now stand at the close of our gospels are of so late and legendary a character that the more original resurrection story is to be sought in some other part of the tradition. Wellhausen,²⁴ for example, would find it in the account of Jesus' transfiguration.²⁵ He thinks the "mountain" is probably the same as that mentioned in Matt. 28:16, the declaration of the heavenly voice agrees with Rom. 1:4, which states that Jesus was declared through the resurrection to be the Son of God with power, and the appearance of Moses and Elijah is especially significant in that they too had ascended immediately from the earthly to the heavenly life and were not in Sheol as all other men were. With

²³ These are noted by Lake, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-65; and more fully by A. Meyer, *Die Auferstehung Christi* (1905), pp. 59-84.

²⁴ *Das Evangelium Marci* (1903), p. 77.

²⁵ Mark 9:2-13.

this interpretation the reason for the mention of a six-day period between Peter's confession and the transfiguration becomes clear: it is the interim between the end of Jesus' life in Jerusalem and his appearance in Galilee. So he was immediately removed to heaven after his death—an idea which is not contradicted by Mark, chap. 16. Moreover, it is not in the act of resurrection, but in the subsequent condition, that the risen one appears transfigured before the three disciples. Since Paul makes the first appearance to Peter alone, possibly Peter's confession was the initial step in the establishment of the resurrection faith. If the above hypothesis is correct the witness thereby furnished for the primitive faith is meager, but it conforms, so far as it goes, to the testimony of Paul.

Kreyenbühl has recently advocated a still more fanciful theory.²⁶ He agrees that the transfiguration is an early resurrection narrative, but not the oldest. That is to be sought in the account of Jesus' walking upon the sea.²⁷ The starting-point of the new faith was Simon's own soul. After his return to Galilee, reflecting upon the unique life of Jesus and cherishing the Jewish hopes of the time, he became certain of Jesus' messiahship and consequently certain of his exalted station. Side by side with this conviction there was the popular fear of a dead person's ghost. To see ghosts was characteristic of that age, and there was nothing unusual in the disciples' having such visions of Jesus. But these experiences produced fear rather than hope, until Simon's higher faith triumphed over the ghost-fear; and the original of Matt. 14:22-33 told in figurative language how he gained this victory. When it says he saw the wind it can only mean (since wind is always invisible) that he saw the ghost. The sea almost engulfed him, but his higher faith ultimately conquered and the wind (the ghost-fear) ceased. He then proceeded to help his companions to a similar confidence. He exhorted them not to fear the ghost, saying, "Hear ye him;" and thus, in the second place, we have the original kernel of the transfiguration story. These two incidents stood at the close of the primitive gospel of the first

²⁶ "Der älteste Auferstehungsbericht und seine Varianten" in *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, IX, 4 (November, 1908), pp. 257-96.

²⁷ Matt. 14:22-23 comes nearest to the original story. The stilling of the tempest (Matt. 8:23-27) is a still later variant of the same.

community and they were the only tradition of the resurrection contained in that document.

That the description of the transfiguration has been colored by the later resurrection faith is not impossible, even if it is not assumed to be itself originally a resurrection narrative.²⁸ It is therefore permissible to note it in this connection, but the rest of Kreyenbühl's thesis is too purely imaginative to be worth anything as a guide in the study of the primitive faith. Nor are the results reached through the suggestions made either by him or by Wellhausen so definite that a further search of the gospels is unnecessary, hence we must examine those passages which purport to relate the appearances of Jesus, through which, according to the tradition, the faith of the disciples was established.²⁹

Mark's account is fragmentary, there being no trustworthy manuscript authority for anything beyond the eighth verse of the final chapter, but the part that is preserved contains the promise of a minute description. Three women set out to anoint Jesus' body, arriving at the tomb at sunrise on the first day of the week. They find the large stone that sealed the tomb already rolled away, they enter and find a young man clothed in white who tells them that Jesus is risen, and they are commanded to tell the disciples and Peter: "He goeth before you into Galilee: there shall ye see him, as he said unto you." The women leave the tomb but being afraid say nothing to anyone.

Matthew's account resembles Mark's, but has some heightening of color. Late on the last day of the week two women set out not to anoint the body of Jesus but simply to see the sepulcher. Accompanied by an earthquake an angel descends from heaven, rolls away the stone, and sits upon it. He tells the visitors that Jesus is risen, and commands them to tell the disciples (no mention of Peter): "He is risen from the dead (not in Mark); and lo he goeth before you into Galilee, there shall ye see him: lo I have told you" (instead of Mark's "as he said"). The women leave the tomb with fear and joy, and run to tell the disciples. As they go Jesus meets them, they embrace his feet, and he says: "Go tell my brethren that they depart

²⁸ Cf. H. J. Holtzmann, *Die Synoptiker* (1901), p. 86, and Bacon, "The Transfiguration Story," *American Journal of Theology*, April, 1902 (especially p. 259, n. 29).

²⁹ Mark 16:1-8; Matt. 28:1-20; Luke 24:1-53; John 20:1-29; 21:1-14.

into Galilee and there shall they see me." The eleven went to an appointed mountain, and there Jesus appeared and gave them the well-known great commission.

In Luke the report is still further elaborated, including new if not different tradition. At early dawn on the first day of the week a company of women who had followed Jesus from Galilee visit the tomb. Finding the stone rolled away they enter. Thereupon two men "in dazzling apparel" appear and say: "Why seek ye the living among the dead? He is not here, but is risen: remember how he spake unto you when he was yet in Galilee," and then follows a repetition of the words in which he had recently predicted his death and resurrection. The women depart and tell all these things "to the eleven, and to all the rest;" but their report is not believed. Then Peter visits the tomb alone, finds no one, and departs to his home wondering; but the manuscript attestation for this incident is doubtful. A later reference (vs. 24) in which the reading is certain, reports that some of the company visited the tomb after receiving the news from the women. The same day Jesus appears to Cleopas and the other disciple on the way to Emmaus, where he makes himself known to them in the breaking of bread at the evening meal and then suddenly vanishes from their sight. They immediately return to Jerusalem to relate their experience, and find the disciples there reporting that the Lord has arisen and appeared to Simon. While they are conversing Jesus stands in the midst and says: "Peace be unto you." They are afraid, thinking they see a spirit, but he quells their fears by calling attention to his flesh and blood, and also to his hands and feet; and further to dispel their doubts he eats a piece of flesh in their presence. Then he opens their minds that they may understand the scriptures that refer to him, and finally he charges them to wait in Jerusalem for the outpouring of the spirit. Then they accompany him on the way to Bethany, where he leaves them. The same author in Acts asserts, without specifying particulars, that Jesus continued for forty days to appear to his disciples and to teach them concerning the things of the kingdom.³⁰

³⁰ Acts has several references to appearances of Jesus (e. g., 1:1-14; 7:55-59; 9:1-9; 22:6-10; 26:12-18; cf. 2:24-29) but these do not call for special comment. The author was not able in his second treatise materially to supplement the information he had given in the gospel.

According to the narrative of John, Mary Magdalene alone comes to the tomb before daylight on the first day of the week, and seeing the stone removed, without further examination, hastens to Simon and "the other disciple whom Jesus loved," saying: "They have taken away the Lord out of the tomb, and we know not where they have laid him." The two disciples then run to examine the sepulcher and find it empty, whereupon they return to "their own home" not yet suspecting that Jesus has arisen. Mary again appears and while weeping before the tomb sees two angels within, and on turning away she meets Jesus but mistakes him for the gardener. He speaks and reveals his identity but does not permit her to touch him, and she reports her experience to the disciples. On the evening of the same day he appears to the disciples within closed doors saying: "Peace be unto you," showing them his hands and side. Then he breathes the Holy Spirit upon them. Thomas was absent at this time and refused to believe except he should see for himself, consequently eight days later Jesus grants them a repetition of the former experience. Then follows another appearance, undated, at the sea of Tiberias, where seven of the disciples were fishing. In the morning they find Jesus on the shore, instructed by him they take a miraculous draught of fishes, he then serves them with breakfast but does not partake himself, and finally he commissions Peter to feed his sheep.

An examination of the gospel details is disappointing to one who is seeking reliable information regarding particulars. Many of the items mentioned are materially different, if not indeed mutually contradictory. The number of women who visit the tomb is variously represented from a whole company to only one; the time of their arrival is the evening of the last day of the week,³¹ before sunrise and after sunrise the first day; they witness the removal of the stone, and the stone is already removed when they arrive; they enter the tomb, and they do not enter; they converse with only one angel, and with two; they are ordered to report to the disciples, and they are not so directed; they are said to have reported immediately, to have gone to report, and not to have reported at all; they see Jesus and touch him, he is seen but not touched, and he is not seen; the disciples are

³¹ The phrase *ὅψε σαββάτου* is usually rendered "late on the sabbath," but it may mean "after the sabbath" and so agree with Mark 16:1.

made to see him in Galilee only, in Jerusalem only, in Jerusalem first and in Galilee later; they are to wait for the spirit, and they are given the spirit immediately; the ascension precedes the appearances to the disciples, does not occur until after the appearances, and is not thought of at all as a distinct event.

Of course trustworthy narratives may sometimes differ in non-essentials, but here there are elements about which eye-witnesses could scarcely have varied so widely; for example, whether there were several women or only one who visited the tomb, whether they found the stone removed or witnessed its removal, whether they reported to the others or kept silence, whether the disciples went to Galilee or remained in Jerusalem, and the like. We must conclude that the gospel-writers were basing some portions of their narratives not upon sources furnished by eye-witnesses but upon reports that had circulated long enough to gather divergent elements in the course of transmission. It is only natural, too, that there should be a good deal of variation in the reported proceedings of these strange days, particularly in narratives that received their present literary form from thirty-five to seventy years after the events. The subject itself was one that invited the free play of pious imagination and forbade sober exactitude in description. According to Paul's testimony many different persons had seen the risen Lord, and each at some time may have reported his own impressions. Moreover, as Christianity became a missionary religion it found itself compelled to phrase its ideas to meet local needs and to correct the errors of erratic fancies. It is therefore easy to imagine how a gospel historian, when he set to work to write an account which he conceived to be self-consistent, and at the same time adequate to the needs of his own date and circumstances, should have incorporated a number of details that would not withstand the application of exact historical tests.

It is noticeable, too, that the divergences are not due to the exhaustive character of the reports. For instance, Matthew records but two appearances, one to the women and one to the eleven in Galilee; the fragment of Mark leads us to expect only one; Luke describes two, one on the way to Emmaus and another to the company on the same evening in Jerusalem, and merely mentions an earlier one to Simon; John describes four, one to Mary in the garden, two to the

disciples in Jerusalem, and one in Galilee. The first one of John and the first of Matthew seem to represent the same original; the second of John and the second of Luke are identical in time, they represent the same general situation, and probably are derived from the same tradition. The other five, the one to Simon, the one on the Emmaus road, the one for Thomas' benefit, and the two in Galilee seem to stand alone; and excepting the appearance to Peter there is no convincing proof that the instances so well known to Paul are represented by any of these. Indeed the evangelists were not especially well informed regarding the events of this obscure period, or else in the selection of their material they were guided by their fancy rather than by any aim to report comprehensively. If each could be considered absolutely trustworthy then all four might be employed to produce a comprehensive account, but this is not allowable since it is evident at nearly every point where they do seem to cross each other's track one takes pains to modify or contradict the other in accordance with some necessity or bias of his own. Thus Matthew does not have the women visit the sepulcher with the intention of anointing Jesus' body, as in Mark, because that would be incompatible with the presence of the guard which Matthew alone has placed at the tomb; the command of the angel in Mark, calling to mind a prediction of Jesus to the effect that he would appear to the disciples in Galilee, becomes in Luke, inasmuch as the third evangelist has no room for Galilean appearances, merely a reminder of what Jesus had said about his resurrection when he was tarrying in Galilee; and the instance in which John and Matthew meet on common ground, where in the conversation with the women identity appears in the phrase "my brethren," shows that a prediction of a meeting in Galilee seemed less important to John than a reference to Jesus' immediately approaching ascension; and since John does not accept Luke's theory of waiting until Pentecost for the outpouring of the spirit, when he and Luke come together, the command of Jesus to the disciples to tarry in Jerusalem is displaced by a mention of the immediate giving of the spirit.

We have therefore to concede, concerning the gospel narratives of the post-resurrection appearances, that many of the descriptive details are not to be trusted, nor can any general theory of harmoniza-

tion be established. Furthermore, the more elaborate accounts do not generally present trustworthy supplementary materials, nor does any one evangelist seem to have had comprehensive information; and, finally, we recognize that each author took such liberties with the tradition as he thought necessary to make it consistent with his own view of what most probably happened. It is also quite conceivable that his pious purpose may have gone a step farther, leading him to bring out in strongest relief those points which he deemed of greatest consequence for the special exigencies of his own day. Hence in using the gospels in the present inquiry we are not at liberty to lay stress upon particulars, but we must be content with an undetailed summary of that which may properly be called gospel data in general. It may be briefly stated as follows:

1. In the first place, among the evangelists, the tradition of the empty tomb was commonly accepted, though there was disagreement as to the circumstances of its discovery.

2. But it was neither the report of the women nor a visit to the empty sepulcher that restored the disciples' faith. This fact is brought out least clearly in Matthew, but it is very evident in the fragment of Mark which ends by saying that the women kept silence. Luke and John distinctly emphasize the disciples' disbelief even after a visit to the tomb.

3. The initial factor in the revival of faith must therefore be assumed, according to gospel representation, to be some appearance of Jesus to the disciples. The exact time and circumstances of this first manifestation remain in obscurity. It is hinted that Peter's confidence was the first to be restored,³² which agrees with Paul's statement.

4. From the very first there seem to have been those who were given to doubting,³³ hence the necessity of so framing the narrative as to convince the skeptical. This apologetic aim has colored almost the entire gospel picture, and is especially pronounced in Luke and John.

5. The gospels make no uniform and definite assertion regarding the nature of the visible risen Jesus, but a belief in the full reality

³² Mark 16:7; Luke 24:34.

³³ Matt. 28:17; Luke 24:11, 25, 38, 41; John 20:25.

of his resurrection is assumed as fundamental to the beginning of the revived Christian faith.

We have examined the most trustworthy documentary sources. What have we learned? Two questions suggest the limits for a concluding summary: How did the disciples attain their new faith? and, What was its content? that is, What did they mean by the resurrection of Jesus? In the evolution of this new faith many elements were involved, and several individuals may have worked upon the problem. It is vain to hope to discover all the factors that contributed to the final solution; we shall be content with outlining the general trend of thought.

It is clear that the primitive Christians' belief in the resurrection was no mere pious invention of theirs. Their sincerity and constancy make absurd any hypothesis of pious fraud. They were as confident of his rising as they were of their own personal existence—a confidence which neither the terrors of persecution nor the dread of death could shake. Nor does it seem probable that they arrived at their assurance by mere deduction from the elements of their previous experience. It cannot be denied that they would pass through a season of searching recollection and deep reflection. The memory of Jesus' teaching, the abiding impression of his personality, and their hope that it was he who should have redeemed Israel must have occupied a large part of their thought as they endeavored to think their way into the light during the days of depression. But in every direction they were met by the blinding certainty that Jesus was dead. That they would evolve out of their reflections alone a new conviction which would triumph over the facts of their observation, and reverse their inherited ideas, seems highly improbable, especially when all available sources of information witness against this hypothesis. Not until they became conscious of the touch of some power beyond themselves did light break upon the darkness which at first surrounded them and give them the conviction that Jesus still lived. This certainty, as has already been observed, did not start from a sight of the empty tomb; its initial formative factor was credited to a vision of their living Lord.

What, in their opinion, had they seen? Was it a sight of their former teacher in his reanimated earthly body, or was his form angelic

and heavenly? Or was the appearance merely a spiritual reality which later description materialized and objectivized for the sake of making it more readily comprehensible? The supposition that Jesus' physical body was raised means, of course, that his resurrected body possessed the properties of a material substance, and consequently it would be assumed to be subject ordinarily to physical laws. At least this is the only test by which material existence can be proved. But the resurrected body of Jesus, as represented in the New Testament accounts, does not satisfy this test. Its material reality can be maintained only on the assumption of a perpetual miracle, which thus removes the entire vitality of the physical idea. And tradition has not emphasized the physical prowess of Jesus at any period in his career. While on earth his superior power was not of the physical sort, he was never a Samson or a Hercules, but his authority resided in the realm of the spirit; and after his death he does not return to the life he formerly lived among his disciples but appears in so strange a form that they recognize him with difficulty. He is pre-eminently a heavenly and not an earthly being. It may be urged, How could they see him if his body was not physical? But we may ask with equal right, How could he suddenly disappear from view if it were? Neither of these questions furnishes the key to the difficulty; they merely represent linguistic devices for emphasizing two ideas: the resurrection was real, and the risen Christ was not subject to the laws of the material world as he had been during his earthly career. But since there were then, as there doubtless always will be, some minds unable to conceive of reality apart from materiality, a certain degree of emphasis had to be placed on the sensuous in describing the event.

This tendency further developed as heresy demanded more stress upon the point. Heresy is usually, in its initial stages, an over-emphasis of some truth; and it, in turn, calls forth a wrong counter-emphasis on the part of orthodoxy. This principle has exerted its influence in the development of belief in Jesus' physical resurrection, and explains a few gospel passages that are particularly forceful. The earliest interpreters made no pronouncement upon the nature of the risen Lord's body—there was no demand that they should. On two points only they were clear: they were confident that he was

alive and that his resurrected life belonged to the heavenly and not to the earthly sphere. But when the Docetic heretics threatened to make Jesus' whole earthly existence a mere sham, such Christians as Ignatius (and the same polemic begins to appear in Luke and John) vigorously asserted the reality of his humanity, carrying it over even into the early part of his heavenly life.

If we have properly interpreted the content of the first disciples' faith, they believed the risen Jesus was heavenly, and appeared to men as a visible spirit in an ethereal body absolutely unencumbered by any of its former physical limitations. But even for them these visible manifestations were the unusual and extraordinary, and, while exceedingly helpful in strengthening faith, by no means conditioned the reality of Jesus' continued existence. Nor were the possibilities of communion with him restricted to these unusual experiences. As he lived on in the spirit world his touch made their hearts burn, and the fires of their spirit were kindled as they reflected upon his teaching and broke bread together in loving remembrance of their former common fellowship. To express the essential truth of their faith in more modern terms, Jesus' resurrection was the miraculous triumph of spirit personality over physical dissolution.

THE GIFT OF TONGUES AND RELATED PHENOMENA AT THE PRESENT DAY

FREDERICK G. HENKE
Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

Frequent and increasing cases of tongue-speaking in this country during the past two years have doubtless been brought to the attention of the readers of this journal through newspaper reports and otherwise. This speaking in tongues is but one of a series of such phenomena as "tongues of fire," "rushing of a mighty wind," "interpretation of tongues," jerking, writhing, and falling to the ground, which are occurring in connection with a world-wide religious revival. How did the movement start, and what is the psychology of its peculiar phenomena?

In the year 1901 there was a great revival in Australia under the direction of Dr. Torrey, which received its greatest impetus through circles of prayer and prayer meetings. When the report of the great influence which the chain of prayers exerted in the Australian revival was brought to the Keswick convention in July, 1902, it was received with great enthusiasm, and prayer circles were immediately formed. The same thing occurred in India in June, and by the end of 1902 prayer circles were in operation in Australia, America, India, England, and Wales.¹

Next came the Welsh revival in 1904. From there the religious awakening spread to the Khassia Hills, the Welsh corner of the Indian mission field, where the religious experiences of the natives were brought into closer conformity to those of the pristine church than had been the case in Australia or Wales.² A little later it broke out at Mukti, Kedgaon, where Pandita Ramabai, a high-caste widow, is in charge of an extensive work among women and girls. When Pandita Ramabai heard the news of the Welsh revival, she organized a special prayer circle of seventy girls. This was increased to five

¹ Henri Bois, *Le Réveil au Pays de Galles* (Paris, 1905), pp. 1-27.

² Helen S. Dyer, *Revival in India* (London, 1907), pp. 31-40.

hundred and fifty by June, 1905, and was meeting twice daily. Again stimulated to greater activity by the news of the revival at the Khassia Hills, she persuaded thirty young girls to give up their secular studies and go out into the villages to preach the gospel. These girls were meeting twice daily to pray for the "endowment of power," when the "gift" came upon them. At half-past three in the morning, June 29, 1905, in a prayer meeting, a tongue of fire was seen on one of the senior girls. Another girl, supposing it to be real fire, ran for a pail of water and was about to pour it upon her, when she discovered that her companion was not on fire.³ From that time great emphasis was placed upon the necessity of receiving the baptism, not only of the Holy Ghost, but also of "fire." Both missionaries and natives experienced a burning within, which, they said, was the fire of the Holy Spirit. Under date of November 17, 1905, an American missionary at Mukti writes, "This morning a little girl gave me the verse Luke 12:49 ('I am come to send fire on the earth; and what will I, if it be already kindled'), which was greatly blessed to me. A flood of fire poured on my head, and this afternoon it burned inside. I am having it now. . . . The burning inside is rather hard to bear. It has taken my physical strength away, but I am thankful for that."

The baptism of fire having been experienced, desire for the "gift of tongues" described in the New Testament was but natural. During 1907 speaking in tongues has actually occurred, and is doubtless still occurring, at Mukti. Mr. Ellis, a special correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News*, visited the mission under the superintendence of Pandita Ramabai. While he was being shown the different departments of the work carried on there, strange sounds came to his ears, "now of one person shouting in a high voice, then of the mingled utterances of a crowd, and later of song." At his request, he was introduced to the scene. About thirty girls were having a prayer meeting in a large, bare room with a cement floor. Confusion reigned. All were praying aloud, some at the top of their lungs. A number of the girls were sitting on their feet, with shoulders and bodies twitching and jerking; the faces of others bespoke extreme agony. Mr.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-47; Minnie F. Abrams, *The Baptism of the Holy Ghost and Fire* (Kedgaon, 1906); *The Missionary Review of the World*, August, 1906 (New York), pp. 619, 620, article, "The Baptism of the Holy Spirit at Mukti," by Minnie Abrams.

Ellis thought he detected one girl speaking English, and upon inquiry was told that several girls had been speaking in tongues. "I have heard girls who know no English at all," said Pandita Ramabai, "utter beautiful prayers in your tongue. I have heard others pray in Greek and Hebrew and Sanskrit, and others again in languages that none of us understood."⁴

Through the incessant work of the Mukti praying band, the revival spread rapidly throughout the west and south of India. Visions, special revelations, falling into trances, exorcism, and falling to the ground became common occurrences. In the north, too, the churches had long been working for a revival. The news of the great things happening in various parts of the world, and especially in India itself, stimulated them to greater activity. The revival came and missionaries of ability and piety were set aside to make room for leadership by illiterates and children who had extreme religious experiences.⁵

Korea also has been visited by a similar revival. Shamanism, the popular religion of the country, includes a belief that a spirit may be localized in the human organism. A private letter from a Korean missionary gives the following description of the meetings:

The scenes that attend this visitation of God resemble those which are reported of the days of Jonathan Edwards, George Whitefield, and Finney. Only there is this difference—the fire breaks out not in response to the preaching of any man but as the result of a spontaneous impulse that runs through the entire congregation. . . . I have seen strong men literally bend and sway as they enumerated their sins, slowly going down like a man being overloaded until they fell with a crash to the floor. The outcries have been literally the shrieks of the doomed. Men would stand to their feet only to go down like a log, some into unconsciousness; or rush about the church falling before those they had hated and sinned against and begging for forgiveness and mercy. . . . Some were in such terrible agony, they beat the floor until their hands broke and stained the mats with their blood.

More remarkable, however, than the presence of such religious experiences in connection with revivals among peoples in a low stage of culture is the fact that these phenomena are occurring in America and Europe in their most extreme form. In the United States the phenomenon called the "gift of tongues," as I gathered in conversa-

⁴ *Chicago Daily News*, January 14, 1908, article, "Have Gift of Tongues," by William T. Ellis.

⁵ Frank W. Warne, *The Revival in the Indian Church* (New York, 1907), pp. 10 ff.

tion with individuals connected with the movement, probably made its first appearance in April, 1906, at a negro prayer meeting in Los Angeles, Cal., where its chief exponent now is the Apostolic Faith Mission, 312 Azusa Street. The path of the revival apparently has been from the west eastward, until now these phenomena occur in California, Utah, Colorado, Texas, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maine, and doubtless other states. Accounts of the revival in India, as published in various American papers, have had great influence in propagating this movement.

In Europe these phenomena are taking place in Norway, Holland, Switzerland, Germany, and England.⁶ Pastor Barratt has given a good description of what is occurring in Norway. He writes,

I am a minister of twenty years' standing in the Methodist Episcopal Church and would sooner die than give way to a humbug. I know that what the Pentecost God in His mercy gave me is the same kind of blessing as that received by the disciples at Pentecost in Jerusalem, and that the gift of tongues given to me is as pure as the gift spoken by Paul to the Corinthians. And I know that numbers are now rejoicing in this blessing all over Scandinavia. The tongues of fire have been seen over our heads by Christians and worldly people alike, the sound of a rushing mighty wind (no delusion) has been heard by numbers, visions and trances have also been enjoyed by many, but best of all is that the love of God burns like a holy flame in the hearts of thousands who are willing to go to the stake for Christ.⁷

In concluding the historical sketch of this revival movement, I shall take the liberty of presenting some typical facts gathered from meetings which I have attended in five different places in Chicago.

The meeting is opened by a short song service, toward the close of which the leader comes to the front. He has been praying for the meeting; for he must be positive that the Spirit has taken entire possession of him before he takes part. His evidence of the presence of the Spirit appears to be the violent jerking of his head. One Sunday morning, for example, a man from the congregation had begun to expound a chapter, when the leader, who was standing four or five feet behind him, apparently working up automatic action of his head and shoulders, suddenly stepped forward, seized him by the shoulder,

⁶ *Zeitschrift für Religionspsychologie* (Halle a. S.), Band I, Heft IX, p. 392, and X, p. 439.

⁷ *Free Gospel Mission Journal* (Millvale Station, Alleghany, Pa.), No. 10, Leaf 3, "The Outpouring of the Spirit in Norway," a letter from Pastor Barratt.

and in a mandatory tone gave him to understand that he himself would now take charge of the service.

Early in the meeting, an opportunity is given for requests for prayer. The following are some examples: "For a man who don't believe anyone. His wife says there is no hope for him;" "for a woman who has been sick for nine months;" "for a woman possessed with a devil;" "for wickedness in my family." By this time, automatic movements of the head usually appear in various parts of the house, the tendency being for others to imitate the leader or those who are most pronounced in their demonstrations. The congregation kneels for prayer, and several lead. Speaking in tongues is sometimes introduced into one or the other of these prayers. The people having risen from their knees, an opportunity is given for testimonies. A colored man rises and gives a rousing testimony, "I feel a burning inside in the inner man like a coal of fire. Glory to God!" At once there is a response from all over the house (about three hundred are present), some shouting, some manifesting violent jerks, some screaming, and some laughing aloud. A woman next follows with her testimony. "Six years ago," she says, "I was partly healed in Zion [Dowie's church], but now I am fully restored. During the past week, I picked out the cancer entirely and put it into a dish." She now is thoroughly under the influence of her emotions. She begins to speak in tongues. From this she passes into singing in tongues. Her countenance is lighted up with ecstatic joy and serenity as she passes from one key to another, improvising her own tunes. When she has finished, the leader immediately arises to interpret the message spoken in an unknown tongue: "The Lord is the strength of my life; of whom shall I be fearful? The Lord is my light and my salvation; whom shall I fear?" Emotion and suggestibility now reign in the meeting. Arms move frantically, heads jerk so violently that some of the women are unable to keep their hats on, and speaking in tongues is heard in nearly every testimony that follows. This speaking in tongues varies from a mere rapid repetition of a few syllables to a complex combination of euphonious sounds. For instance, a girl in the meeting so loses her inhibitions that she jerks all over. Suddenly she begins to speak in tongues, "Yah-yah-yeh-yeh-yeh-yeh-yah-yah." In contrast to this, another individual speaks somewhat

after the following manner, "Kah-tah-lan-see-ah, oh-nee-han-see-ah, oh-nee-see-nee-nah," etc. Of the two, the former is a novice, the latter an expert.

After fifteen or twenty testimonies, the leader preaches. His theme is, "Coworkers with God." He dwells for some time on the baptism in the Spirit. "The head, the understanding," he says, "cannot perceive the Holy Ghost. He must enter the heart, the fleshly valvular heart. The Holy Spirit came in through my legs, November 20, 1906." The sermon is followed by invitations. Those who are seeking the baptism of the Spirit are asked to gather in a back room for prayer, and those who desire conversion or healing are requested to kneel at the altar in the assembly-room. Then follows a scene of storm and stress in the main room. A woman at the altar throws herself upon the floor and writhes as though in the most excruciating pain. The elders pray over her a few moments. Soon she rises and goes away apparently at rest.

It is clear that in all this suggestion⁸ plays an important part. A suggestion is any idea, whether the result of an external or an internal stimulus, which results in action or belief without the ordinary amount of deliberation or criticism. Suggestibility is greatly increased by the formation of a psychological crowd,⁹ that is, a group of persons who through reciprocal suggestion and imitation one of another, act as if a group mind had supplanted the various individual minds. The individual is swallowed up by the group, which has a character of its own. It is because of this that acts contrary to the ordinary character of the individual are common in crowds and mobs. Revival meetings, political conventions, student masses, and mobs offer examples of such crowds. It was suggestion that determined the place of the first outbreak of the revival in India, namely the Khassia Hills. These hills are the Welsh corner of the Indian mission field,

⁸ Boris Sidis, *The Psychology of Suggestion* (New York, 1898); Otto Stoll, *Suggestion und Hypnotismus in der Völkerpsychologie* (Leipzig, 1894); Walter Dill Scott, *The Psychology of Public Speaking* (Philadelphia, 1907); George A. Coe, "Automatic Factors in Religious Experiences" (an article in process of publication in *Hastings' Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*).

⁹ Frederick Morgan Davenport, *Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals* (New York, 1905), pp. 25-31; Gustave Le Bon, *The Crowd* (London, 1897).

and the missionaries there were in intimate communication with the Welsh revival. And again, inasmuch as the religious experiences of the New Testament were continually suggested to the revival groups, suggestion gives the cue to the close similarity of the phenomena of the present revival to those of the primitive church.

But over and beyond the fact that the influence of suggestion is everywhere present in the revival, it is manifest that the individuals who have such extreme experiences must be suggestible in an extraordinary degree. Suggestibility varies with stages of culture, with the age and sex of the individual, with temperamental traits, and with incidents of habit or of nervous condition. Consider, for example, the savage. Anything which has been presented to him through eye or ear, through dream or hallucination, he accepts as real and true. To doubt the traditions of the tribe which have been handed down to him through generations and taught him by his elders, never occurs to him. What seems to him to be true he accepts as true without question. He has, in short, extreme nervous susceptibility with its inevitable accompaniment of extreme imitativeness, suggestibility, and lack of inhibitory control.¹⁰ The nervous and mental organism of people in a low stage of culture is in a plastic, unstable condition. They are controlled largely by their feelings, which often break through all restraint and assert complete mastery. It is not strange, therefore, that extreme instances of loss of control occur now and then among the less-developed peoples of the mission fields. The statement of one of the resident bishops of India to the effect that missionaries of ability and piety and experience have frequently been set aside to give way to some native who cannot read or write, or to a child, not infrequently a girl,¹¹ is but an example of this.

When, however, we turn to America and Europe, we would naturally expect less of this suggestibility and loss of rational control; but quite to the contrary, we have found that the phenomena have been at least equally extreme, though they have been less extensive than on the mission field. The people in America and Europe have been

¹⁰ *Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals*, pp. 10-24; Daniel G. Brinton, *Religions of Primitive Peoples* (New York, 1897); James Bissett Pratt, *The Psychology of Religious Beliefs* (New York, 1907); George A. Coe, *op. cit.*; W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic* (London, 1900).

¹¹ Frank W. Warne, *The Revival in the Indian Church* (New York, 1907), p. 24.

successful, in fact, in reproducing all the psychic phenomena of this class which are suggested in the New Testament. In the meetings that I witnessed, there has been a constant tendency to imitate the leader or some other person who had violent automatisms. John Sinclair, who claims to be the first person in Chicago to be "baptized in the Spirit," received the blessing during special services conducted by a person who had received the blessing. I learned from Mr. Sinclair that the principle of propagating the movement is that "there must be someone to transmit it."

The way in which feeling asserts itself at some of the meetings is illustrated by a scene I witnessed one Sunday afternoon. The stove in the rear of the assembly room suddenly came down with a crash. Mr. Sinclair forthwith stopped preaching and went to the rear to see what had happened. On his way back to the pulpit, he said, "We can expect 'most anything these days. I wouldn't be surprised if Jesus would come just as unexpectedly." The effect of his words was like magic. The entire congregation was thrown into the greatest excitement. Some threw up their hands, some screamed, some shook violently, some laughed aloud, and some spoke in tongues.

This diagnosis of the social aspects of the phenomena in question can be reinforced by an examination of the development of the experience in the individual. For this purpose, we may consider the pentecostal experience of Rev. A. E. Street.

Some twelve years ago [he writes,] I began to long for Pentecost as described in the Bible and all these years have been praying for that baptism. . . . About a year ago the burden of prayer became greater and greater, increasing until in February, night after night, I was waiting on the Lord until 5 o'clock in the morning. These were not hours of agonizing prayer, but rather a determined struggle to get quiet before him and to stop all my own thoughts and desires. . . . It required months to reach the lower parts of the valley of humiliation and be empty in thought. Finally I went to the mission at 328 W. Sixty-third St., Chicago, asking only one question, "Why do I not receive the baptism?" . . . The good friends prayed with me and said that nothing was wrong, I only needed to wait. . . . They were right, for the first time that I knelt at the altar on Sunday afternoon, March 17, the power began to seize me and I laughed all through the following communion service. In the evening, at about 11 P. M., I knelt with a few of the friends praying for me. (Elder Sinclair placed his hands on my head for a short time several times during the afternoon and evening.) After some little waiting I began to laugh or rather my body was used to laugh with increasing power

until I was flat on my back laughing at the top of my voice for over half an hour. On rising I found that I was drunk on the "New Wine," acting just like a drunken man in many ways and full of joy. On kneeling to meet the Lord again I was suddenly seized with irresistible power of beseeching with groanings. The power of this praying was too great for me to endure and suddenly my eyes opened to see Elder Sinclair, who was standing a few feet distant, fall as though he had been struck. I was relieved and in a few seconds was straight up in the air shouting "Glory" at the top of my voice. Again kneeling my eyes grew dark and I was rolled over onto the floor, lying there some time unconscious. Then coming to and kneeling I felt my jaws and mouth being worked by a strange force. In a few seconds some baby gibberish was uttered, then a few words in Chinese that I understood, and then several sentences in a strange tongue. This turned into singing and I did not speak again in tongues until Wednesday. On Wednesday morning I began to sing the heavenly music at the top of my voice and during the entire half-hour, even while I was in the water in the bath tub, that great volume of song was pouring out of my throat!

On Thursday night I was awakened out of my sleep and began to pray for the gift of interpretation. After a few words the prayer was taken out of my control and the same mighty force that had prayed for me to come all the way uttered a few sentences asking for the gift. That seemed to be sufficient and all was quiet. Then for an hour I received a lesson in interpreting. A word was given in a strange tongue. This was followed by its English meaning and the two were repeated until it was plain that they meant the same. Then a short sentence was interpreted in the same way and finally a hymn. From that hour whenever anyone speaks in tongues the interpretation comes if I ask it."¹²

The striking psychic manifestations which we have in the remarkable religious experience of this man—and he is but one of many—have a direct relation to states of an essentially hypnotic kind. In the first place, there was a deliberate attempt on the part of Mr. Street to narrow his consciousness to the smallest possible point. He himself confesses that after months of effort he succeeded in emptying his thought. He had now developed such a degree of suggestibility that it needed but the proper stimulus to produce the religious experience he so much desired. This he received at the meeting he attended, Elder Sinclair actually placing his hands on his head. It was just then that automatic laughing began, and as this is a common occurrence in the mission, the reason is not hard to surmise. From automatic laughing he advanced step by step, until he found himself

¹² "Pentecostal Experience of Rev. A. E. Street," *Intercessory Missionary*, June, 1907 (Fort Wayne, Ind.).

uttering baby gibberish, which gradually passed over into a strange tongue and finally into singing in tongues. This is apparently typical. When glossolalia, or tongue-speaking, first appears, it is purely automatic and resembles "baby gibberish." There are motor automatisms of all the organs of speech, and at the same time nervous excitement causes labored breathing. As time passes, a selective process through autosuggestion and self-imitation begins, of which the individual may or may not be fully conscious, and thus the simple repetition of a few syllables develops into what appears to be a new language. We also gather from Mr. Street's description that autosuggestion and self-imitation were the main factors in the development of the gift of interpretation. What he and many others describe as the baptism in the Spirit has been the product of nervous instability, loss of inhibitory control, suggestion, and a sudden shifting of ideas from the subconscious¹³ into the focus of attention.

But why do these people think that the sensory and motor automatisms which appear in connection with the revival are the product of the Holy Spirit working within them? Why do they attach religious importance to these things which in and of themselves have no religious content? To answer these questions it will be necessary to trace to its origin the belief in spirit possession.

It cannot have been long, before primitive man began to observe differences between the automatic and the voluntary, between those acts over which he had control and those that came of themselves, perhaps even against his desire. His belief in animism, in the sense that all nature is animated by a life similar to his own and that separable spirits exist and pass from one object to another, stimulated the further belief that automatic actions were caused by a spirit taking possession of the body and controlling the muscles. Moreover, since the visions and hallucinations were favored by the same nervous condition that caused motor automatisms, and since both sensory and motor automatisms frequently occurred simultaneously, they were attributed to the same cause. "Automatic speech, automatic deeds of extraordinary strength or skill, uncontrolled rage in battle, epilepsy,

¹³ James Rowland Angell, *Psychology* (New York, 1904), pp. 66, 395 ff.; William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (New York, 1902), pp. 193, 234; Joseph Jastrow, *The Subconscious* (Boston and New York, 1906).

insanity, even random spasmodic contractions and contentless trances were interpreted as possession by a god or spirit."¹⁴

Passing to the early history of Israel, we find that precisely these beliefs were held by the Hebrews in early times. The Spirit of God was thought to come upon or take possession of certain individuals and act in the endowment of such charismatic gifts as prophecy (I Sam. 10:6; 19:9, 20, 23, 24), skill in ruling (Gen. 41:38), prowess in war (Judg. 6:34), bodily strength (Judg. 14:6), and skill in interpretation of dreams.¹⁵ The strength of the popular hero and the frenzies and visions of the prophet were alike attributed to the working of the Spirit.

This view of the relation of the Spirit of God to man underwent some change in the period immediately following the exile, but by the first century B.C. the influence of Greek thought upon the Jews had produced Alexandrian Judaism, in which the Spirit of God was used to account for ecstasy as it had been in the earlier and cruder stage of Hebrew thought. Thus the matter stood at the beginning of the New Testament period, and in the primitive Christian community the idea of the charismatic Spirit again came into great prominence. As in the earliest period of Hebrew history the ecstatic visions, frenzies, and utterings of the prophets were considered evidences of the presence of the Spirit, so in the primitive church hallucinations and glossolalia were attributed to the Holy Spirit.¹⁶

St. Paul, who himself spoke with tongues (I Cor. 14:18), affirms that speaking in tongues is unintelligible and needs interpretation (I Cor. 14:2, 5). The only account which differs from this is Acts 2:1-3, where the author states that those filled with the Spirit spoke other languages. When we take into consideration that this is a unique instance in New Testament history, that the history of religion knows of no such phenomenon, and that St. Paul, who was thoroughly acquainted with the gift of tongues, describes speaking in tongues

¹⁴ George A. Coe, *op. cit.*

¹⁵ Irving F. Wood, *The Spirit of God in Biblical Literature* (New York, 1904), pp. 5 ff., 34.

¹⁶ Otto Pfeiderer, *Primitive Christianity* (New York, 1906), pp. 13 ff.; Alexander B. Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity* (New York, 1894), p. 244; *The Spirit of God in Biblical Literature*, pp. 162 ff.; *Encyclopedia Biblica* (New York, 1903), Vol. IV, article, "Spiritual Gifts," cols. 4761-65.

as unintelligible, we must consider that portion of the narrative unhistorical which makes speaking in tongues a language with which the individual is absolutely unfamiliar.

At this point, a comparison of the extreme psychic phenomena which occur in connection with the present revival, with the experiences of the primitive church is almost inevitable, first because the movement itself challenges comparison by definitely affirming that these phenomena are a reproduction of Pentecostal experiences, and secondly because of the *prima facie* similarity between the two.

We observe in the first place that there is more than a superficial similarity in the methods by which these phenomena have been produced; and when we remember the simple fact of the essential similarity of human minds, we naturally infer that the results will be similar. According to the New Testament account, Pentecost came in the form of an extreme religious experience after ten days of praying and waiting. Compare these antecedents with such expressions as that the revival broke out as a result of "expectation, preparedness, and fellowship in prayer."¹⁷ In Mukti, a general prayer band of five hundred and fifty met twice daily, and in addition to this, thirty young women met every day to pray for the enduement of power, until the blessing came upon them. Moreover, when we are told that Miss Abrams had given some definite teaching on the subject of the baptism of the Holy Spirit, we are not surprised that the experience that followed took the form of that described in the New Testament. These young women in Mukti had in mind precisely that blessing.

In my investigation in Chicago, I made inquiry of several persons who had received this blessing, and I found that they believed themselves possessed, in the ancient sense, by the Holy Spirit. And parallel with this is the belief that disease or any morbid condition of the personality, such as epilepsy, insanity, etc., is caused by possession by an evil spirit. One young man told me that the Holy Spirit came in through his side; a colored man said that the Spirit entered by way of his mouth; and Mr. Sinclair announced, as previously stated, that he received the Spirit through his legs. Now this idea of possession is, as we have seen, the New Testament position, and we are justified in saying that in this regard there is a close agreement between

¹⁷ *Revival in India*, p. 30.

the recent so-called pentecostal blessings and the day of Pentecost itself.

What, however, do we find when we turn to the speaking in tongues? In the revival meetings in Chicago I heard a hundred or more persons speaking in tongues. While it is true that no two spoke exactly alike, yet in all that number I heard no one speak in any of the six languages with which I am acquainted. In its simplest form, it has been a mere babbling or screeching; and where it was more developed, there has been a constant tendency toward a repetition of certain syllables.

Quite in contrast to this, there are reports of a language being actually spoken in this way. In a letter written by Albert Norton from Dhond, Poona District, India, March 21, 1907, the statement is made that he heard a Hindi woman, who was rescued in the famine of 1897, pray in English, "O, the love! the love! the love! the love! O, the love of Jesus! O, my precious Lord! my precious Lord! O, my precious child!"¹⁸ In this prayer there are nine English words. A short time after reading Mr. Norton's letter, I had opportunity to ask a missionary who himself is acquainted with the work at Mukti, whether or not English is taught and used in the schools there. His reply was in the affirmative. An experience of more than six years on the Chinese mission field warrants me in saying that there are many illiterate natives who through contact with foreigners have learned many more than nine English words. Moreover, in the instance of a considerable number of girls and women in the mission schools, there is a decided reluctance to use the English that has actually been acquired. Given the right emotional condition, most of these would be able to utter a prayer in English, richer and better than the one quoted. Whenever there has been an automatic prayer offered in a real language, some acquaintance with that particular language has doubtless preceded it.

Furthermore, the speaking in tongues has been put to a practical test by the tongue-speakers themselves. Missionary S. C. Todd of the Bible Missionary Society, Macao, China, in an article published in the *Baptist Argus* (Louisville, Ky.), January 23, 1908, cites

¹⁸ Albert Norton, "Speaking in Tongues in India," *Intercessory Missionary*, June, 1907 (Fort Wayne, Ind.).

eighteen different instances of men and women gifted with tongues, who had gone to India, China, and Japan during the past few years. These persons expected to speak at once to the people in their own tongues, but all have been sad failures. Mr. Todd writes that he and his wife took two of these deluded persons into their home and thus saved them from slow but actual starvation. Our conclusion then is that this modern speaking in tongues, like that of the primitive church, is unintelligible, and that in this regard, too, there is close agreement.

As for the "tongues of fire" which are reported to have been seen over the heads of Christians in the present revival, and the "rushing of a mighty wind" which has been heard by numbers, it is sufficient to point out that these hallucinations coincide, even as to detail, with the phenomena of the day of Pentecost.

When we sum up our conclusions, we find that, considered from a psychological view-point, the phenomena of the present baptism of the Spirit agree, both as to origin and as to the experiences themselves, with the description given of similar phenomena in the New Testament, and that they are a recrudescence of psychic phenomena of a low stage of culture.

THE RED HEIFER

PROFESSOR HENRY PRESERVED SMITH, D.D.
Meadville Theological School, Meadville, Pa.

The history of biblical interpretation has many curious chapters, perhaps none more curious than those which deal with the Jewish purifications. The aim of the present essay is to illustrate this fact by a single example. In the nineteenth chapter of the book of Numbers we read how the people are to bring a red cow¹ to Moses and Aaron who in turn are to hand her over to Eleazar, son of Aaron. She is then to be led out of the camp where she is to be slain. The priest is to sprinkle of her blood toward the sanctuary seven times. The rest of the blood and the whole carcass, including the skin and the contents of the intestines, are to be burnt, and the priest is to throw into the fire cedar wood, scarlet stuff, and hyssop. After the burning the ashes are to be carefully collected and kept in a clean place. Their use is for ritual cleansing; that is, when persons or things are Levitically defiled by the presence of a human corpse, or by contact with human remains, or with a grave, they must be purified by being sprinkled with water in which some of these ashes have been mixed. The chapter emphatically affirms that all who have part in this rite and any who handle the ashes afterward are thereby themselves made Levitically unclean; its second section defines the nature and extent of the infection for which it provides a remedy; and its conclusion is a threat of excommunication on whoever, being thus defiled, neglects to use the appointed means of purification.

The wording of the passage presents no difficulties and the text does not seem to have suffered in transmission. Slight changes suggested by the versions do not seriously affect the sense, and we may fairly say that we know what the legislator intended to enjoin. But when we try to bring this rite into relation with modern ideas of a divinely revealed system of worship our perplexities are neither

¹ The versions have *heifer* following the lead of the Greek, and this, as we shall see, is in accord with Jewish tradition.

few nor small. Why is not the law grouped with other laws of purification? If a sin-offering is here prescribed why should it be offered outside the camp when a stringent rule² requires all sacrifices to be slain at the altar? The fundamental difficulty is met in accounting for the defilement wrought by the presence of death. But we are puzzled further by the prescription of red as the color of the victim, for nowhere else does the law regulate the color of the sacrifices. Of less moment is the requirement of a *female* victim though this seems contrary to Mosaic custom; for the sin offerings (at least those which are brought for the people at large, as seems to be the case here) are elsewhere males.³ We ask again why scarlet stuff, cedar, and hyssop appear in the ceremony, for though they are used in another rite of cleansing they are not there burnt. More serious is the double effect of the ashes, for while they cleanse the unclean they defile the clean. Even the priest who has charge of the ceremony cannot enter the sanctuary until the end of the day and then only after the ritual bath. As historical students we are impressed by the fact that although the law commands that these ashes be kept always on hand for purification no mention of them is found anywhere else in the Old Testament.⁴

That there is room here for the ingenuity of the commentator is evident, and it is this which now concerns us. It is of course possible to take the attitude of the simple believer and not to inquire into the reason of what is revealed. Such was the attitude of the earliest Jewish students. They did not inquire why the law was given, but sought only to define as exactly as possible what the law actually demands. Their work has come down to us in a treatise of the Mishna devoted to this subject. Here we learn the limits of age which make the cow suitable or unsuitable for the rite; the casuists insist that two hairs of any color except red make her unsuitable for sacrifice; they give minute directions for the priest who is to conduct the service; they prescribe that the ashes, when gathered, shall be kept in three places, and they guard the use of them with the punctiliousness which meets us in other parts of the Talmud. This

² Lev. 17:8 f.

³ Lev. 4:14.

⁴ The exception in Num. 31:19, which is obviously an example intended to show how the ashes should be used, only emphasizes the silence elsewhere.

Halachic exegesis has left its mark also on the so-called Jerusalem Targum to this chapter, and its results are set forth in great detail by Maimonides.⁵

Many later Jewish expositors seem to take the ground that it is useless or even sacrilegious to inquire into the meaning of the law, and that their duty is done when they have thus defined what it enjoins. They call attention to the phrase "This is the statute of the law" with which the passage begins, and find in it an intimation that this command, like some others, was imposed by the sovereign will of God, a monarch who gives no reasons for his decrees. In fact this word "statute" is used in some other cases of perplexing regulations.⁶ The early commentary, called the Midrash, declares that Solomon himself did not know the reason of the law, and that he had this chapter in mind when he wrote: "I said I will be wise but it was far from me."⁷ Some scholars affirm that the explanation had been vouchsafed to Moses alone, while others go so far as to assert that the Almighty Himself found this section of his law a worthy object of investigation, and that he was found engaged upon it by Moses when he ascended to the mount.⁸

Yet, however firmly the believer may hold to the Scripture as the law given for him to obey without question, questions will arise. The Bible as a revelation must have treasures of wisdom for the student. If they do not lie on the surface so much the more reason for digging deeper. Even if inclined to rest in the letter one is driven to inquire further by the scoffs of the unbeliever. So it was with the Jews. At a very early day they were obliged to meet the cavils of those who pointed out that the rite of the heifer was very like what the heathen call magic.⁹ It was inevitable that in answer to such

⁵ *R. Mosis Maimonidis Tractatus de Vacca ruja*. Latinitate donatus ab Andrea Christophoro Zellerio (1711). The Mishna tract is entitled *Para* and an English translation of it will be found in Barclay, *The Talmud* (1878). The Targum is printed in the fourth volume of Walton's Polyglott and elsewhere.

⁶ A considerable part of my wisdom comes from the dissertation of J. B. Carpzov, *De Vacca ruja, altera eaque dogmatica* (1692). The first or exegetical part of this treatise I have not seen. The difficulties of the Jewish commentators are illustrated by Carpzov at length, pp. 8-19.

⁷ Koh. 7:23 f.; cf. Wünsche, *Der Midrasch Bemidbar Rabba* (1885), p. 460.

⁸ Wünsche, *Midrasch*, p. 465.

⁹ *Ibid.*, cf. Carpzov, p. 11.

objections a rational explanation of the law should be sought. It was fortunate for the ancient expositor that he was not confined to the literal meaning of his text but could take refuge in the allegorical method.

Our passage easily lent itself to this treatment, and even where men expressly asserted that the full understanding was not to be expected until the coming of Elijah,¹⁰ the temptation was strong to make parts of the chapter teach in symbols. The guide to the symbol was naturally the analogy of Scripture. In this case the analogy was not one that suggests itself to the superficial observer. It was found in the connection of cow and calf, the calf being the golden calf which the Israelites had set up at Horeb. The cow, said the rabbis, must purge away the guilt of the calf, and the parable was put forward of a slave woman whose little son had made a litter while playing about the royal palace. It is in the nature of things that the mother should be called upon to clean up after him. So the cow was sacrificed to cleanse the guilt of the calf, and the red color of the victim was a reminder of the red color of the idol.¹¹ This explanation, if it can so be called, can never have been regarded as more than an ingenious fancy.

More serious, however, is the attempt which would make the heifer a type of Israel. This also is based on the analogy of Scripture, for Hosea declares that Israel is rebellious like an unruly cow.¹² The heifer is to be unused to the yoke because Israel has thrown off the yoke of the law; she is to be red because the young men of Israel are more ruddy than rubies; she is to be without blemish because the bride in the Song is perfect and without spot;¹³ her being led out of camp typifies the Babylonian exile; the slaughter and burning of the victim pictures the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar; the command to burn skin, blood, and entrails indicates that noble and base-born were alike involved in destruction; the cedar, scarlet,

¹⁰ According to Spencer, *De Legibus Hebraeorum*, p. 356.

¹¹ Even Izaaki, though he deprecates inquiry into the reason for the law, quotes this reason or justification from Moses ha-Darshan.

¹² Hosea 4:16; the Hebrew word used is the same as in our passage.

¹³ Canticles 5:2, 6:9, 4:7; Lamentations 4:7.

and hyssop point to the three faithful men who were thrown into the fiery furnace, and the ashes represent Israel in exile.¹⁴

The ingenuity with which the comparison is wrought out is calculated to impress the reader until he discovers that the heifer may be made with almost equal facility the type of Israel's enemies. For some of the rabbis find that the *heifer* is Egypt, which is called a beautiful heifer;¹⁵ the *red* color of the animal is an allusion to Babylon which is the head of gold in Nebuchadrezzar's dream; she is *perfect* to point to the empire of the Medes which favored the Jews; *without blemish* because Alexander bowed down to the high-priest; *unyoked* to symbolize Rome which never submitted to the yoke of the law. The *burning* then signifies the destruction of all these kingdoms at the hand of God, and the consumption of blood, flesh, skin, and entrails, shows that high and low, rich and poor, are to perish together.¹⁶

The elasticity of the method may be illustrated by another example. This time the heifer bodies forth the law and its study. She is perfect because the law is perfect; unyoked because he who gives himself to the study of the law is free from the yoke of the gentiles; she is given into the hand of the priest to show that divine help is needed in this study; led outside the camp, because this study should be carried on in solitude; she is slain and her blood is drawn by the priest to show that the law must not be studied superficially but in its inner meaning; her blood, sprinkled toward the sanctuary, shows that the law must be studied in accordance with tradition.¹⁷

Among the typologists a special place must be reserved for the philosophers. First comes the psychologist who discovers that the heifer signifies the body of man. She is red because the body is the source of sin; unyoked because the body, or matter, does not subject itself to the law of God; she is given to the priest to show that the body should be subservient to the spirit. Next is one who may be

¹⁴ From the Yalkut, cited by Carpzov, pp. 73 f. A variant makes the cedar and hyssop represent noble and base-born; cf. Surenhuys' *Mishna*, VI, Praefatio, folio H.

¹⁵ Jer. 46:20.

¹⁶ Friedmann, *Pesikta Rabbati* (1880), folio 65. Other Jewish authors are quoted by Carpzov.

¹⁷ Abarbanel, cited by Carpzov, pp. 83 f.

called a natural philosopher. He finds the significance of the red color in the fact that the blood which is red is the cause of death by its corruption, and the ceremony pollutes those who have part in it because the heifer carries away the pollution of the camp. Rising higher as he goes on, this author finds a cosmic significance in the seven sprinklings; for they are intended to set forth the seven classes of existences, namely: unformed matter, mineral forms, vegetables, animals, men, angels, and God. Another thinker argues from the fourfold occurrence of the word *רִיָקָר*¹⁸ that the Scripture points to the fourfold composition of man, he being made up of soul, body, good impulse, and evil desire. In this case the heifer evidently represents the evil desire since she is unyoked. The ashes both pollute and cleanse because the evil desire leads men to sin, but at the same time gives them the opportunity to obtain merit if they will only be steadfast in resisting. The logical conclusion is not lacking: if the heifer typifies the evil desire, then the fire which consumes her is a type of the fire of Gehenna which awaits the sinner. A heresy seems to creep in when this theory goes on to argue that the burning of the heifer to ashes proves that the punishment of the sinner lasts only till by the natural process of decay his flesh has dissolved into its original elements. But the heresy is at least partially extenuated by the observation that notorious sinners have flesh tough enough to resist decay a long time.¹⁹

The Cabbalists should of course have a place in this list. An obscure text like the one before us is the very one to attract their attention. They seem, however, to have found so much material for speculation in the earlier portions of the Pentateuch that they did not reach the later books. The most that an industrious explorer has been able to discover is that they identified the heifer with the oral law, and also with the divine emanation or attribute (one of the ten Sephiroth) named Justice.²⁰

In these ways Jewish expositors seek to get a lesson from a passage which in its literal sense has nothing to teach them. Faint echoes

¹⁸ Ex. 25:2; 27:20; Lev. 24:2; and our passage.

¹⁹ These speculations of Jewish thinkers are all taken from Carpzov, who gives citations at length.

²⁰ Carpzov, pp. 53-59.

of their theories are found to the present day even in quarters where we should hardly expect them. The *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, for example, edifies its readers by telling them that the majestic cedar of Lebanon represents pride, and hyssop represents humility.²¹ Among Christian scholars to whom we now turn we shall find many similar survivals.²² In fact both parties held that the text must contain mysteries. Only the Christians had a key which the Jews refused. That key was given in the New Testament. The fundamental principle was: "Eadem sunt in Vetere et Novo; ibi obumbrata; hic revelata; ibi praefigurata, hic manifesta."²³ The heifer then not only typifies Christ but any and all of the New Testament doctrines. She teaches for example that the flesh is the seat of sin; we slay the cow when we mortify the flesh, and we offer with her faith, hope, and charity set forth visibly in the cedar wood, scarlet, and hyssop.²⁴ The double effect of the lustral water, purifying the unclean but defiling the clean, typifies the results of preaching the Gospel which is well known to be a savor of life to some, but a savor of death to others.²⁵ Again the heifer is a type of the sacrament of penance or of the whole body of Christian doctrine.²⁶ Even Protestant commentators are influenced by these theories though they attempt to hold to Christ as the antitype.²⁷

The New Testament itself made a modest beginning with the allegorical application of our passage, for the Epistle to the Hebrews says: "For if the blood of bulls and goats, and the ashes of a heifer sprinkling them that have been defiled, sanctify to the cleanness of the flesh, how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal spirit offered himself without blemish to God, cleanse your

²¹ Vol. X, p. 345.

²² An interesting example is Grotius' adoption of Philo's theory that the mingling of ashes and water in the lustration is to teach man that he is made of those elements and that self-knowledge is the best purification; cf. his *Adnotationes* to this chapter.

²³ Augustine, *Quaestionum in Heptateuchum Libri Septem* (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. XXXIV, col. 732).

²⁴ Gregory the Great, *Moralium Liber VI*, 37 (Migne, Vol. LXXV, col. 761).

²⁵ Deyling, *Observationum Sacrarum*, Pars III, p. 101.

²⁶ See the passages in Carpzov, pp. 146, 152, ff., 163.

²⁷ An example is Baumgarten cited by Kurtz in his article, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1846, p. 678.

conscience from dead works to serve the living God."²⁸ It may be said that the passage does not make the heifer directly typical of Christ; that it simply argues from a fact conceded by both Jews and gentiles. But the argument of the epistle is to show that the whole Levitical service is an adumbration of Christ, and the application of this principle to each particular ordinance was easily made. We are not much surprised therefore when the Epistle of Barnabas elaborates the type without reserve. The author says:

And what think you this type was—that it was enjoined on Israel that the men who were sinners should offer a heifer and slay it and burn it; that then boys should take the ashes in vessels and should bind scarlet wool around a stick (see here again is the type of the cross, both the scarlet wool and the hyssop); and that thus the boys should sprinkle the people one by one, that they might be cleansed from their sins? Consider how it is said to you in a similitude: The calf is Jesus; the men who make the offering are the sinners who brought him to death. . . . And the boys who sprinkle are those who preach to us the good tidings of remission of sins and cleansing of heart. . . . And why are there three boys that sprinkle? In witness of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, because these men were great with God. And why was the wool upon the stick? Because the kingdom rests upon the cross, and because they who hope upon him will live forever.²⁹

The author does not confine himself to the biblical text but describes the ceremony as he supposes it to be performed. His data are in general accord with Jewish tradition—the employment of boys to mingle the ashes and the water, for example. In one point he makes a serious deviation from his text. This is where he substitutes a *calf* for the *heifer*. When we reflect that the gender of the sacrifice is a real obstacle to the parallel between type and antitype we can hardly acquit the writer of violent treatment of his subject. Yet the determination to find a type of Christ was so strong that no one seems to have objected to this incongruity, and the interpretation passed into Christian tradition.

As evidence of this I will cite at once the greatest of the Fathers, Augustine, who holds that the heifer signifies the human nature (*carnem*) of Christ; it is a female because the weaker sex properly sets forth the weakness of the flesh; the red color foreshadows the cruel passion; the sinlessness of the Savior is shown by the heifer's

²⁸ Heb. 9:13 f.

²⁹ Ep. Barnabae, chap. viii.

freedom from the yoke; the victim was handed over to Eleazar, the future high priest, to indicate that the true sacrifice will be offered in the future (future to the Old Testament, that is) dispensation; the sprinkling of the blood toward the sanctuary speaks for itself; it was done seven times because the number seven is the one which pertains to spiritual things; the fire which burned the heifer prefigures the resurrection of Christ, through which he entered the heavenly life; the cedar, scarlet, and hyssop correspond to the three graces of hope, love, and faith; those who burned the heifer are the men who buried the body of Jesus; the ashes which purify the unclean prefigure the preaching of the Gospel which converts sinners; the water of sprinkling is the sacrament of baptism, and the hyssop with which it is applied is faith; finally the threat of excommunication uttered against those who neglect the rite really warns us of the punishment of those who refuse this sacrament.³⁰

So complete a demonstration could not fail to impress succeeding generations. Among Catholic scholars it would be most thoroughly adopted. But even Protestants, though nominally rejecting the allegorical method, retained a typology which allowed them to adorn their exposition with many allegorical features. With them the sprinkling no longer typifies baptism, but teaches the imputation of the merits of Christ, and emphasis is laid upon the cleansing from dead works rather than cleansing from sins in general. But the substance of the exposition is the same. Carpzov is moved to his thorough study of this chapter by the belief that the chief end of all the ceremonial laws is the adumbration of Christ, and Zeller re-edits Maimonides' treatise with the same faith.³¹ The latter quotes, with approval, L'Empereur's demonstration that the location of the sacrifice of the heifer (the Mount of Olives) was the place of Jesus' agony—a coincidence too striking (as both authors regard it) to be accidental.³² Gerhard, the great theologian, sees in the burning victim Christ on the cross consumed by the fire of love, while to others the fire typifies the eternal Spirit by which Jesus offers himself to God. The cleansing is then good Protestant justification

³⁰ *Quaest. in Heptateuchum* (Migne, XXXIV, col. 733 ff.).

³¹ Carpzov, pp. 59, 152, 171; Zeller, Prefatio.

³² L'Empereur, *Talmudis Babylonici Codex Middoth* (1630), pp. 14, 58.

and sanctification. The sacrifice was a means of grace to the Jews before the coming of Christ so far as they applied to themselves the blood of Christ by faith.³³ A detailed exposition may be found in Matthew Poole's *Annotations*³⁴ which probably well represent the older English expositors. He says that the red color of the heifer was adapted to set forth the bloody nature and complexion of sin, and also the human nature of Christ and especially his blood from which this water and all other rites had their purifying virtue; the heifer's being without blemish made her a fit type of Christ, while her being unyoked may signify either that Christ was free from the yoke of the law until for our sakes he took upon himself our yoke, or that Christ was not drawn or forced to undertake our burden but did voluntarily choose it; the heifer was brought without the camp partly because it was reckoned an unclean and accursed thing, being laden (ceremonially) with the sins of all the people, and partly because Christ was to suffer without the camp; the sprinkling of the blood before the sanctuary was by way of atonement or satisfaction; the burning of the victim signified the sharp and grievous suffering of Christ for our sin, and the priest was made unclean by this rite to show the imperfection of the Levitical priesthood, but also to show that Christ, though without sin in himself, was reputed by men and judged by God as an unclean and sinful person by reason of our sins which were laid upon him; the cleansing on the third day typifies the resurrection of Christ and that on the seventh shows that our perfection in this life is gradual and not complete until we come to that eternal Sabbath which the seventh day respects; the living water used in the purification manifestly points to the Holy Spirit, who is often compared to water and by whom alone true purification is accomplished. Finally we read:

It is strange that the same water should cleanse one person and defile another; but God would have it so, partly to teach us that it did not cleanse by any virtue in itself or in the work done, but only by virtue of God's appointment; partly to mind the Jews of the imperfection of their priesthood and their ritual purifications and expiations, and consequently of the necessity of a better priesthood and sacraments and way of purifying which these outward rites did point to; partly

³³ These I have taken from Carpzov, pp. 150, 156, 161.

³⁴ *Annotations upon the Holy Bible*, 4th ed., 1700.

to show that the efficacy of God's ordinances doth not depend upon the person or quality of his ministers, because the same person who was polluted himself did and could cleanse others.

The reader will see that a whole body of divinity is thus evolved from this chapter. Minor details may be gathered by a careful gleaning among the commentators as, for example, that the cedar which is thrown into the midst of the flame corresponds to the lance which pierced the side of Jesus.³⁵ Others see in the cedar a type of the exaltation of Christ, in the hyssop his humiliation, and in the scarlet stuff his bloody sacrifice. Subsequent commentators have not had the courage to present so complete a picture as Poole or his editors, yet some features of the tradition, as we may now call it, appear down to recent times. Matthew Henry is perhaps the most highly esteemed of English commentators. He affirms that the sacrifice of the heifer "was typical of the death and sufferings of Christ, by which he intended not only to satisfy God's justice but also to purify and pacify our consciences, that we may not only have peace with God but peace in our own bosoms." He learns from the uncleanness of those who were concerned in the rite that all who had a hand in putting Christ to death contracted guilt thereby.³⁶ Similar details might be quoted from Adam Clarke, Thomas Scott, the *Comprehensive Commentary*, and others. The persistence of tradition may be illustrated from an American publication, the once widely read *Notes* of George Bush. This author, after examining various theories, decides that we may safely consider the burning of the heifer to represent the excruciating sufferings of Christ; its ashes are then the permanent merits of this sacrifice; the running or living water means the power and grace of the Holy Spirit, called the water of life and the laver of regeneration; while the mixture of ashes and water fitly represents the inseparable union which exists between the justification and sanctification of the sinner; the heifer was given to Eleazar not only to signify that our Lord's sacrifice of himself was to be at a distance in the succession of the priesthood,

³⁵ Zeller, p. 402. The same author gives in tabular form the corresponding features of type and antitype embracing sixteen items, pp. 500 ff.

³⁶ *An Exposition on the Old and New Testaments* by Matthew Henry, late Minister of the Gospel, 4th ed., 1737.

but also to represent in Eleazar that whole sanctified body which Peter styles "a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people, to whom Christ was given by the Father for sanctification and deliverance. He adds that the red color typifies the blood of Christ, shed in the passion, and adopts other points with which we are already familiar—that the defilement of the persons employed in the rite points to the imperfection of the Mosaic ordinances, also that it prefigures the guilt of those who crucified Jesus, and, further, that the purification on the third day foreshadows the resurrection of Christ, while that on the seventh day indicates that our sanctification in this life is gradual.³⁷ One rubs his eyes and looks again at the date to see whether this book was really published in the nineteenth century, and asks himself to what end the Reformers rejected the allegorical method.

The thoroughness with which German scholars wrought at all theological science in the last century leads us to turn to them, but the result cannot be said to be any great addition to our knowledge. The orthodox are under the bias of the typical interpretation and even the more liberal show traces of its influence. A well-known standard work bears the significant title: *Symbolism of the Mosaic Ritual*,³⁸ and an elaborate essay devoted to the chapter now under discussion is entitled: "On the Symbolical Value of the Rite for Removing the Uncleaness Contracted by Contact with a Dead Body."³⁹ Not to leave us in doubt on the orthodox view, Hengstenberg roundly affirms that all the purifications in the books of Moses have symbolical and typical character.⁴⁰ Yet in spite of this agreement in principle these scholars are not agreed in the interpretation of our chapter. The greater part of Kurtz' essay (seventy-three pages) is an argument against Hengstenberg. The latter had affirmed that the red color of the heifer is significant of *sin*, while Kurtz holds with equal firmness that it denotes *life*. Kurtz, again, holds that the victim is a female because the female is the source of

³⁷ *Notes Critical and Practical on the Book of Numbers*, by George, Bush New York, 1858, pp. 272-80.

³⁸ *Symbolik des Mosaischen Kultus* von K. C. W. F. Bähr, Heidelberg, 1839.

³⁹ By Kurtz in the *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, 1846.

⁴⁰ *Christologie des alten Testaments* (1885), II, 299.

life, while his opponent argues that a female was chosen because the Hebrew word for *sin* is of the feminine gender.⁴¹ Both these scholars were earnest and devout defenders of orthodoxy. It did not occur to either one that if interpretations so diverse could be given to the same passage there must be some fault of method. Yet the obsession of the commentators infected the dogmatic theologians. A book once regarded with high favor, and perhaps still read, has the title: *Typology of Scripture, or the Doctrine of Types Investigated in Its Principles and Applied to the Explanation of the Earlier Revelations of God Considered as Preparatory Exhibitions of the Leading Truths of the Gospel*.⁴² Did space permit, quotations from this book might be given as irrational as any from the Fathers.

This long search brings us to one conclusion: The whole theory of types and allegories must be given up simply because it leads nowhither. It is inconceivable that if God wished to teach all the beautiful and profound doctrines found by the expositors in this text, he would have wrapped them up in so obscure a transaction, and left us without a hint of his real intent and purpose. We turn then to the rationalists who at any rate have rejected the allegorical interpretation. And of the most of them it is true that they see what the real problem is. For what we want first to know is why the presence of a dead body produces defilement. The attempts of the theologians to explain the reason are particularly unfortunate. One says that the law proceeded on the hypothesis that human nature was wholly infected by sin. Another says that bodily states are described as defiling in order to awaken the sense of sin; while still another declares that the dead are unclean because the revolting and polluting effects of natural death are due to the power of spiritual death.⁴³ All these are without warrant in the Old Testament, and

⁴¹ This surely verges on the trivial, and shows the straits into which he is brought who will explain everything. It is amusing to note also that when Hengstenberg makes the cedar and hyssop represent the majesty and forgiving love of God, Kurtz retorts that these could not be burned. The reader who is interested may examine the confused and obscure language under which Keil attempts to conceal his inability to carry out his typological explanation, *Biblische Archäologie*², p. 309.

⁴² By Patrick Fairbairn, American ed., 1857.

⁴³ Keil, *Archäologie*, pp. 295, 303; Bähr, II, 464; Bush, p. 279. Similar views are found of course in the older treatises as, for example, in Deyling, *Observationes*, III, 90.

these authors would probably confess in their better moments that the emphasis laid by the ceremonial law on ritual defilement would obscure the vision concerning ethical shortcomings. On the other hand the various rationalistic explanations do not seem to help us much. Maimonides⁴⁴ says that the system of clean and unclean was ordained to inculcate reverence for the sanctuary. If it were allowed to every man to approach God as often as he chose, access to the Presence would be undervalued. There is here a vague apprehension that these regulations are concerned with access to the sanctuary. But it is almost unthinkable that God would impose arbitrary restrictions to keep men away from worship. Especially in the time of bereavement, when they most need divine consolation, we should expect him to invite them near. That the rite of purification is concerned with approach to God is recognized sometimes even by those who are swamped in their theological theories. Thus Bähr recognizes that "purification means restoration to communion with God which has been disturbed by contact with death."⁴⁵ This is refreshing, yet it brings us only a little way. Why has death disturbed the communion with God?

The reason for this disturbance has usually been sought in the mind of Moses the lawgiver. He designed, says one inquirer, to keep Israel separate from the gentiles—racial purity was what he had at heart. Here the effect is put for the cause. Exclusiveness actually resulted from the law but was not an end in itself. Even if we explain the laws of clean and unclean in this way, we are not helped in the matter of the heifer. A distinctively modern explanation seeks the reason for the laws in their sanitary benefits. The dead were made unclean to prevent infection, or to promote early interment, or to secure separation of cemeteries from dwellings.⁴⁶ Others suppose that the defilement is the expression of natural disgust at the corpse, which decays and sends forth a bad odor, and at the odor itself which cleaves to persons and things.⁴⁷ But it is not only the putrefying corpse that defiles; a single bone of a human

⁴⁴ Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed*, translated by M. Friedländer (1885), III, 166, 244.

⁴⁵ *Symbolik*, p. 502.

⁴⁶ Michaelis, *Mosaisches Recht*, IV, 211-16.

⁴⁷ Knobel, *Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua*, p. 95.

body, no matter how free from taint or odor, has the same effect as a corpse and so has a grave, though the body of the occupant has long mingled with the dust. By some the law is supposed to be a discouragement to the superstitious Egyptian practice of embalming.⁴⁸ But no one has shown why the lawgiver did not make known his purpose. If he had had any of these objects in mind there is no reason why he should not have secured his end by definite and specific injunctions. And even if these hypotheses explained the defilement they would not help us to understand the rite of the heifer, for no one would pretend that a little ashes mingled with water constitute an efficient antiseptic.

Up to this time we have purposely left out of view one line of inquiry, that is, the comparative. This is now our only hope, and it does give us ground for hope. For we easily discover that these ideas of defilement and purification are common to nearly all religions. The fact has long been known, though the inference from it has only lately become clear. The resemblance of the rite of the heifer to heathen ceremonies was early forced upon the attention of the Jews themselves, for to their own evident embarrassment they were accused of practicing magic.⁴⁹ The Christian Fathers did not hesitate to bring the Hebrew hyssop into connection with the herbs used in Greek cathartic rites, and hyssop itself is regarded as a plant of special virtue by the Greeks.⁵⁰ The sprinkling of water prepared in some peculiar way was a common method of lustration outside of Israel. The ashes of the sacrifice are mentioned by Ovid as means of purification.⁵¹ The color of sacrificial victims is a matter of importance in gentile religion, while the stipulation that the heifer should be unacquainted with the yoke is a common requirement outside Israel. Many of these resemblances were noted by early commentators,⁵² but the author who most fully collected them and

⁴⁸ Palfrey, *The Jewish Scriptures and Antiquities*, I, 363. The sanitary theory has survived into recent literature.

⁴⁹ Wünsche, *Midrasch Bemidbar Rabba*, p. 465; cf. Carpzov, pp. 11, 16.

⁵⁰ See the quotations of Bähr, *Symbolik*, II, 503.

⁵¹ *Fasti*, iv, 639, 725, 733.

⁵² Various parallels are given by Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum*, by Rosenmüller, *Scholia*, by Clericus, and by others.

considered their bearing was Spencer in his work, *De Legibus Hebraeorum*.⁵³

Spencer in his extended discussion of this subject begins by saying that no one will think this a new rite or one contrary to the custom of antiquity. He then adduces the Egyptian parallels and finds them of such a nature that there must be connection of Egyptian and Hebrew usage. His theory is that God designed to oppose and contradict heathen superstitions. With reference to the red color, for example, he discusses various theories that have been advanced only to find them unsatisfactory.⁵⁴ But from Plutarch he ascertains that the Egyptians offered red bulls to Typhon and also that red cattle were sacrificed, on the theory that the souls of wicked men migrated into them. On the other hand cows were sacred to Isis.⁵⁵ Putting the facts together Spencer argues that the heifer was chosen in order to bring the Egyptian "vaccine cultus" into contempt, that she was to be red in order to show that God would accept a sacrifice despised by the Egyptians, and finally that there was a purpose to expiate the worship of Typhon to which the Israelites had been addicted in Egypt. There was therefore a certain accommodation of Israelite law to heathen custom in order to meet the particular need of the time.

The theory of accommodation was fiercely assailed,⁵⁶ but the array of facts was so telling that they had to be considered. To this extent attention was turned away from the phantasms of the typologists and in the direction of a really historical explanation. At first the commentators held that the resemblances between Jewish and gentile ritual could be accounted for by assuming the originality of the former—the devil had instigated his followers to imitate Mosaic ordinances, the counterfeit being well adapted to lead men away from the true.⁵⁷ But it is hardly necessary to point out that

⁵³ I have used the edition published at the Hague in 1686.

⁵⁴ As, that it was a common color and so the cow would be easily obtained; or, on the other hand, that it was the color of the choicest animals. He explicitly rejects the typical reference to the Messiah, and the Jewish fancy that the cow was somehow connected with the golden calf.

⁵⁵ Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, chap. xxxi.

⁵⁶ For example, Carpzov, pp. 183 ff.

⁵⁷ So Adam Clarke remarks.

direct borrowing from the Hebrews was in most cases impossible, and while the devil may have means of conveyance unknown to us, he is at best only a *deus ex machina* who should be invoked only as a last resort.

Since Spencer's time our knowledge of gentile rites has been greatly increased. To begin with the fundamental idea, namely, the ritual uncleanness of the dead, we may say that it is almost universal. It is found in India, for the laws of Manu devote a number of paragraphs to it;⁵⁸ the Persian sacred books emphasize it;⁵⁹ Greek and Roman literature speaks of it;⁶⁰ it is attested among the American Indians, in Africa, Thibet, and many remote regions. And along with the uncleanness we have purifications resembling those of the Pentateuch.⁶¹ Among the Greeks those who had eaten of the offering to a hero could not come into the sanctuary of Zeus until they had bathed.⁶² The Galli who covered the body of a dead comrade with stones could not come into the sanctuary of their goddess for seven days, and if one of them only saw a corpse he could not enter the temple until the following day, and then only after purifying himself.⁶³ The Sabaeans wash themselves after touching a corpse.⁶⁴ On the Gold Coast those persons who have taken part in a funeral go in procession to the nearest brook and sprinkle themselves.⁶⁵

The words "clean" and "unclean" give us a very inadequate idea of the beliefs we are discussing. Let us use instead the word "taboo." Taboo is the quality which belongs to a being regarded as divine, demonic, or uncanny. This quality is infectious or contagious. A man or thing becomes taboo by contact with one of these beings or even by being in their presence. It is evident that where divinities are hostile or unsympathetic the taboo imparted by

⁵⁸ *SBE*, Vol. XXV, pp. 177 f.

⁵⁹ *SBE*, Vol. IV, pp. 74-118.

⁶⁰ Citations in Grotius and Poole. Alexander's army was "defiled" by the death of its king (Knobel, *Numeri*, p. 96).

⁶¹ On the whole subject see Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, I, 331-39; III, 397-401.

⁶² *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, Beiheft to Vol. VIII, p. 41.

⁶³ *De Dea Syria*, 53.

⁶⁴ Haarbrücker, *Schahrastani*, II, 76.

⁶⁵ Further examples are given by G. B. Gray, *Commentary on Numbers*, pp. 244 f. Cf. also Bähr, II, 467, whose list should have made him doubt the sufficiency of his own theory.-

one would be unpleasant to others. Hence the danger of coming from the service of the hero into the presence of Zeus. Tolerant of associate gods as Zeus was, he had to draw the line somewhere, and to come before him redolent of a sacrifice to an underworld divinity would arouse his wrath. Now Yahweh, as we know, is a jealous God; anything which suggests another god is repugnant to him. His own taboo, which is sacredness, is dangerous if taken into the sphere of common life, and the taboo of another divinity is uncleanness. That which is most sacred is in fact treated like that which is unclean.⁶⁶

If the uncleanness of the dead is to be explained at all it must be on the ground of taboo, that is that it is derived from the worship of the dead. This at once accounts for the fact that the more honorable the creature the more polluting his corpse. The dead body of the most disgusting animal pollutes for a single day only, while the corpse of the high priest—the most sacred of men—pollutes for seven days, and then must be counteracted by a special lustration. The corpse of Alexander made the whole army taboo because the living man had been so powerful, and his departed spirit was a divinity of proportionate dignity. Josephus relates that Miriam died and had a public funeral after which Moses purified the people by sacrificing the red heifer and sprinkling the ashes. He knew that his gentile readers would understand exactly what was meant.⁶⁷

The worship of the dead is directly attested in most regions where we find the death taboo. This is a matter of common knowledge and it is unnecessary to give citations. Among the rites of worship none is more widespread than sacrifice. Attempts have been made to differentiate between offerings to the dead and sacrifices to the gods, but without success. If it be said that the offerings are intended to nourish the souls of the departed, the reply is obvious that this is precisely one object of the sacrifices. So late an author as Ezekiel does not hesitate to speak of the fat and blood which are burned on the altar as the food of Yahweh.⁶⁸ And if it be said that the desire to rid oneself of the presence of the ghosts is the motive,

⁶⁶ Compare the regulations for the handling of the sacred things, Lev. 6:28, with the rules for the unclean.

⁶⁷ *Antiquities*, iv, 4, 6.

⁶⁸ Ezek. 44:7.

we can only respond that the desire to protect oneself from hostile divinities is in evidence in almost all religions. We must recall the fact that the gods of polytheism survive in monotheistic religion in the form of demons, cobolds, or *ginn*, and that the rites paid them persist in the form of magic, or else are adopted in some modification in the new faith. In Israel death and the demons are associated down to recent times. Talmudic authorities assert that death is caused by an "angel" except in the rare cases where it is caused by the kiss of God.⁶⁹ The taboo of house, utensils, and food is explained by the theory that an evil demon may spring from them upon human beings in their vicinity. The consciousness that the demons in this case are actually the souls of the dead seems to have been lost, but this is in line with what we find in other religions where the manes and the underworld deities are confused or merged.

Now if the rite of the heifer came to us from some source other than the Mosaic law we should have no hesitation in seeing in it a sacrifice to the dead. Its distinctive marks, and those which give the commentators most trouble, are precisely those which in other religions characterize sacrifices to the dead.⁷⁰ First of all, the red color of the victim finds striking parallels. Red coffins, red banners at funerals, red objects given to the dead man, red pigment applied to the corpse, even are widely attested.⁷¹ The choice of the red color is explicable because it is the color of blood and therefore of life. To this extent Kurtz was right in his contention as against Hengstenberg. Among the Greeks red victims were offered to the underworld deities, who are, as we have seen, associated with the shades. The archon of Plataea who on other days might not wear any but white garments wore crimson when invoking dead warriors to the banquet.⁷² It is possible that Spencer is right in bringing into this connection the red victims offered to Set, for Set seems to have been a god of pestilence and death.

⁶⁹ Carpzov, pp. 63, 127.

⁷⁰ This was first pointed out so far as I know by Bewer, *JBL*, XXIV, pp. 41-44.

⁷¹ See an article "Rot und Tot" in the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, IX, 1 ff.; also Aston, *Shinto*, p. 56; De Groot, *Religious System of China*, I, 31, 94 f., 111; III, 1196, 1219.

⁷² Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 249.

Professor Bewer has already called attention to the biblical parallel in Deuteronomy where, as in the case before us, we have an ancient offering to the dead. It is in accord with gentile custom that a female victim be brought to the shades, and the parallel becomes exact when we notice that a barren cow is Ulysses' offering to a dead friend, and that the Mishna requires the red heifer to be unapproached by the male, which is also the obvious intent of the passage in Deuteronomy.⁷³

The most remarkable thing about the heifer is that her blood was shed away from the sanctuary, whereas in all other offerings Yahweh claims the blood for the altar. Jewish tradition forbids the priest to use a vessel to catch the blood of the heifer. So much as is necessary to sprinkle toward the sanctuary he must receive in his hand, which is then wiped on the carcass.⁷⁴ We must conclude that originally the blood flowed to the ground. But this is precisely what the blood was allowed to do in sacrifices for the dead. The sprinkling of a little of it toward the sanctuary is a very superficial attempt to disguise the original rite.

In Greek religion victims for the dead were wholly consumed, either on the ground or on very low altars. The burning of the heifer is more thorough than in the case of any other Hebrew sacrifice with which we are acquainted, and as no altar is mentioned it must have been on the ground. And the ground chosen is not without significance. When the Levitical legislation mentions the sanctuary it has the temple in mind. The provision of our text that the ceremony shall take place "before the sanctuary" means in reality that it is to be located on the Mount of Olives, as in fact is distinctly stated in the Mishna. But the Mount of Olives was a place of sepulture for Jerusalem from early times. The Talmud again is aware of this for it provides that the heifer and her train shall cross the Kedron valley on a bridge purposely raised to avoid contact with the graves.⁷⁵ The place of sacrifice therefore was the very place haunted by the spirits of the departed.

It is difficult to determine what idea was connected with the hyssop, cedar, and scarlet stuff. It is possible that the cedar was

⁷³ Deut. 21:1-7; cf. Rohde, *Psyche*, p. 54.

⁷⁴ Zeller, p. 362.

⁷⁵ The theory is that the contagion of a grave does not pass through an air space.

emblematic of life and used as a prophylactic; as evergreen trees are planted near graves in China and elsewhere. Hyssop we have already brought into connection with the fragrant herbs which were effective against the ghosts in Greece. The scarlet stuff would then be the emblem of life like the red color of the heifer. On the other hand it is possible that these objects are remnants of the property—garments and weapons—once burned at the grave. In either case these confirm our theory rather than disprove it.

The defilement of those who take part in the rite now becomes perfectly intelligible. The ashes of the sacrifice consecrate those who are sprinkled, and consecration to the dead is pollution for the service of Yahweh. Gentile parallels are well known. No different is the lustration by water in which a brand from the altar has been quenched, or the application of the blood of the sacrifice to the worshiper.⁷⁶ Originally then the water consecrated those who took part in the rite, and this is the reason why it is called "water of separation." How it comes to be a means of purification is now the problem. The probability is that in the intention of the author it did not in itself purify, for it seems that the one who was sprinkled still had to wash his clothes and bathe before he could enter the sanctuary.⁷⁷

The conclusion from our inquiry seems obvious: We have in the rite of the heifer a veritable *superstitio*, a survival from animistic religion naturalized in the law of Israel. The state of mind of the compilers who are responsible for its insertion here may easily be conceived. They were conscious that the rite was hallowed by antiquity and too deeply rooted to be abolished. The popular belief (shared probably by the compilers themselves) held that the ghosts of the departed could not rest unless the traditional rites were duly observed. Although the ghosts were no longer regarded as gods, yet they had uncanny powers and might wreak their vengeance on the community if they were neglected. It was therefore safest to retain the traditional rite, but at the same time put it under proper safeguards. Hence the commitment to the priest second in rank

⁷⁶ Spencer, I, 359; Sommer, *Biblische Abhandlungen*, p. 333.

⁷⁷ The evidence for the worship of the dead in Israel is fully discussed by Lods, *La croyance à la vie future et le culte des morts dans l'antiquité israélite*, Paris, 1906.

who had (probably) supervision over public order. By the presence of this officer and by the sprinkling of the blood toward the sanctuary the ceremony was made a quasi-sacrifice to Yahweh.

The line of investigation which we have followed with reference to the red heifer might profitably be taken with reference to several other chapters of the Levitical legislation. The general result would be similar. We should be convinced that the religion of Israel instead of being born fully grown at Sinai is a growth in which, through a long period of time, many diverse elements were taken up and assimilated. The advantage of our method is that it removes the religion of Israel from the isolation in which it has too long been shut up, and brings it into the general stream of human progress. Whether we thus succeed in explaining its enigmas better than they were explained by the older scholars with their allegories and types the reader must be left to judge.

A FRAGMENT OF THE COSMOLOGIC ARGUMENT

REV. WILLIAM HAYES WARD, D.D., LL.D.
New York City

In these days when theology, "queen of sciences," is discredited and neglected, and religion is the more praised as it is the more attenuated and dissolved, it is well to remember that religion hangs on one theologic dogma, that of the existence of God. Deny God, and the basis of religion is removed. Religion is a branch of ethics. Ethics has to do with duty, duty to any beings with whom one has relations. Religion has to do simply with duty to God, just as other ethics has to do with duties to man, beast, the earth, or any other being or creature that exists. We have moral duties to God, if we believe in a God, and the exercise of them is religion. Our common morals, that is, our duties to the world, are religious so far as these duties are performed with a view to our obligation to God.

Perhaps it is the acceptance of the doctrine of evolution, with its undermining of so much of the popular argument for design, which has led to the insistence on the argument for theism drawn from consciousness, from a sense of the immanence of God, or idealistic monism, whatever it may be called, which asserts that we may have such a relation to God that the individual may recognize somehow that larger Something of which he is a part. In the falling away from the mechanical argument which makes God a watchmaker who winds up the watch and lets it go, it is beautiful to conceive or believe oneself thus to be a little uprush or outburst of God. But very few commonplace, practical people can discover any such consciousness of God as immanent or working in themselves. It is a language too transcendental for them. And what of the criminal man? It seems profane—it is nothing less than profane—to think of a criminal as a sort of pimple or ulcer on God. But what else is he?

Beyond all question the old argument for design needs restatement. The biologist tells us that the present order of plants and animals has been produced under a natural law of evolution, and he

gives us the close succession of the species of the horse, and then he points out the stages by which the various organs have advanced to their present perfection. That undermines our argument for design; but yet we want to ask some questions of our biologists. Is it clear that these modifications have come by regular sequence, each naturally evolved from the preceding one? Are there not cases in which, by a sort of biologic prolepsis, organs have come into being anticipatory of their functions, prepared for that function which should arrive? The original method of propagation in the lower orders of life is by fission, while in the higher orders of life it is by the conjunction of two sexes. How can the second method grow out of the first? Is it true that evolution can give us two sexes, developed out of the method of fission, prepared beforehand to anticipate the service which they will render? The fact that the lower forms of sexualism are imperfect does not explain how it could have begun under evolution. There seem to be a multitude of such anticipatory functions or organs, that appear to be beyond the power of Darwinism to explain, and which the newer formulation of the argument of design must consider.

But even so, and with all similar examples by way of exception, the rule stands that the bulk of that in which we used to see the immediate proof of design is transferred to the domain of evolution. The hand, the eye, were not created *ab initio*, as a man makes a watch, but have been slowly produced under natural law. Now we are taught that out of the lowest forms of life, and very possibly or probably, out of inanimate matter, the laws or powers of nature have organized the cosmos as we see it. We are obliged to accept this as the historic fact, at least that there has been this progressive development under laws whose operation we in good part see. To be sure this puts the question of origin back, and compels us to ask no longer whether the eye requires a wise designer, but rather, whether the cosmos itself, with all its laws and all their operation and creative results must not have had a designer of even more infinite wisdom than that which could plan a single mechanical contrivance like the eye. In our retreat from the argument for design which was good enough for Paley and the Bridgewater Treatises, we have been forced to put back the design into the mind of God in his first creation of the world, and assure ourselves that there must have been a Being who

was so wise a Designer, that he could put the laws or powers into the first formless mist and flux of things, which would work out all this differential universe of stars and life. But that not only put God far back, but so far back that it was difficult for us to discover him. Indeed that sends us back to the cosmological argument which seeks to account for the first existence of things. It removes from us the argument for a God who still controls and guides his universe, and who, in infinite wisdom, out of matter living or dead designs the human eye and arranges its humors and lenses to create a perfect machine. It may be, for aught we know, that in some mysterious way, in the infinite attractions of atoms and their yet more minute components, of which we are told there are a thousand in an atom of hydrogen, some fortunately came together in relations that possessed the primordial qualities of vitality, and that, by slow evolution and choice of adaptation, there have been evolved all the present forms of life. This may be; many of our best scientific authorities are inclined to believe it; and if this is probable or credible, then, if true, the necessity of postulating a great original Designer is less evident. But there are, I think, not a few of the adaptations and contrivances of life which it does not seem can be thus explained; and which seem to leave us a certain portion of the argument for design.

Thus the form of argument for design to which we are to so great an extent driven, finds, as has been said, the plan and design of the universe chiefly in its laws which by their operation produce living organisms as well as the inorganic world; and this really sends us back to the so-called cosmologic argument for the existence of God.

That argument has appealed to me in about this form: The universe exists; it is as it is; does it possess the characteristics of self-existence independent of source from something existing outside of itself, or does it possess the characteristics of contingency—not self-existent, but contingent on some cause without itself? The proof that the latter is the fact, which long satisfied me, was that it exhibits the characteristics of contingency as follows:

That which is self-existent exists from some necessity within itself, and therefore that necessity is independent of time and place, and must act everywhere and always the same. What is necessary and self-existent must be eternal and universal, always and everywhere.

This we can see easily in the matter of the *relation* of things. Thus everywhere and always the three angles of a triangle are equal to the two right angles. God did not make it so. It is so of itself, and God could not change it. So, again, two contiguous mountains must have a valley between them. So the elements of morality are independent of God, and are involved in the existing or imagined relations of two sentient beings. Just as the juxtaposition of three lines so as to enclose a space involves mutual angular relations, so the juxtaposition of intelligent beings one to another involves moral relations entirely independent of God. To be sure these are examples of relations, which are abstract, and not of concrete actualities; but we are seeking a principle to apply to things antecedent to the existence of the universe as we know it, and whose qualities we are discussing. We may, however, add that, so far as we can judge, time and space are examples of what exists by an inherent necessary self-existence, uncreated, unchangeable, universal, eternal.

Now, whatever does not possess these qualities of self-existence, universal, eternal, is contingent. Whatever is not always and everywhere the same in its essence is contingent, had a beginning, had a source, and such a source we can only call the self-existent God.

Now I have been in the habit of saying that it is just this quality of contingency which I find in the universe. That it was not always we may not be able to say, for all we know is that it has existed for countless millions of years. We see in the heavens at the present time new worlds created by the collision of dead stars, the birth of new stars, *novae*, as the astronomers call them, and implying a succession of time, beyond our imagination, in which solar systems have geologically been produced, ran their allotted period, became darkened and extinct, and in their turn renewed, to begin over again their almost infinite period of nebula, succeeded by sun and planets, and again reduced to frozen death in the spaces of absolute cold. This is true; we cannot limit thus the beginning of this succession. We might presume it to be eternal. But we reach a different result when we consider the necessary assumption that what is necessarily existent, self-existent, must exist not merely always, but everywhere the same. What do we find? We find matter composed of seventy or eighty elements. These have appeared ultimate, the materials

which we have said God put here out of which to create his world. Do these atoms have the qualities of self-existence or those of contingency? Certainly the latter. There are seventy or eighty different elements unlike each other. Neither do they exist everywhere. Here we have oxygen, there hydrogen, there carbon. These atoms exist in countless millions here on the earth. They exist also in the stars, or some of them, as meteorites suggest and as the spectroscope proves. But between us and Sirius they do not exist. There is evidently no inherent necessity which requires them there, for there they are not. In the space occupied by an atom of oxygen there is no hydrogen. The atoms of gold exclude silver from the spot occupied by them. They have as much the appearance of being contingent as do a collection of red and white billiard balls.

Now this argument used to seem to me conclusive; but the new chemistry requires it to be modified, just as the new biology has required the argument for design to be modified; and yet I doubt if this necessity has properly been recognized by theologians.

Chemists have themselves come to admit that atoms are contingent. This first came with the conjecture that they are not ultimate, but are themselves composite; and it was made almost conclusive by the discovery of Mendeleef's law, which showed that the chemical elements, oxygen, hydrogen, etc., can be arranged in an ascending series with corresponding qualities, like a series of steps on a flight of stairs. By adding so much to the combining weight of an element you can tell what the nature of the new element will then be; and actually elements have thus been foretold, and later discovered, just as mathematically Le Verrier and Adams foretold the position of the new planet Neptune and put the telescope to the spot. This seems to imply that all the seventy or eighty elements are composed of one and the same substance, and that the addition of something more of that substance changes one element into another. If that is true we do not have so many diverse atoms, but one single sort of atom, and this takes away so much of the argument of contingency.

Still further, the later chemistry confirms this presumption. The present evidence seems to show that there is such a common element in atoms called the corpuscle or electron; and that there are a thousand of these corpuscles in an atom of hydrogen, hydrogen being

that element which has a smaller combining weight than any other known, while others have two or three hundred as their combining weight. Each of these corpuscles carries a charge of negative electricity, and in certain conditions, as in some solutions, they move from one atom to another with their charge of electricity and are then called ions. Some chemists will not venture to go farther than to call these electrons force rather than matter. At any rate we may conclude that these corpuscles are, so far as we know, alike and are the common material of chemical atoms and of all matter. Corpuscles and electrons are the same thing, or practically so. Considered simply as a negative electric charge they are electrons, bits of force. Considered as that which carries the electric charge, if there is any substratum to them, they are corpuscles. When moving to a new combination they are ions. Why a certain number of corpuscles combine in one way to form oxygen, and others otherwise to form the other elements, we cannot guess. We only admit the apparent fact. Their unity, as the one basis of all matter, to that extent weakens the argument of cosmology drawn from the diverse and apparently mechanical construction of the universe out of diverse materials.

Now next, what are these corpuscles? This is the great, the tremendous problem of chemical physics, the greatest question now before the scientific world and one not yet answered. Of all discoveries, possible, perhaps, but as yet unattained by human research, no other, I think, may we so much covet to know, as just what corpuscles or electrons are, and what their relation to the ether in which they swim. It is a question whose investigation theology may properly watch with interest; not because religion depends on it, nor because this or any other scientific problem affects religion, unless science should undermine our faith in the existence of God and send us back and down to pure mechanical materialistic monism. But the answer to scientific questions does affect theology, as we have seen for two generations, and it is a matter of tremendous importance for theology, and for those whose religion depends on their theology, that we should follow closely the developments of science and not lag behind, as did the Roman church in the days of Galileo, when a monk preached a sermon against the new astronomy from the text: "*O viri Galilaei, quare statis in coelum aspicientes?*" "O men of

Galileo, why stand ye gazing up into heaven?" If we fall behind, these scientific men will get ahead and away from our religion.

I ask, then, what do physicists now believe or conjecture to be the nature of this *materia ultima*, this last basis of all matter? The answer is a very interesting one to the theologian, and affects the argument from cosmology. They incline to believe that each and every corpuscle is a knot, or loop, or whirl, or vortex, strain, dint, or hole, in the universal ether, something as a ring of smoke is created from the puff of a cigar; that, once formed, it is permanent, and that out of such knots, or loops, or whirls, vortices, strains, or what not, is all matter composed—all corpuscles; and all atoms and elements out of these corpuscles; and all visible matter, from the grain of sand to the largest orbs of the vastest solar system, out of these seventy or eighty elements, but all, ultimately, mere twists, or affections, or modifications of some sort in the ether. I quote from Sir Oliver Lodge's book, *Electrons, or the Nature and Properties of Negative Electricity*:

Especially must the inner *ethereal* meaning both of positive and negative charges [that is electrons] be explained: whether on the notion of a right- and left-handed, self-locked, gyrostatically stable *ether* [my italics] elaborated by Larmor, or on some hitherto unimagined plan (p. 203).

He assumes that electrons, corpuscles, are some modification of ether. The electron is a charge of negative electricity. Just what the positive electricity is, and where or how it resides, is not known.

Now we have come back to something very interesting. What is that ether? We have for many years known nothing about it except, since the formulation of the undulating theory of light, that there is an ether, not air, vastly more attenuated than any known gas, whose waves bring us light from the sun and the stars. It is frictionless, impalpable, but it is something, and it is everywhere. In these very last years we are beginning to find out something more about this ether. For example, as our voice is carried through waves of air, and as a telephone message is carried by swift moving ions along a wire, so somehow, we do not understand exactly how, the message in wireless telegraphy is carried, not by waves of air, not by ions on an electrically charged wire, but actually by some sort of waves in the

ether itself. This is amazing, but it teaches us the importance of knowing all we can of what ether is.

About all we seem to know of its properties is that it is the basis of all matter; that it carries various sorts of waves, light, heat, etc.; that it is impalpable, frictionless, and that it is everywhere. This last is the important quality for our theistic question.

For ether, so far as we can see, like time and space, answers the conditions for that which is self-existent. It seems to be everywhere. It extends through all space, or at least, as far as the most distant star. The entire known universe exists in it and depends on it. So far as we can see it always existed, is from before all beginning. It is not, like time and space, a category, nor is it abstract, like an angle or duty; it is an essence, a something, always, everywhere. Is ether then self-existent? We see no evidence that it is contingent. Is ether God? It must be the God of the materialistic monist, and equally of the pantheist, for there is nothing that exists for them but ether and its modifications: Pan-ether is pan-God, the God Pan.

But the question again arises. Is ether wholly without the quality of contingency? Admitting that ether is self-existent and eternal, if you please, and universal, everywhere, is there in it nothing contingent? It seems to me there certainly is.

Let us in imagination now go back into the infinite abyss of time. Let us imagine a time when nothing existed but this ether. Its inherent necessity which, we may conceive, made it exist from all eternity, must have acted everywhere and always in the same way. Inherent necessity does not act differently in one place or time from what it does in another. There was then just one sort and form of primordial ether existing everywhere in one sort of way. If there was no outside cause of change there would be no change, nothing else but universal, homogeneous ether from eternity to eternity. If we are to think of ether as necessarily existent, self-existent, we must think of it as absolutely uniform throughout the universe, whether in infinite or infinitesimal space. There will be no interspaces where ether is not, no inequalities, no minutest agglomerating nuclei about which any vague attraction could collect differentiating materials to develop into atoms or worlds; for necessary existence implies perfect continuous uniformity of the ether. It had no force in itself to

change itself. It was not wound up so as to change its nature of itself; for the inherent necessity which made it uniform could not suddenly change its inherent nature and make it diverse.

But it has turned into another way. It has in certain places, not in all places, as a general necessity might possibly be imagined to require, but only here and there, changed into corpuscles, electrons, ions, and these again into atoms, chemical elements. Their amount is limited—very numerous corpuscles just here on the earth, but the merest infinitesimal fraction of universal ether. A certain portion of the ether occupying universal space has in some way been converted into corpuscles and endowed with movement and force of various sorts. What does this mean? How does it happen? The condition cannot be anything else but contingent, and if contingent what is the force, the Being that intervened and converted the universal homogeneity into a partial heterogeneity? I am content to call that force, that Being, the *Deus ex machina*, God.

Far be it from me in this paper to deny the validity of all other arguments for the existence of God, and to base the proof solely on this particular phase or fragment of the cosmological argument. I know very well that it is not the argument that appeals to most, for there seems to be a certain universal instinct, if not evidence, for God, which somehow carries general conviction. It has only occurred to me to try, for my own mind, to formulate the ideas and to answer the questions that will come to one who cannot but see that new discoveries in science impinge on old and accepted statements of theology. Yet I think that to most of us somehow the existence of the world about us seems to require a creator and ruler: for we say with Paul:

The invisible things of him since the creation of the world are clearly seen, being perceived through the things that are made, even his eternal power and divinity;

or with Job, in almost that only other passage in the Bible which directly presents the theistic argument,

Ask now the beasts and they shall teach thee;
And the fowls of the air and they shall tell thee;
Or speak to the earth and it shall teach thee,
And the fishes of the sea shall declare unto thee;
Who knoweth not in all these
That the hand of the Lord hath wrought this?

CRITICAL NOTES

A RECENT CHAPTER IN THE MODERNIST CONTROVERSY

THE HISTORY OF THE WAHRMUND INCIDENT

Professor Dr. Ludwig Wahrmund is a learned German Austrian who for years has filled, to the eminent satisfaction of the Austro-Hungarian university authorities, and of ecclesiastical scholars everywhere, the chair of ecclesiastical law in the juridical faculty of Innsbruck. He has been a loyal and devoted Roman Catholic also, but with enough red German blood in his veins to constrain him to feel that in remaining a churchman he neither was degraded to the position of a slave, nor compelled to abandon that instinct for thought, free-speech, and free action, which is characteristic of the better representatives of the Teuton race. This brought him, somewhere about 1902, into conflict with ultramontane Catholicism, at which time he was the head of one of the Roman Catholic associations known as the "Leo Society," of which the aim was the fostering of "Catholic" science (*sic*). Though sorely perturbed in mind his conclusion then was to hold fast to Roman Catholicism: "The great Catholic church," said he, "is really not so bad and reactionary as one might believe from its enunciations" (in connection with the celebration of the five hundredth anniversary of the emission of the bull "Unam Sanctam" in Brixen). "The free-from-Rome movement is actually an act of desperation. There is no necessity yet to despair of the Catholic church." . . .

In 1900 it looked in Austria as if the freedom-loving German element would obtain a complete victory in the empire.

Two years before the party of Schönerer and Wolf had unfurled the banner "free-from-Rome." In the elections victory after victory was won. Dazed and divided among themselves the clericals stood crying for aid from the state—the picture of helplessness. Then, like a stroke of lightning from Heaven, came the controversy between Schönerer and Wolf which upset everything.

That was the salvation of clericalism in Austria. From Germany the clerical party obtained the organizers of their army; while, goaded by the partisans of Rome, the state hunted and mercilessly oppressed the German evangelical pastors. Rhenish, Westphalian, Bavarian chaplains and monks were in the clerical battalions. Bonifacius—Catholic, and Pius—Catholic university associations, Christian-social party organizations, and a hundred other militant bodies were formed and took commanding positions. That which for nine years had not been possible on account of the

freedom-aspirations of the people came to pass on November 18-21, 1905, in Vienna—a general Austrian Catholic Convention.

Imposing, noisy, challenging its opponents, it showed that the time of arming was over and that of action had come. "Our patience is exhausted" was the cry. Burgermeister Lueger of Vienna delivered an inflammatory address, as did many others, including Benedictines and lay-Catholics from Germany. "The overthrow of free research" was one of their mottoes. "The conquest of the university" was another. Lueger said, "The entire instruction in the empire from the foundation to the summit should be in the hands of the modest, indigent members of the orders [the monks] . . . and we should recapture the University of Vienna."

In answer to these war cries Professor Wahrmund delivered a popular lecture on January 18, 1908, against the suppression of free scientific research of which some of the more important parts are given below. It created great excitement in the Roman Catholic church. The papal nuncio at Vienna, Prince Granito di Belmonte, appealed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs for the suppression of this printed lecture, which he characterized as "the most repugnant book that ever was written (das verwerflichste Buch das je geschrieben)." He also demanded the dismissal of Wahrmund from his office.

The Austrian Government suppressed the book, but found it hard to obey the mandate of a foreign ambassador, while retaining the respect of its subjects, and sought to appease the natural wounding of Austrian pride by the semi-official statement that "the nuncio had not made a specific demand for Wahrmund's removal," etc. But alas! the inconsiderate prince declared publicly in several newspapers (*Alldeutsches Tageblatt*, March 20, 1908):

It stands to reason that it is impossible for Wahrmund in the future to lecture on ecclesiastical law since the first condition is that he be a Catholic. . . . By his blasphemies of God he has shut himself out of church communion. . . . I have therefore *made a demand* of the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Baron Aehrenthal), and the Minister of Religion and Instruction that Professor Wahrmund be removed from his chair.

The Academic Senate of the University of Vienna declared that by the decrees of April 11, 1872, the lay faculties were absolutely withdrawn from any ecclesiastical or confessional influence; . . . that "the duty of teaching ecclesiastical law in the juridical faculty is in no way connected with the convictions of the teacher, but only with the matter, and not in the treatment of the relations of this matter to the church."

The Minister of Instruction, Marchet, said in his report on the budget.

"The Innsbruck professor has only made use of his individual rights of free research, and therefore the subjection of these to rules cannot be admitted to discussion." So that in spite of the clerical protests, the German Centrum press, and the Bavarian bishops, the demands of his enemies were denied by state and university; yet influence enough was brought to bear on the faculty of law and the science of government in Innsbruck, April 21, 1908, to cause it to declare that the ecclesiastical-law lectures of Professor Wahrmund in the coming summer semester would be entirely omitted. (On the other hand, in the session of the Professors' College of May 15, it was decided that Professor Wahrmund was free to conduct the one-hour exercises in ecclesiastical law during the summer semester of 1908, which had been announced.) To mitigate the evil consequences of the loss of all instruction in ecclesiastical law at Innsbruck, the government saw itself compelled to enlarge the prohibitive order so as to include instruction in all the juristic faculties in Innsbruck, and to empower the examining board to pass over the imperfections of the students at this test. But here the freedom-loving part of the student body rose in ever increasing numbers, declaring it a shame and a danger to the university. A general strike was called for May 14 if no satisfactory result had been previously reached. Then the Academic Senate of the University of Vienna issued an appeal to the students, promising them that it and the faculties would stand against the domination of a foreign state.

The Catholic students of Innsbruck, in their many corps and clubs, assembled on May 21 in the University before 7:00 A. M. Shortly after 8:00 his Magnificence, the Rector v. Skala, appeared and commanded all who had not courses to attend to leave the building. In ten minutes he would have the great doors closed. Loud cries of "Oh," and hisses greeted this threat. The "freedom" students were prevented from entering by the Catholics. Then the Rector announced on the blackboard that until further notice all lectures would cease. The rebellious students, after exacting a promise from him that during that day the doors should be closed, departed singing the "Kaiserlied." The university was opened the next day.

On May 31 Professor Wahrmund's leave of absence expired.

The student body was determined to insist upon the fulfilment of the compromise of May 14, 1908, under all circumstances. The representatives of the national student body adopted a resolution at the Craz Hochschule Convention to proceed with the sharpest weapons in case Wahrmund should be prevented from lecturing in the summer semester.

On June 1 he called together his class on ecclesiastical law in the seminar for the first time.

A meeting of Innsbruck professors passed the three following resolutions:

1. Professor Wahrmund is assured of our appreciation of the fact that from collegiate reasons he abstained from opposing the suppression of his course on ecclesiastical law.

2. It will be understood that Professor Wahrmund will announce his special course.

3. It is assured that the ecclesiastical-law seminar, and with that the teaching-activity of Professor Wahrmund, has begun without disturbance.

In the afternoon, between 3:00 and 4:00, he held a one-hour seminar before about 35 students.

On June 2, 1908, Freiherr v. Spiegelfeld, Statthalter of Tyrol, at the instigation of the President of Ministers (owing to the fact that the Minister of Instruction could not be reached) ordered the University of Innsbruck closed on the ground that, owing to the resumption of his functions by Professor Wahrmund, grave disturbances were to be feared. This "gross violation of the terms of the compromise," as the students called it, was the signal for the general uprising of all students of the Austrian institutes for instruction—universities, technical schools, mining academies, agricultural colleges, evangelic-theological faculties, academies for the cultivation of the arts, commercial schools, and veterinary schools, without regard to nationality. Germans, Tschechs, Ruthenians, Poles, Italians, Slavs, etc., it was said to the number of 30,000, joined in the movement. Nearly the entire machinery for instruction in Austria stood still on June 3. The demands of the "freedom" students were the following:

First, the government must officially recognize Professor Wahrmund's ecclesiastical-law seminar. Further, it must permit the announcement of the marriage-law lectures by Wahrmund (in the summer semester, 1908). Finally, we demand that the unimpeded teaching-activity of Wahrmund for the winter semester of 1908 shall be guaranteed.

The question was how to render the students defenseless. The diplomats proposed the closing of the summer semesters in all the high schools without prejudice to the students, and the abandonment of the judicial proceedings which had been instituted against Wahrmund. The Minister of Instruction called the directors of all the *Hochschulen* to Vienna. They unanimously adopted a resolution that whereas the Minister of Instruction had declared in favor of the absolute freedom of instruction and freedom of research there was no longer any reason for the students to persist in this strike. Coincidentally it was published that Professor Wahrmund had been assured by the Minister of Religion that the resumption of his teaching-activity in the following semester was absolutely assured.

This and numerous other official appeals from the government and from the universities did not satisfy the students, who demonstrated in Vienna against the Ministry and even the Parliament, demanding to be heard. They tore down the announcement of the Rector and trod it under foot, but were finally persuaded to retire, which they did, singing "Gaudeamus igitur." The "freedom" students of Innsbruck issued another pronunciamento in which they declared that "the highest duty of the Academic Senate was to see to it that the unquestioned rights of Professor Wahrmund are not touched from any side," etc. Ministers, academic councils, vituperative clerical press organs, and student bodies were keeping up a bedlam throughout the empire without the prospect of peace, when finally Professor Wahrmund, the innocent cause of all the trouble, himself came forward with a personal appeal to the students on June 20. In this he tells them that after his personal audiences with the highest authorities in Vienna he is convinced that his teaching-activity in the coming winter semester will be guaranteed. As to the summer semester it is too late to settle the controversy during the short remaining period of its duration. The reason for the strike is therefore eliminated. The strike has had the effect of warding off all attacks on the freedom of the *Hochschulen*. He thanks them warmly for espousing his cause and begs them to discontinue the strike.

His words effected what the ministries and senates could not accomplish. The strike was called off, and on June 22 the lectures and courses of instruction recommenced.¹

What the ultimate results of the Wahrmund incident may be, no one now can foresee. The chances are that the present excitement will dissolve gradually, like a cloud of vapor in a water-saturated atmosphere.

It is but one of a long series of events constituting symptoms of the state of public opinion, each event producing similar excitement which has been gradually dissipated, but each time more slowly. The fact is, the dewpoint of the atmosphere of public opinion is rising; or in other words its capacity to absorb and forget these events is becoming less and less, and finally the inevitable conflict between the Fictionists and Veritists will be fought out.

The Austrian Minister of Public Instruction transferred Professor Wahrmund to Prague, and this partly averted the danger of the situation but may not have ended it entirely. Meantime a new report spread that Professor Wahrmund would receive a leave of absence for one year which he

¹ The foregoing account of the events which led to the present crisis are mainly taken from P. Bräunlich, *Der Klerikale Sturm in Oesterreich*, etc., Lehmanns Verlag, München, 1908.

would spend in Paris, and when he returned he would be called to the University of Vienna.

In point of fact Professor Wahrmund has been delivering his usual course of lectures on ecclesiastical law at the German University of Prague without any interruption since its opening in October, 1908, and the protests and disturbances threatened by the clerical party have been conspicuously absent. This fact is generally regarded by the liberal party as a victory for the cause he represents.

A LETTER FROM DR. WAHRMUND

Dr. Persifor Fraser, Philadelphia:

HIGHLY HONORED SIR: I gather from your kind communications that the battles between the old and new conceptions of the universe which are in great measure moving Europe today find an echo also on the other side of the ocean, and that especially you have not shirked the trouble of informing the American public of the events which in the past year were connected with my name.

While tendering you, therefor, my particular thanks, I would not on this occasion omit to give expression to the feelings of the warmest sympathy which I, in common with so many other representatives of the intellectual enlightenment in Europe, feel for the United States, which has long ago succeeded in separating *Church from State*, without on that account having separated *Society from Religion*; and in which all cultured people give evidence, to a far greater degree than on the European continent, of their living interest in the great spiritual problems which at all times have been the points of support of real progress in culture.

Accept, most honored sir, the assurance of the sincere high esteem with which I have the honor to be

Your very obedient

LUDWIG WAHRMUND

EXCERPTS FROM WAHRMUND'S ADDRESS

The address is entitled, "Catholic View of the Universe and Free Science (*Katholische Weltanschauung und freie Wissenschaft*)—A Popular Science Lecture with Consideration of the Syllabus of Pius X and of the Encyclical 'Pascendi Dominici Gregis,'" by Ludwig Wahrmund, Professor of Ecclesiastical Law at Innsbruck.

Professor Wahrmund commences by observing that the assertion not long since formulated that we were in the decisive stage of the battle between two hostile views of the universe is now strictly true, and yet the attention they merit is not bestowed upon the events which are transpiring. From a pamphlet of the Catholic University Association several quotations are made and amongst others this:

At the universities we find mostly unbelieving Protestant, Jewish, or religiously indifferent professors; at the universities, in the name of science, God,

eternity, Christ, immortality, etc., are often openly denied; at the universities the students who are to be future professors are suffering shipwrecks of faith; at the universities the hate to the Catholic church, and especially the "free-from-Rome" movement is fostered; at the universities the free-thought efforts to set aside religious instruction, religious exercises, to promote separation of church and state, dissolution of marriage, and cremation of corpses find their fruitful soils; from the universities the most incredible, misleading writings go in quantities to the people, etc.

The lecture continues in the following vein:

Is the Catholic church threatened by the discoveries of modern science? Why so? Are religion and science opposites whose strife will only cease with the annihilation of one or the other? The answer has been given in different ways since the earliest times. In the eighteenth century the death of religion was predicted. In the nineteenth the bankruptcy of science was announced with evident joy by the Catholic church. . . .

We are unquestionably ignorant of the essence of force and matter but that we should for that reason believe in gods who personally come from heaven, or men who personally go there, no rational man will maintain. We cannot explain consciousness, but nevertheless it is clear that almighty power and human limitation cannot exist in one person.

We do not know what gives the last impulse to life in the foetus, but we are sure that virgins do not bear children. . . .

The war between religion and science is to be carefully differentiated from the war between the Catholic religion and the science of today. Religion in itself, as a merely intelligible entity, comes in certain historical forms to view. It is an ideal value, its form a passing mould. The spirit may be assumed as given from the beginning, the form is man's work in all cases, and, as such, subject to the change of the times. Religion flourishes in inmost relation with just and ethical views, with spiritual knowledge and learning, in short with the entire culture of a given period. If it do not possess the power to adapt itself to the culture of late generations it must perish. The Catholic church boasts that it is the only religion, but the science of religion disregards this claim and relegates not only Catholicism but also Christianity, on which it rests, to merely one historical form of the religious idea, one of the many positive forms which mankind has experienced and will in future experience.

From this it follows that Catholicism as well as Christianity may be destroyed by modern science without proving anything as to the great question of the relation between the religious and scientific views of the universe. . . .

Catholicism is, as we all know, an historically developed form of Christianity. It borrowed distinct elements from the original Christianity and independently built them up farther; it has passed, in the course of centuries, through a whole series of phases of development to terminate in today's ultramontane Catholicism. Although many Catholics do not support this phase it must be regarded as the

official form approved by the Pope, and we are compelled to accept it as the type all the more because we are considering practical Catholicism and not theological theories. As in all more highly developed religious systems we must distinguish four principal components, viz.: the God-idea, the universe-picture, the cult, and morality. From these component parts is to be distinguished the external organization or the constitution of those societies which we call churches. It will not be denied that the God-idea of Christianity was borrowed from the Jews to whom it was monotheistic, anthropomorphic, and national. But in the first century of its existence Christianity changed this one God into a triune God. We are not concerned with the theological contests by means of which this was decided, nor with the dogma that three different persons constitute one God which the Roman Catholic catechism declares to be an inconceivable secret. It is important however to note that with the elevation of Jesus (the human being who, according to the evangelical account, lived and moved in the historical epoch) to a second God-personality the way was open to people heaven with a whole Olympus of deities. Besides this, in its march of conquest around the world, Christianity met the temples of many heathen gods dear to the hearts of the various tribes and people. To exterminate them was not possible. He who would win must accommodate himself to circumstances. The heathen god became a Christian saint and the old feast-days were perpetuated under Christian names. Giving God the place of an earthly king the step was easy to surround him with a court which in the oldest religions consisted of demi-gods intermediary between Heaven and Earth.

Consequently *about the fifth century after Christ* we find his mother, Mary, assume the rôle of Queen of Heaven introducing the female element into the Christian God-idea.*

Further we find the apostles of Christ grouped about God; the prophets of the old and new dispensation, the undefined line of saints, and the legions of angels. I say undefined because according to the Catholic view, as is well known, the head of the church has the right to present at all times new saints for the unrefusable approval of God. . . .

In order to give the exact sense of the church doctrine it must be distinctly understood that Mary, the angels, and saints are not to be conceived of as actual gods. The second general Council of Nice (787 A.D.) declared that god-worship belongs only to the triune God, and the picture of Christ, the Virgin, the angels, and the saints are only to be honored by kissing, genuflection, lighting of candles, and burning of incense. But in every religion theology and religious life must

* The growth of the present worship of Mary is well known and often cited. Compare for example the following theological view of G. Freund in *The Honoring of Mary*: "Mary had the free use of the understanding before she saw the light of the world in the womb of her mother Anna. We may assume that while yet unborn she knew much more of God and of the hereafter than the greatest minds after years of thinking, studying, and praying."

be distinguished, and not the first but the latter gives the practical value. In this sense it may be asserted that Catholicism is only theoretically to be called monotheistic. In its practical workings and in the popular conception it, in a way, reverences polytheism borrowed from the heathenism once so bitterly opposed. . . .

But for another weighty reason Catholicism cannot be called a monotheistic religion, viz: the Devil. Scientifically speaking the Devil is a representative of the old dualistic system of religion, which supposes the government of the world to be in the hands, not of one deity, but of two, representing the principles of good and evil and in perpetual conflict with each other. We meet the Devil in the old Iranian religion of the Persians formulated by Zoroaster.

The Jews made the acquaintance of the Devil in Babylon, and from the second century before Christ he makes his appearance in Jewish literature. From the Jews Christianity took him, and especially by the Catholic church has he been tended with such a loving care that in spite of all enmities of unbelief he enjoys today the best of health. Of course he is not alone. He has an army of demons and evil spirits in command "of whom," says the Roman simple catechism, "the head is Lucifer or Satan." Father Aurelian, of the Wemdingen Capucine cloister, has recently recorded, with the authorization of the Bishop of Augsburg and Eichstätt, how on July 13 and 14, 1891, he with his own hand drove the Devil out of a boy who was possessed, and added this minute to the archives of the cloister on August 15, 1891. Aurelian declares in his report "whosoever denies in our day 'possession,' acknowledges thereby that he has strayed from the teaching of the Catholic church." How this doctrine of the power of the Devil over men, and, above all, his notorious dominion in the world, can be reconciled with monotheism, and with the almighty power of a good and just God is a question which scholastics but not human reason may explain. . . .

As to the second of the elementary bases of the God-concept, the God of Christianity has always had a human form, for Christ refers in the Evangelist to the old Mosaic saying that God created man in his own image. This gross conception of God is so abused by modern Catholics as to remind one of the Roman author Celsus' (178 A.D.) question, how man can dare to invest God with the character and actions of an irritable man who is always ready with abusive words and threats. This God suspiciously resembles the clerical Philistine who dances blindly to the piping of his priest. "God hates modernists," "God desires Catholic Universities," "God demands an accounting for an anti-Catholic vote," "God is enraged at the tone of the liberal newspapers." In a word, God works in politics like a candidate for the Reichsrath and storms against throwing light on the subject like a rustic hostler; and what is most important, he does all this exactly in accordance with the views of the ultramontane clergy. . . .

Herewith we come to the third element of the Christian Catholic God-concept. The Jehovah of the Old Testament was a national God who gave priority to his people in return for their exclusive worship of himself. He was a severe, jealous, terrible God, exacting fear. Whereas Christ represented God as a good and just

Father whose care and mercy extended over the entire human race. Love of God replaced fear of God. The original Christian church taught this, but the later Christian church held to this idea only theoretically. In practice it reverted to the old conditions, but instead of a national God substituted a Christian God who with the mercilessness of the old Jehovah damned through eternity all those who did not enter the church of Christ. It is sufficient to refer to the bull "Unam Sanctam" (1302) to show that Catholicism required complete subjection to the bishop of Rome as an indispensable condition of salvation. It is significant that this bull failed of recognition in France so that the Catholic assumptions of that day were different on the two sides of the French frontier. . . .

As did the old Jewish so also did the Christian-Catholic God make a covenant with his chosen people (which have long been the clergy of the Roman church). The clergy alone through the teaching of the Holy Ghost is called to the church army. The laity is subject to it, as the sheep to its shepherd; and, as sheep are stupid beasts, no part of the direction can fall to their lot, said the Jesuit, Lainez, at the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century. The covenant is between God and the clergy, and includes very different concessions from those granted by the Old Testament Jehovah. The cardinal and prince-archbishop of Salzburg says, February 2, 1905, "Honor the priest for both of the high powers with which he is invested." One of these is "the power to forgive sins. . . . God has, as it were, abdicated his omnipotence for this purpose, for the time being, in favor of his representative on earth, the fully empowered priest. . . . Where in the whole world is a power like this?" He even denies that such a power exists in Heaven: "When you look around at the army of patriarchs and prophets, martyrs and blood sacrifices, holy virgins, angels, archangels, and the throne and powers—can they pardon you your sins? No! . . . Even Mary, the mother of God, the queen of Heaven, cannot do it. . . . Oh! inconceivably high power! Heaven permits itself to be governed by the earth in the form and manner of judging. The vassal is judge on earth and in heaven the judgment which he makes is confirmed by the Lord." Of course this applies only to Catholic priests. The Protestant pastors do not possess the priestly consecration by which this great power is transmitted in accordance with the dispensation of Christ. But, if possible, the second power of the priest is greater and loftier than this, namely, that of consecrating, i. e., transforming bread and wine into the real body and the real blood of Christ; naturally the Protestant pastor is excluded here also. "Christ, the only begotten son of God the Father, by whom heaven and earth were created, and who bears the whole universe, is hereby at the command of the Catholic priest. . . . *Christ has given authority to the Catholic priest over himself, his body, his flesh and blood, his godhead and his human existence, and obeys the priest.*"³

³ That the Salzburg archbishop is not alone in the above absolute Catholic views is proven amongst other things by an article entitled "Chi è il prete?" which appeared in Como (Tipografia della Divina Provvidenza) in 1907. Under the caption "The priest is the man of miracles," it says: "What reverend men have had the power to call God from heaven to earth, and that too at any time they please? Now the priest

With Edward von Hartmann⁴ we must acknowledge that with the knowledge of today this kind of God-concept has become impossible. . . .

As the golden key to the understanding of the history of creation we have, as is known, the books of Moses inspired by a divine revelation. According to these the earth is a flat plain surrounded by the sea over which is the fixed vault of heaven with the illuminating bodies for day and night, and under it purgatory and hell. God made all this in a few days out of nothing about six thousand years ago, of which four thousand elapsed before, and two thousand after, the birth of Christ. All human beings are descended from Adam and Eve, the first having been made by God out of clay, and then furnished a rib to produce his partner. Scientific study showed long ago that this account is merely a somewhat imperfect reproduction of older creation myths, but the Catholic church teaches it literally today; spreads it abroad in thousands of catechisms and insists that it be accepted as part of the religious instruction of all schools, and as a revealed truth. Columbus was denounced as a heretic for maintaining that the earth was spherical; Copernicus and Galileo were bitterly persecuted for proving that the earth revolved and not the heavens. Not till the nineteenth century would the Catholic church admit, and then only tacitly, what all the world knew long before. Today she fights with the same fanaticism against the theory of evolution, of which the fundamental thoughts are rooted in the very being of every educated man. Instead of Copernicus and Galileo she hales to the heretic stocks Lamarck, Darwin, Haeckel, and others. . . .

Dr. Joseph Bantz, professor of theology in the Royal Academy of Münster in 1905, concluded from theological and profane scientific reasons that hell is situated in the interior of our planet, and that the volcanoes are its chimneys.

Another savant, Franz Xavier Schouppe, S. J., in his work, *The Doctrine of Purgatory, Illustrated by Facts and Private Revelation* (1899), actually rises to a calculation of the time which an average Christian must pass in purgatory. He reaches his conclusion thus:

"Let us assume ten as an average estimate of the number of daily sins. On the basis of 365 days this gives 3,650 sins committed per year. To facilitate the calculation let us put this at 3,000. In ten years this would amount to 30,000, and in twenty to 60,000 sins. Let us assume that during the lifetime of the sinner half of these sins are wiped out by prayer and good works; there remains a debt of 30,000 sins (for twenty years). Let us proceed with the calculation. When one dies after twenty years of a virtuous life how much time will the expiation require? Let us assume that every sin demands one hour of purgatory. (This is a very small amount if we judge by the revelations of the saints.) Let us then assume one hour of purgatory for every sin, then the total length of time which

does this at mass. He speaks a few mysterious words, and God, obedient to their words, descends regularly to the altar into the hands of the priest and subject to his disposition. So that the priest handles God."

⁴ *The Christianity of the New Testament*, 2d ed., p. 303.

30,000 hours would entail would be three years, three months and fifteen days," etc.⁵

According to the Catholic view, God, who made the laws of Nature, breaks or interrupts their efficiency at any time capriciously, so that a necessary chain of cause and effect is unthinkable. There can be causes without effects and effects without causes. . . .

The superfluous arms, legs, and heads of the most popular saints (all officially certified by the church) are countless. From the unsewn coat at Trier, the super-holy prepuce of Christ, the Grotto of Lourdes, down to Ignatius water or the little images of Mary which (according to a recent curial decision), moistened with water and swallowed, elicit the protection of the mother of God, there seems nothing which pious fraud has not dared, and credulous simplicity has not accepted.

But it would not be worth while to spend time on the subject of the gross superstitions of the church were it not for the complete paganizing of the Catholicism of the people, and the misuse of religion not only to worldly but to unlawful and immoral purposes. Should one attempt to account for these extravagances on the plea of unavoidable misuse of things good in themselves, it may be answered that the plea of misuse cannot apply to the fact that the present ages, through the guidance of the Order of the Jesuits, has gone far beyond the Middle Ages in paganizing the Catholic worship. At the end of the seventeenth century this order introduced the cult of the heart of Jesus, never till then practiced, and which at first Rome repudiated on the ground that with the same reason the eyes, tongue, or other members of Jesus might be made subjects of adoration.⁶ . . .

The celebrated bishop Bonomelli, of Cremona, remarked in his pamphlet, called *Autumn Leaves*, that the people ask of the saints mainly material things and often those forbidden and contrary to religious principles. A German paper replies that this only takes place in Italy: but that in fact it occurs also in Germany is proved by the monthly publication edited by a Catholic priest in Paderhorn with ecclesiastical approbation, and called *The Messenger of the Holy Anthony of Padua*. In the February number of 1906 this saint is besought for a "good and agreeable tenant for a lodging," "for the recovery of a debt," and even "for a relation with a certain gentleman right soon." . . .

Let us glance at the Christian Catholic morals.

The Jewish law was a complex of numerous formal regulations which all must be fulfilled. They were of religious, moral, and legal nature. A "righteous

⁵ According to a contribution from conservative circles published in the Vienna *Deutsches Volksblatt*, January 4, 1908, a well-known professor of theology and prelate deserves to be ranged with Messrs. Bantz and Schouppe. This gentleman defends the burning of heretics, considers earthquakes the anger of Satan, denies the revolution of the earth around the sun, repudiates the validity of the conclusion drawn from Foucault's pendulum experiments, and maintains the creation of the earth in six days, etc.

⁶ Böhmer-Romundt, *The Jesuits*, p. 136.

man" was according to them a religious, moral, and legally blameless man. Thus according to the Talmud doctrine the motive of righteousness remains something mechanically superficial⁷ because it did not depend on the ethical motives but on the result of the psychological process, and because the control of the act and of the desire produced the theory of reward. He who overcame the lust he felt for his neighbor's wife was, according to the Talmud, righteous. And the piety of the Pharisees which ruled the lower classes was superficial and formal. Therefore Christ likened them to whitened sepulchers and said, "For I say unto you except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. 5:20).

Here opens a singular contradiction in Christian morality. Christ brought all law back to love of God and your fellow-man. Is such love an isolated act? No, it is a permanent condition, which stands in the closest relation with the inner disposition of the man. Is true, genuine love ever produced and directed by hope of reward or fear of punishment? Love is unselfish. Just in the example of love we recognize with especial clearness the necessity that the disposition which comes into consideration in morality must be inwardly truly developed and outwardly freely put into execution. . . .

Never can thinking and acting under given conditions of compulsion be called moral. I am moral when I do good because I recognize it as good and for no other reason. If I do it on account of reward or punishment I become a selfish speculator. Selfishness is immoral. So taught the philosophers long before Christ, and also original Christianity. The immortal service of the apostle Paul was the inculcation of the principle of freedom of conscience and his protest against the authority of ritual. "Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage" (Gal. 5:1).

The morals of the Catholic church are about as follows: God is in principle the highest lord and governor of the world, but in fact the Devil governs on earth, and through him sin, to which mankind has been subjected since the fall of Eve. God has given to man freedom of will but the Devil diverts it to evil. One must therefore regard human nature pessimistically and overcome its tendency to evil by a closed fence of commands and interdictions. But even with this man could not succeed in reaching heaven if God's mercy had not furnished him with helps. These commands and mercies the Catholic church alone offers to man. In order to be a good Christian one must believe in God, know the paternoster, fulfil the commands of God and the church, and receive the sacraments. . . .

Both sin and punishment are carefully systematized. Sins are divided between hereditary sin and personal sins; the latter into deadly and pardonable sins. There are some capital crimes, six sins against the Holy Ghost, four sins that cry to heaven, etc. On the other hand there are seven supernatural virtues, three

⁷ Hartmann, *The Christianity of the New Testament*.

godly virtues, four cardinal virtues, seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, and eight evangelical felicities.

The punishment system is likewise comprehensive. There are punishments here and beyond. Here they are divided into medicinal and vindictive. Beyond, they are purgatory and hell. The church determines both classes; and those of the beyond must be carried out because God has given the church the right to bind and loose. By reason of this power to loose, the church gives three methods of avoiding the punishment for sin:

First, those means which are contained in the gift of grace of the church. Here belong the pardon of the confessional and absolution.

Second, a means of facilitating the forgiveness of sins and atonement. Here belong prayer, fasting, and the giving of alms.

Third, means which can be found and used only by a wise estimate of the sinner with the help of Catholic moral theology. Here belong casuistry and the application of probabilities. In other words in practical life there occur many cases where it is not at once clear what is virtue and what is sin, what is allowed and what is forbidden. In such cases the church permits the believer to choose the construction which is most favorable to him, provided he furnish plausible grounds, especially the opinion of some recognized theologian. The principle of probabilities ("the prince of moral theology") has been formulated by St. Alphonso de Liguori, who says among other things: "Let him who will progress in God's path submit himself to a learned confessor and obey him as if God. Whoso does this needs not to account to God for his acts." . . .⁸

This doctrine reduces the freedom of will to zero but also disturbs the innate principle of truth which belongs to all morality, by permitting ambiguous speech and mental reservation. Thus the adulteress can swear that she has not broken her marriage vows—adding in thought "since the last time." The Catholic church in the realm of morality places form and surface above substance and content; and faith above love. And perhaps the countless errors which constitute her divergence from the first Christianity can be summed up in this principle for "Love blesses and Faith curses" says Luther. However much human imperfection is shown in the teachings of the evangelists, the heart-warming sun of love streams over all shadows. And what has become of this love in Catholicism? I will not here repeat the oft-told stories of force, compulsion, index and inquisition, heretic and witch persecution, nor the endless list of martyrs which the church has tortured and burned, and sent robbed and dishonored into the grave. I will answer that question by a single example, by the curse which the French Pope Clement VI (1346) hurled, during his political war with the German empire, at Louis the Bavarian: "In order that the said Louis acknowledge that he has fallen into these penalties and into the wrath of God, and into our disfavor, we beseech the might of God to bring to nothingness his fury, to bring low and extinguish his pride, to overthrow him by the strength of its rights, to deliver him into the

⁸ *Theologia moralis*, I, 1, n. 12.

hands of his enemies and those who track him, and to cause him to collapse before their feet. May a pitfall be laid for him which he does not see and may he fall into it. Cursed be his entering and his departing! God strike him with madness, blindness, and insanity! May heaven hurl its lightnings upon him! May the wrath of God and of the holy apostles, Peter and Paul, whose church he would and does disturb, burn against him in this world and in the next! May the whole world fight against him! May the earth open and engulf him alive! In one generation may his name be wiped out, and his memory disappear from the earth! May all the elements be against him! May his dwelling be desert! May the works of all the departed saints confuse him and show him even in this world the retribution which is over him! May his sons be thrown out of their houses and be delivered before his eyes into the hands of enemies who shall annihilate them."⁹

Let us again take a retrospective view. A *God-concept* declared by dogma to be inexplicable and in the eyes of the modern world impossible; a long antiquated contemptuous denial of all the scientific discoveries of modern times as the *world-concept*; a largely superstitious, heathen, polytheistic *worship*; a merely formal and superficial *morality* culminating in the hope of reward and the fear of punishment. These are the results of our investigations thus far; and all this together is called the Catholic view of the universe. . . .

The encyclical of Leo XIII, "*Humanum genus*," of April 20, 1884, was directed against the Freemasons, which it designated as "creatures who belong to the realm of Satan and the powers of hell . . . a god-forsaken sect inspired by insolent spirits of the devil. Partisans of evil . . . a foul contagion," etc.

With this support a mischievous Frenchman, one Gabriel Jogand-Pagés, under the nom-de-plume "*Leo Taxil*," began to publish in a series of books and pamphlets the most monstrous "revelations" of the alleged Devil-cult of the Freemasons, and at the same time to ingratiate himself into the confidence of the high and highest church dignitaries. His works were praised and advertised throughout the world by the ultramontane press. Bishops and cardinals sought his acquaintance and overwhelmed him with marks of favor. Pope Leo XIII himself received and blessed him, and displayed his library in which was a complete collection of Taxil's books, with the assurance that he had read them all. . . .

At last Taxil attended the celebrated anti-Freemason Congress at Trient in 1896, at which he played a principal rôle and was hailed by some enthusiasts as a saint. And yet the entire literary activity of Taxil consisted in a collection of the craziest nonsense of a diseased fancy on the subject of hell, the Devil, and Devil-worship. Twelve years this scoffer led the ultramontane church by the nose, and then, himself, in a widely advertised meeting in Paris, April 19, 1897, exposed the entire fraud. Of course the Catholic press and literature strove to hush up this frightful reverse, but the official church learned nothing from it. . . .

The recognition of the fact that the religious view of the universe held by the

⁹ Raynald, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, Tome XVI, p. 392.

Catholic church is no longer tenable begins, strictly speaking, in the time of the Renaissance and the Reformation, but only since the second half of the seventeenth century has it been connectedly and systematically opposed, and this opposition supported by the increase of philosophic, scientific, and historical knowledge. This war was called "Enlightenment," and toward the end of the eighteenth century its watchword was "Reason." We call this epoch that of rationalism.

It is very significant that at first the rationalists did not assume a contradiction in principle between their religion of reason and historical Christianity. In the middle of the eighteenth century appeared a Scot of genius named David Hume who put an end to assumptions of compatibility between the two. Like a corrosive acid his keen skepticism attacked the positive formations of Christendom as well as the rationalistic brain-specters of a religion growing out of rational thinking. Many persons consider him the founder of the modern science of religion. . . .

In Germany it was Immanuel Kant who showed that the veritable roots of religion lay in the human inner life, and emphasized its connection with the moral will. According to Kant one can find the key to the super-sensuous only in himself, only in his own conscience, and one is therefore, in the solution of the religious problem, free from all external authorities. With this the road was opened to a psychological conception of the nature of religion and many investigators entered. But they were not agreed on that function of the soul-activity which was paramount, whether willing, thinking, or feeling played the principal part. Kant gave precedence to the will, Schleiermacher to emotion, and Hegel to the understanding. . . .

Christianity was not, as the Catholic books for the young taught, the beginning of a new world; it was the end of an old world, a dream of world-weary oriental imagination. . . . And the Roman imperial politics would force this dream by persuasion or the sword on the peoples of the West, strong in their youth. But they cannot dream. They are not weary. . . . Rome lends the organization. Rome sends its agents and commissioners. Rome creates the firm "God's kingdom on earth," and of course pockets the profits of the business. . . .

The Catholic laity goes into rationalism, romanticism, natural-science evolution, and historical criticism just like the non-Catholics. Among the modern educated laity, as is well known, confessional differences are no longer of importance. Indeed this world is rather indifferent to Christianity itself, but not honest enough to confess it. . . .

And how stands it with the clergy? Is it sure of itself? I doubt it. It would be impossible for the Catholic clergy to withdraw itself from the mighty current of the times. Among its members are found men as enlightened and as highly educated as among the laity. . . .

In the first half of the nineteenth century came the recognition of the fact that the existence of the church depended on her rational reconciliation with modern culture. . . . A leader of the debate in the French congregations said frankly in reference to the question of equal toleration for believers and non-believers:

"We demand toleration from you on the ground of your principles, and we refuse it to you on the ground of ours."

"Professor" means one not only who has a conviction but one who avows it. Savant means not only a tolerator but if need be a warrior. And if it is disgraceful for a soldier to desert his flag, it is a hundred times more disgraceful for an apostle of free science to be derelict in the defense of his spiritual inheritance from his father's time.

If this recognition of facts were accompanied by vigorous action the hoary phantoms of the Catholic view of the universe would be blown away out of the halls of the Alma Mater with a breath. An objection might be made as to the Catholic theological faculties on the ground that they are regular parts of our *Hochschulen*; they are called to represent the Catholic view of the universe. I grant the first statement but I deny the last.

Pius X has made an end of Catholic theology. Middle-age scholastics, according to Thomas Aquinas, can be taught, but scholastic theology has no longer the character of a science.

We desire now to regard the relation between religion and science only in its relation to the whole, only from the point of view of its *value* for the culture of mankind. For only that which in some way serves the interests of mankind; that which in some way satisfies their needs, has value.

The inner force which works in man for the satisfaction of his requirements we call, as is known, impulse. Unquestionably among these impulses, that of ascertaining the real, the thirst for truth, plays an important part, and only science can satisfy it.

But from a much deeper source, and with greater force than the last, is that impulse in the human breast which we may best call self-preservation, or, by the general catch-word, impulse for happiness. That means the longing to satisfy the wish to be happy and contented. Can the knowledge of truth satisfy this craving?

If we are hungry, is our appetite satisfied by the knowledge that we have nothing to eat? And if our heart is tortured by great suffering does the thought console us that it is incurable? No. Truth often has too bitter a kernel. And therefore it is perfectly correct when one tells us: "The soul of man strives in the first instance to obtain, not truth, but the conditions which it needs in order to live."

But furthermore I maintain that men struggle *against* truth if it interfere with their intended happiness; and when you give them the truth they themselves make a deception of it. Is that not intelligible? I see around me reality. I would like to have it otherwise. What can I do? I can try by struggle and work to actually change it. Only in the rarest instances and under the most favorable circumstances can I succeed. But I can succeed much more easily by creating another world within myself which corresponds with my desires. And though this inner world is repudiated a hundred times by my fellow-beings, and though it is a hundred times inconsistent with reality, for me it is true and real so soon as my soul has dwelt in it, so soon as I am convinced of its existence. Thus we

recognize the difference between an objective and a subjective conviction. We recognize that along with the sensible world a great broad world of illusion exists. Not in vain does man long in this world, and one can retire from the storms and thorns of life. This world is open to that ideal force which we call religion. . . .

Ludwig Feuerbach says, "God is the satisfaction in fancy of the longing of mankind for happiness." . . . We understand why strong heroic natures generally show little taste for religion because they do not need support so much as others, and they prefer fighting to dreaming. . . . Finally we see why religion is unconquerable because in her roots she is nothing else than the impulse for self-preservation. Religion is not vulnerable by science so long as the first does not leave the realm of illusion. Yet I do not confound religion and illusion. One could call them both sisters but not such as must go hand-in-hand. . . .

Buddhism in its original form is a religion which dispenses with all illusions. . . . The Catholic church is not in conflict with science because it makes use of illusions, but because it not only does not confine these illusions to the subjective feeling of the believers, but wishes to substitute them to all mankind for the outer world, and to compel their acceptance by force. In so doing the church has crossed the barrier behind which religion is unconquerable and invaded the realm of the real, in which one must have the courage to hold truth higher than happiness. And as the church conducts herself in a strange house in a tyrannical and unseemly manner, the mistress of that house, vastly superior to her in strength, has incontinently put her out. Here she wallows in the wide domain of coarseness, appeals to the instinct of the masses to help her to capture and destroy the house; she covers the defenders of the house with scorn and shame, with reproaches of godlessness, unbelief, crime, etc. . . .

And yet science has her God and her creed—not a god which created man in his own image in order later to allow him to resemble the beast . . . but a god which allows his creatures, by constant becoming and disappearing, to attain continually higher forms of being, . . . and who gives us the consolation that by unremitting toil and honest effort we may approach ever nearer to perfection. And in this belief the sword-bearers of science draw: a host, not infallible, not the monopolists of happiness, but yet victorious, and invincible, the leaders of mankind through the milleniums; the head erect whatever may come, and the glance straight out into the dawning future.

SUBSEQUENT CONTROVERSY

Professor P. Fonck, S. J., is a colleague of Professor Wahrmund, and fills the chair of Bible exegesis in Innsbruck. Shortly after the appearance in print of the lecture, of which the preceding is a summary, Father Fonck issued a pamphlet violently attacking it, and principally on four grounds. These were, (1) that Wahrmund had copied parts of Hoensbroech and Haeckel; (2) that no justification could be found in any works of the "great Catholic theologians" for the morality which he ascribed to the church;

(3) there was no basis for his account of the exorcising of the Devil in Wemding; and (4) his description of the character of Pope Clement VI was baseless. To this Professor Wahrmund replied in four articles which dealt with these points of attack. The first is not of much interest to the foreign reader. It concerns the question whether or not Professor Wahrmund copied from Hoensbroech and Haeckel. The perfectly baseless charge is too trivial to waste space upon it.

The second charge was that Professor Wahrmund, in quoting Alfonso de Liguori, had copied a forgery of Count Hoensbroech. "Where is a single Catholic moralist who justifies an adulteress or a murderer as Professor Wahrmund asserts?" says Father Fonck. Through lack of space Wahrmund's reply is here cut down to telegraph-like laconism.

At the outside he acknowledges that almost all the great Catholic theologians were and are Jesuits.

The Jesuit, Sanchez, says, "When the words [used in an oath] are ambiguous or susceptible of two meanings it is no sin to use them in the sense which the speaker extracts from them even if the hearers and the person to whom the oath is made understand the words in another sense. . . . Even when the words are *not* ambiguous and do *not* convey the sense which the speaker expresses, it is no lie if, considering the accompanying circumstances of place, time, person, and manner of the question, the words represent the purpose of the speaker. Thus one may deny in the confessional having committed an offense if he have already confessed it. Asked if he have seen someone, he may deny it if he have not seen the person very recently. The adulteress, questioned by her husband, may deny having broken her marriage, because up to that time the marriage remains unbroken, though faithfulness to her marriage vows may have been broken."¹⁰ The same Sanchez¹¹ finds moral approval for all imaginable cases.

The Jesuit, Laymann,¹² is of the opinion that an ambiguous oath if not absolute perjury entails no blame if the cause be a just one: "Whoso should say to a woman 'I will take you to wife' may deny under oath before a court to have used these words, with the mental reservation 'of my own free will.'"

The Jesuit, Escobar,¹³ from the works of twenty-four authorities of the Jesuits, shows that they and he agree with Sanchez as to ambiguous speech, oaths of two interpretations, and mental reservations.

The Jesuit, Tamburini, states the following question: "The question is whether it be permitted for the taker of an oath to use his words in another sense than that which they express. For instance 'I swear by God that during this

¹⁰ *Opus Morale in Praecepta Decalogi*, Antwerp, 1624, Lib. III, cap. vi, p. 353.

¹¹ *Consilia seu Opuscula Moralia*, Lyons, 1634.

¹² *Theologia Moralis*, 9th ed., Mainz, 1723.

¹³ *Liber Theologiae Moralis*, 40th ed., Munich, 1646.

night I have not slept,' while thinking in continuation—'with my clothes on,' or 'I have no money;' mentally adding—'to lend you,' or the husband or wife swears not to have broken the marriage vows, adding in thought—'publicly.' Answer: it is permitted, and not only where one is compelled to swear, but when he has voluntarily done so. The reason is that in these cases God is only called to witness the truth."¹⁴ The Jesuit, Busenbaum, says: "To swear with ambiguity, if a just ground exist and ambiguity in itself be allowed, is not evil: for where the right exists to conceal the truth and it is concealed without a lie, the oath suffers no disregard. Even if it be done without just ground it is no perjury if at least in *any sense of the words, or with a mental reservation*, the truth be sworn to."¹⁵

With especial detail Saint Alfonso de Liguori treats this subject in the eight volumes of his *Theologia Moralis* which have been distributed in countless editions, praised in the entire literature, and have aided the author to the dignity of the title of "church teacher." Amongst other citations these may be mentioned: If, for example, one says "God knows," "God will witness," "I speak by God," "I swear that the affair stands thus as truly as a God exists"—none of these things imply a proper oath. But if one says "I call God to witness," or "by my oath," then an actual oath has been taken. . . .

A witness questioned by a judge in other than legal form may deny a crime, mentally adding—concerning which he can be legally questioned, or which he must avow (IV, 154). . . . One who has promised marriage but is not forced to fulfil the promise, may deny it altogether, mentally adding, "by which I am bound."

Whoso is not forced to pay duty may deny having anything dutiable, adding mentally, "for which I must pay." . . . In the case of a false oath, when in a low tone a true circumstance is mentioned, Liguori decides that it is permissible in case anyone has heard the sound, even if the sense were not intelligible. . . . In the case of one who, with the intention of swearing, but without the intention of being bound, has taken an oath, Liguori decides he is not compelled to fulfil the oath. . . .

Whoso ruins a virgin under a promise of marriage not seriously meant, is not compelled to the fulfilment of the promise if he be considerably above the girl in social standing, or considerably richer (IV, 642, 643).

Rich adulterers who send their illegitimate children to the foundling hospital are not obliged, according to the probabilismus doctrine, to pay anything for their support (IV, 656).

The Jesuit, Gury, in two large works¹⁶ takes pains to extend further the moral precepts of Liguori, and to perfect them.

¹⁴ *Explicatio Decalogi*, Venice, 1719.

¹⁵ *Medulla Theologiae Moralis*, Rome, ca. 1750, Lib. III, Tract. 2, dub. 4, p. 90.

¹⁶ *Compendium Theologiae Moralis*, Lyon, Paris, 1866, and *Casus Conscientiae*, Paris, 1881.

For example, he declares¹⁷ that the executor (heir) named in a legal testament is not obliged to pay the profane legacies therein mentioned, though he may personally know that they are in conformity with the will of the testator, but the legacies to pious purposes must be respected.

A further example from the same work: "Anna, asked by her husband if she have broken her marriage vows, . . . answers the first time, she has not broken the marriage vows. The second time, after having been absolved from her sin, she replies, 'I am not guilty of such a crime.' The third time. . . she says, 'I have not committed it,' adding mentally, 'an adultery which I must declare.' Has Anna done wrong? No. In all three cases she is to be exonerated from the fault of lying."¹⁸

The Jesuit, Lehmkuhl, recently published a great work on morals¹⁹ in which these subjects are fully treated in the traditional method above indicated, and though he condemns the lie, he holds ambiguity of speech and mental reservation permissible.²⁰ For the spirit of this book let the following be adduced: "It must be conceded that frequently there may be a fellow of so bad a reputation that it is no great sin to load upon him a new offense; occasionally the false charge of a new crime can hardly have, for him, the significance of increased dishonor, but is merely a simple lie. . . . Who believes that a serious calumny is committed by him who avows that he considers an atheist capable of committing any crime in secret?"

This might be prolonged indefinitely, says Professor Wahrmund in substance, but enough has been shown to render less acute the pious indignation of Professor Fonck, as well as to show him that he is unacquainted with the moralists of his own order, "the great Catholic theologians."

In his attack Father Fonck denied that Wahrmund had any authority for his account of the exorcism of the devil by Father Aurelian in Wemding. Wahrmund's reply to this is unanswerable. It is the reprint of the official account published by Father Aurelian²¹ with the authorization of the bishop of Eichstatt. It closes with the words "This statement is made by Father Aurelian who exorcized the devil, as a perpetual remembrance for the provincial archives, Altötting, as well as for the cloister archives of Wemding."

Shortly after it was printed the edition was recalled and destroyed on account of the excessive merriment which the narration caused in all quarters. The copy which was in Professor Wahrmund's possession when he used it as an illustration, belonged to a large landholder in the vicinity of Wemding, and is a rarity, and perhaps a unique copy.

¹⁷ *Cas. Consc.*, I, 858, 859.

¹⁹ *Theologia Moralis*, 8th ed., Freiburg, 1896.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 183, 184.

²⁰ Vol. I, p. 451.

²¹ A. Helmuth, Wemding, 1892.

The fourth point of attack of Father Fonck was on the historical accuracy of the charges against Pope Clement VI. With the utmost detail and with careful references to the sources of his information Wahrmund shows that Clement VI was a worldly, pomp-loving lord; "of courtly distinction and with noble passions." J. Haller²² describes him as an elegant prelate of noble family, a man of the world with the faults of his class, namely, extravagance, love of pleasure, and lax morality, etc. In short, his exactions, under different pretexts, present a picture of the rankest immorality and injustice. The charges and the authorities cited in support of them establish Professor Wahrmund's contention without the possibility of refutation.

There are only two methods open to Professor Wahrmund's opponents to lessen or destroy the effect of his powerful indictment. Either they must deny the authoritative character of the works which he cites, or they must challenge his correct translation of the texts.

Both courses are beset by the gravest difficulties.

PERSIFOR FRAZER

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

RECENT PROGRESS IN THE STUDY OF LUTHER

The last six years have added a vast deal to our knowledge of Martin Luther. In 1903 Kawerau's revision of Köstlin's *Life of Luther* gave us a biography more accurate and fuller than anything preceding, and in the same year a new source of the greatest value was published, the just-discovered collection of table-talk compiled by Mathesius. Since then other new sources have come to light, sources previously known have been more scientifically edited, and a host of monographs, as well as more comprehensive studies, have corrected and augmented our previous knowledge. The purpose of this article is to give a critical, though brief, résumé of the more important contributions of the last six years.¹

The great Weimar edition of Luther's complete works has now brought their publication down to the year 1533, though with a few omissions. This great work was begun in 1883 by Dr. J. K. F. Knaake, who edited several of the most important parts himself. The magnitude of the under-

²² *Papacy and Church Reform*, I, 123.

¹ Complete bibliographies, through 1905, both of books and articles, may be found in *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft*, Vol. XXVII, Pt. I, 1904, Pt. II, pp. 478 ff., and Vol. XXVIII, Pt. I, 1905, Pt. II, pp. 321 ff. After 1905 reviews in periodicals must be relied on. Cf. G. Kawerau, "Fünfundzwanzig Jahre Lutherforschung," in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, Hefte 3 und 4, April und Juli, 1908.

taking compelled him to seek associate editors, and in 1892 the presidency of the board thus formed passed from his hands into those of Professor Paul Pietsch, of the University of Berlin. In 1906 Pietsch resigned in favor of his colleague, Professor K. Drescher, the present editor-in-chief.

In Parts II (1907) and III (1905) of Vol. X, Koffmane and Buchwald edit material of the year 1522, including sermons and the "Letter against Henry VIII" (Part II, pp. 175-222), of which the bibliography is valuable (*ibid.*, pp. 504 ff.). Part I of this volume has not yet appeared. It is to contain the pamphlet against the peasants, perhaps the most important work not yet included in this series. Vol. XVII, Part I (edited by Buchwald and Koffmane, 1907), contains sermons of the year 1525, including the well-known one on marriage (p. 12). Vol. XVIII (1908) also contains works of 1525.

More important, as bringing to light some hitherto unpublished sources, are Vols. XXVII (1903), XXVIII (1903), XXIX (1904), XXXII (1906), XXXIII (1907), XXXIV, Part I (1908) and the German Bible, Vol. I (unnumbered, 1906). These volumes contain a series of sermons and lectures, for the most part previously inedited, running from 1529 to 1532. Although much of the biographical material they impart is of rather a trivial nature, occasionally an important fact comes to light, as, for example, that Luther once visited Cologne and saw the holy relics. The editors, in the endeavor to secure all the manuscript material possible, wrote to over a thousand libraries in Germany and other countries. Their brilliant success may be seen both in these volumes and in Koffmane's little book, *Die Handschriftliche Überlieferung D. M. Luthers*,² which gives an account of the material still awaiting publication. Even this effort, however, has been blamed as not sufficiently thorough.³

The task of editing the German Bible was intrusted to Pietsch, who brought out the first volume just after his retirement from the position of editor-in-chief. Instead of reprinting the old edition, he has published Luther's own manuscript from a newly discovered *fonds*. From this we can see the extreme care of the translator, who polished and revised with untiring zeal. The marginal notes, which Luther wrote but did not print, are here reproduced. They instruct us in the scientific helps he used, and occasionally give a little exegesis. Like most of Luther's commentaries, these notes are very subjective. Highly characteristic is his

² Liegnitz, 1907. These new discoveries consist chiefly of notes of lectures, sermons, and table talk, taken down by Rörer and Cruciger. The most important single find, Rörer's table talk, is mentioned below.

³ By Köhler in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, June 20, 1908.

remark on the thirty-eighth chapter of Job, in which the Lord asks that saint to explain the miracles of the creation. "Aristotle knows it all," comments Luther, the inveterate enemy of "that heathen."

Another edition of Luther's complete works has just been published by the German Lutherans of America.⁴ Wishing to have the writings all in German, suitable to the convenient use of their public, the editors republished Walch's German edition of the *Sämmlische Werke* (Halle, 1740-44), revising it by means of subsequent publications. For example the letters (Vols. XXIII, 1902, and XXIV, 1903), of which Walch gives only a portion, poorly translated, are retranslated and supplemented by the letters of Luther since published, together with the most important of those written to him. Kawerau has compared them with the originals and finds the translation well done. On the other hand, the volume containing the table talk (XXII, 1887) is rather disappointing to me. The sources published at that time, with which the editors attempted to correct Walch's faulty work, were too scanty and unreliable to permit of much improvement on the original.

The "Ninety-five Theses," together with the "Resolutions" defending them, and the literature of the controversy they excited between their author and Wimpina, Tetzel, Eck, and Prierias, have been republished in an excellent little edition, with explanatory comments, by the well-known scholar, Professor W. Köhler.⁵

Another important source, recently republished, is the life of Luther by his disciple Mathesius, known as the "Luther Histories."⁶ The editor is G. Lösche, who has written a biography of Mathesius, and published, under the title *Analecta Lutherana et Melanchthonia* (1892), a fragmentary copy of the long-lost collection of table talk, known to have been made by Mathesius.

The publication of the letters, by Enders, has been brought down, in the eleventh volume, to August, 1538. Vol. IX and X appeared in 1903, after which there was a long pause, due to the failing health of the editor, who died July 14, 1906. Vol. XI was printed posthumously by G. Kawerau. It is greatly to be hoped that this work will be continued, unless the previous publication of the letters in the Weimar series should

⁴ *Luthers Sämmlische Werke*. Herausgegeben von Walch. St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia Verlag.

⁵ *Luthers 95 Thesen, samt seinen Resolutionen*, u. s. w. Leipzig, 1903.

⁶ J. Mathesius, *Historie von D. M. Luther, Anfang, Lehr, Leben und Sterben*. Prag, 1906 (Second Edition).

render it superfluous.⁷ As it now is, the study of the letters is rendered vexatious by the fact that they are so much scattered. For those not contained in Enders, i. e., subsequent to 1538, one must first consult the edition of De Wette (1825-28), then the two supplements by Seidemann (De Wette-Seidemann, Vol. VI, 1856, and *Luthers Briefe*, 1859), one by Burkhardt (*Luthers Briefwechsel*, 1866) and one by Kolde (*Analecta Lutherana*, 1882). Each supplement makes corrections on preceding ones, besides printing additional letters, so that often all must be consulted for a single reference. Enders is much more convenient than any of them, and affords fuller and more scientific notes, but he is not without his faults. The worst of these is that he does not reprint the German letters already published in the Erlangen edition (Vols. LIII-LVI, 1853-54), of which his labors form a part. Enders calendars and annotates them, but for the text one must consult the previous volumes of the Erlangen edition, or De Wette.

The table talk has long been known in the German collection of Auri-faber (1566) and the Latin collection of Lauterbach (printed by Rebenstock 1571, and by Bindseil, in a different form, 1863-66), but it was not until the latter part of the nineteenth century that the original notes which had served as sources for these collections were discovered and in part published. Seidemann was the first to print one of these notebooks, the excellence of which he recognized as a historical source, for the notes were not only in much more accurate form than that in which they reappeared in the later collections but were set down in a chronological order which was afterward lost. His publication of Lauterbach's *Tagebuch von 1538* (1872) was followed by the printing of notes of Schlaginhausen (edited by Preger, 1888) and of Cordatus (edited by Wrampelmeyer, 1882) and of Mathesius (edited by Lösche, 1892) though these last were in a much garbled and abbreviated form. In 1903 E. Kroker, archivist in the Leipzig Library, found and edited a manuscript containing notes which almost equal in quantity, and surpass in quality, any of the previously published notebooks.⁸ This was the Mathesian collection, containing a large quantity of material taken down by Mathesius himself in 1540,

⁷ Kawerau expresses the confident hope in the introduction to Vol. XI, that the work will go on. In the article above mentioned, "Fünfundzwanzig Jahre Lutherforschung," Part I, he says that financial considerations render this doubtful. The publishers of the Weimar edition (Hermann Bohlhaus, Nachfolger) informed me more than a year ago that work had been seriously begun upon the letters.

⁸ *Luthers Tischreden in der Mathesischen Sammlung*. Herausgegeben von E. Kroker, Leipzig, 1903.

together with notes of other guests from the years 1531 to 1537, 1539, and 1541 to 1543. All the sayings can be approximately dated, and all are in the original form which contrasts so favorably with the altered and polished state in which some of them reappear in the later collections. A flood of light is thrown by this book, not only on the private life of the reformer, but also on events of a public nature, such as the affair of Philip of Hesse's bigamy. The editing is admirable; Kroker's introduction, with its wide survey and comparison of the manuscripts, has done more to put the study of the table talk on a scientific foundation than anything since the valuable researches of W. Meyer.⁹

Another addition to the stock of table talk in print, though one of vastly less value, is the publication by Wrampelmeyer of some further notes of Cordatus. As just mentioned, he had already published one notebook of this reporter. In the present instance he brings to light a small selection from a manuscript containing copies of Cordatus' notes made by a certain Sebastian Redlich in the year 1547.¹⁰ The worthy editor has fallen in love with Cordatus, whose value as a reporter he much overestimates. Aggrieved by the attacks on Cordatus' reliability made by Preger and Kroker, he takes occasion in the preface of his second publication to assert his unshaken confidence in the value of his first.

Two manuscripts containing table talk have recently been found. One of these with the collection of Rörer¹¹ should prove extremely valuable. Rörer was with his master most of the time from 1522 to 1546, and is mentioned as a reporter of table talk by both Aurifaber and Mathesius. He began taking notes as early as 1527¹² four years before the earliest sayings reported by any other source. Knowing how careful he was in taking down sermons and lectures, it is natural to suppose that he exercised a like conscientious diligence in transcribing the table talk. The other manuscript is only ten pages long, and of comparatively little importance. It goes back to the reports of Ludwig Rabe,¹³ of whom Luther speaks as

⁹ W. Meyer aus Speyer, "Lauterbachs und Aurifabers Sammlungen der Tischreden Luthers," *Abhandlungen d. k. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*. Neue Folge, Band I, Nr. 2, 1897. For a review of the whole subject of the table talk see P. Smith, *Luther's Table Talk*, 1907.

¹⁰ H. Wrampelmeyer, "Tischreden Dr. Martin Luthers aus einer Sammlung des Dr. C. Cordatus. Nach der Berliner Handschrift des Sebastian Redlich," *Festschrift des königlichen Gymnasiums zu Clausthal*, 1905.

¹¹ Koffmane, *op. cit.*, pp. xviii ff.

¹² Cf. Jacobs, article "Rörer" in *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliographie, Nachtrag von 1907*.

¹³ Köstlin-Kawerau, *Martin Luther*, 1903, Vol. II, p. 479, note 2.

a guest in July, 1535.¹⁴ We might infer, therefore, that his notes fell at this time, or else in May, 1532, when Schlaginhaußen speaks of getting a saying from him.¹⁵ So far as I know no steps have been taken to bring either of these manuscripts to the press. If they do not appear in separate form, we may doubtless expect them in the last volume of the Weimar edition, which is to be devoted to the *Tischreden*. In the meantime they will be used by scholars, and the results incorporated in secondary works, as has been done in the case of Dietrich's table talk, which has long been known but never edited.

Turning from the sources to later works, we must first notice the new edition of Köstlin's monumental, *Martin Luther, sein Leben und seine Schriften*. Here we have a book which has grown up in a way analogous to that in which Professor Murray would have us believe the *Iliad* was composed, the work, in short, of a school rather than a man. The small biography of 1876 was attacked with gentleness by Seidemann and with asperity by Knaake. Benefiting by the animadversions of these critics, the author issued a very much improved and enlarged second edition in 1883. Continuing to profit by the labors of other scholars, Köstlin issued his work in a third edition in 1889, and a fourth in 1897, revising and enlarging each time. In 1902 the author published his short life of Luther in the *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*.¹⁶ He then began another revision of his great work, but did not live to accomplish it.

The pen which dropped from his hand was taken up by Gustav Kawerau, at present Oberkonsistorialrat in Berlin, and undoubtedly the leading Luther scholar of today. As one of the Weimar editors, as the editor of Jonas' Letters, as the assistant of Enders and of Wrampelmeyer, and the author of numerous articles and monographs of great value, he brought to the revision of Köstlin a vast amount of new knowledge. The work is changed in literally thousands of details. How important some of these changes are may be seen, for example, in the pages relating to the reporters of the table talk.¹⁷ The identity of reputed note-takers has been

¹⁴ De Wette, *D. M. Luthers Briefe*, Berlin, 1825-28, Vol. IV p. 614.

¹⁵ *Tischreden Luthers nach den Aufzeichnungen von J. Schlaginhaußen*. Herausgegeben von W. Preger, Leipzig, 1888, No. 342.

¹⁶ Begründet von J. J. Herzog. Dritte Auflage von A. Hauck. Vol. XII, 1902. Since then eight more volumes of this work, which is indispensable to the student of the Reformation, have appeared, almost completing it. Vol. XX, 1907, to "W."

¹⁷ New edition, Vol. II, pp. 479-81; edition of 1883 (which was but little changed later), Vol. II, pp. 487, 488.

established, and new names added from recently discovered manuscripts. So rapid, however, is the march of historical discovery, that even these pages must now be revised. Kawerau includes Obenander among those who took notes of the table talk; the researches of Kroker seem to show that this student merely copied the collection made by Dietrich.¹⁸ Another good example, showing the value of the revision, is seen in the careful survey of Luther's studies as *Sententiarius*, taken from his marginal notes on St. Augustine and the Sentences, from volumes which had just been discovered.¹⁹

Luther und Lutherthum (Mainz, Vol. I, Part I, 1904; Part II, 1906), by the great Catholic scholar Denifle, is only second in importance to the work just mentioned, as a comprehensive biographical study. Properly it is not a biography at all, but a rather formless aggregate of essays on different phases of the subject. The author begins (Vol. I, Part I, pp. 27-54), by offering a number of criticisms on the work of the Weimar editors, a task he performs in no very charitable spirit. In spite of the fact that the editors had themselves printed a large number of errata for the first eight volumes in the ninth, Denifle discovered a quantity of additional mistakes. He particularly objected that many of Luther's citations from and allusions to mediaeval authors had been left unidentified. As his reading in this field is remarkably wide, he was able to supply many such oversights, although he tells us that he took only two days to it. This is his chief contribution to the subject; the rest of his book is a scientific and hackneyed attempt to blacken Luther's character, with especial emphasis on his "drunkenness" and an appeal to modern criminologists to prove that the physiognomy of the reformer, as we see it in his pictures, belongs to the "criminal type." Denifle intended to devote a second volume to the easy task of proving the worthlessness of the table talk as a historical source, but died shortly after the appearance of the first part of the first volume. The second part of this volume was published posthumously by Father Weiss, a monk of Denifle's order.

No less than three disciples have written supplements to *Luther und Lutherthum*. The most important of these, *Luther-Psychologie als Schlüssel zur Luther-Legende*, by A. M. Weiss (Mainz, 1906), develops an idea suggested by the master. The book and its children have started a swarm of controversial articles which have been buzzing in the German periodicals from the day of the first publication to the present time. Walther, whose

¹⁸ E. Kroker, *op. cit.*, Einleitung, pp. 46-48.

¹⁹ Köstlin-Kawerau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 89, 90. The marginal notes in the Weimar edition, Vol. IX, pp. 1 ff.

hand was already practiced by his championship of the evangelic cause against Janssen many years previous, has taken a conspicuous part in the turmoil.²⁰ Denifle's work has been utilized by a French professor, L. Christiani, in a volume called *Luther et le Lutheranisme* (Paris, 1909). This is in general a mere summary and adaptation of Denifle, though the author adds some researches of his own which are generally inaccurate, as his citation of Melanchthon's Greek letter on Luther's marriage from the faulty and damaging translation made by Kirsch (p. 113).

Ludwig Pastor has shown himself scarcely less learned and far more readable as a protagonist of the church than his ally, Denifle. The most recent volumes of his widely known *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters* contain an interesting and well-documented, if somewhat biased, account of the "Wittenberg professor." Especially excellent, perhaps, is the narrative of Luther's correspondence with Henry VIII.²¹ They have been just translated into English under the supervision of Dr. Ralph Kerr.

While writing his own history, Pastor has at the same time been editing a series of supplements to the celebrated *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, by his late friend, Janssen. The most important of these, *Die deutschen Dominicaner im Kampf gegen Luther*, by N. Paulus, was suggested by the idea of supplying the Catholics with a counterpart to the *Corpus Reformationum* of the Protestants.²²

Among the numerous monographs dealing with special points in Luther's life, space will permit us to speak of but a few. Some of them, such as Kalkoff's excellent *Aleander gegen Luther* (Leipzig, 1908) deal with some contemporary with whom the reformer came into contact. Especially must be mentioned K. Müller's *Luther und Karlstadt* (Tübingen, 1907), in which a great deal of unpublished manuscript has been utilized, and some startling conclusions are reached. One feels, I think, that Luther was unfair to his colleague, and that his view has been too unquestioningly accepted by partisan biographers. Here we are glad to see that Carlstadt has at last found a defender, even if the apologist seems to go a little too far at times.

²⁰ Walther, *Für Luther wider Rom*, Halle, 1906. How considerable is the quantity of articles on the subject may be seen in *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft*, Vol. XXVII, I, Part II, pp. 502-4.

²¹ Vol. IV, Part I, 1906, pp. 596 ff.

²² Five volumes of these supplements have appeared at Freiburg in Breslau, 1903-7. They consist chiefly of republication of sources illustrating Janssen's work, and only occasionally throw side lights on Luther.

Ernst Kroker has turned his publication of the table talk to good account by giving us the best account we have of "*Katharina von Bora* (Leipzig, 1906). The author has made a careful study, fertile in results, of the family and early life of Luther's wife.

Among the treatises which take up some particular event in Luther's life must be mentioned *Die Doppelhehe des Landgrafen Philipp von Hessen* (Marburg, 1904) by W. W. Rockwell. Prior to this contribution, we had to depend chiefly on the *Briefwechsel des Landgrafen Philipp*, edited by Professor Max Lenz (Marburg, 1883). This, indeed, is tolerably adequate, but must now be supplemented by the additional material printed by Rockwell, which, being exhaustive, makes it now possible to form a thoroughly sound judgment of the transaction and of Luther's part in it. Rockwell's thesis is criticized by Brieger, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Band XXIX, p. 174 (1908), and briefly defended by Küch, *ibid.*, p. 403.

Of works published in English the most outstanding is *The History of the Reformation*, by Dr. T. M. Lindsay (Edinburgh, 1906, 1907). All those who knew his little *Luther and the German Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1900) were prepared to give a warm welcome to the later and larger work. It is now too well known to need comment. It has the advantage of putting Luther in the setting of his age and environment better than any other English book. The treatment of the Anabaptists and Socinians in the second volume is almost the only fair and scholarly one in existence. The part treating Luther, who is given deserved prominence, shows the results of painstaking research presented in a delightful style. I have personally verified almost every fact stated in this section, and can testify that the slips are both few and unimportant.²³

²³ Such as the following: Vol. I, 155, *Die deutsche Theologie* is referred to as one of the publications of the German mystics; this is a little misleading, as it was really first published by Luther from an old manuscript. P. 197, Luther is said to have learned Greek at Erfurt; cf. Köstlin-Kawerau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, 76; incidentally Lindsay does not speak of this, the last and best edition of Köstlin, whom he knows only in the now superseded edition of 1889. P. 249, "Gehobelter Eck" is translated "Eck with the swelled head;" is it not rather "Eck (i. e., corner) planed off," the "Eccius Dedolatus" of Lindsay's own note? P. 206, Luther's correspondence with Scheurl said to begin 1516; Enders, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, 79, first letter given January 1, 1517. More serious, perhaps, are the following errors: The description of Aleander's appearance at the Diet of Worms (p. 280) is incorrect (cf. Kawerau-Köstlin, I, 410; Lindsay's reference to DeWette is wholly irrelevant). The Diet at Nuremberg, 1524, is inadvertently called the Diet of Speyer (p. 322). The statement that at Speyer, 1529, it was agreed "that no ecclesiastical body should be deprived of its authority or revenues" is incorrect. This was proposed but not agreed to. Instead the Diet substituted the provision "that no prince should take the subjects of another state into his protection" (cf. Kawerau-Köstlin, Vol. II, p. 118).

It is a little strange, considering the popularity that Luther's table talk has long enjoyed in English, that no attempt to translate any considerable portion of his letters was made prior to 1908. Such a book we at last possess, though in an unfortunately inadequate form.²⁴ Meticulous care has been taken, by selection and omission, to avoid anything which might damage Luther's character. By this means he suffers not only softening but emasculation, and a very one-sided impression is given. The translation, too, is inaccurate, and the acquaintance shown by the translator with contemporary events is extremely slight.

PRESERVED SMITH

PARIS, FRANCE

²⁴ *Luther's Letters*, selected and translated by Margaret A. Currie. London and New York, 1908.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

THE NEW ENCYCLOPEDIAS

Noting that the first volume of 903 large pages does not pass beyond the A's ("A"—"Art"), one can gain some impression of what a monumental work the new encyclopedia by Dr. Hastings¹ must consistently turn out to be. The volume is well bound, and well printed on good paper and in a little larger type than is usual in such works.

The editors themselves may describe the scope of the encyclopedia:

The words "religion" and "ethics" are both used in their most comprehensive meaning, as the contents of this volume will show. The encyclopedia will contain articles on all the religions of the world and on all the great systems of ethics. It will aim, further, at containing articles on every religious belief or custom and on every ethical movement, every philosophical idea, every moral practice. Such persons and places as are famous in the history of religion and morals will be included.

Thus it will be seen that, as Terence would say, nothing human is to be foreign to this work. But wide as the field is, the editors declare that only once or twice throughout the course of this volume has the question been raised whether a particular topic should be included or not. One is impressed with the very great care the editors must have taken to "make the list of subjects complete and to assign each subject to the right author," as they remark.

The scholarly thoroughness with which some of the articles have been prepared is well represented in that on "Ancestor-Worship and Cult of the Dead." It is not simply that forty-two pages are devoted to the article (Vedic excluded here at that) but that some twenty-odd specialists in the various fields collaborated on it. The next to the longest article, about one hundred pages, in the volume is upon the subject of "Art"—mainly religious art, of course—by a host of scholars. The art of all peoples from most primitive to most cultured is passed under review. The next in length is occupied with "Animals," the bibliography of which fills three pages. One is surprised at the space devoted to this subject until one reflects how

¹ *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. Edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D., with the assistance of John A. Selbie, M.A., D.D., and other scholars. Vol. I, "A—" "Art." Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribner, 1908. xxii+903 pages. \$7.00. Sold only in complete sets.

largely animal-worship and animal-sacrifice have figured in religion. Besides, the article seems to be worked out in a masterly manner. Still, when one notes that "Animism" is accorded but two pages, one fears that the proportion is not quite just. The article on "America" is made to come within the scope of such a work as this by being offered as a general introduction to the religion and ethics of the American tribes. One is surprised to find an article treating of "Anaesthesia," the surprise being made pleasant indeed but not entirely removed by the information that the unseemly strife as to priority of discovery among Jackson, Wells, and Morton provoked Holmes' suggestion that *e(i)ther* might do. One of the finest pieces of work is the article on "Altar," again by many special scholars. If one were inclined to be exacting, one would find, I think, that the article on "Apologetics" is not quite adequate, being a bit antiquated in form, as well as misguided in emphasis, to say nothing of its assuming so many things as proofs which themselves require to be proved. In particular, its treatment of miracle and of historical criticism is singularly unsatisfactory from the point of view of modern needs. The longest article is upon "Architecture," being over one hundred pages. As a layman here, I have the impression that it is finely done, but am wondering whether I am right in the apprehension that it is out of proportion in a work of this kind, where, e. g., "Anthropology" receives but ten pages, the "Alexandrian Theology" the same, "Agnosticism" the same. These are well done, but merit a larger treatment. I note a masterly article on the "Apostolic Age" by Professor A. C. McGiffert, and another on "Anabaptism" by Professor W. J. McGlothlin.

Upon the question whether the volume is fully abreast of modern scholarship, and whether it is tendential, I shall not presume to pronounce. I turn from such perusal as I have been able to devote to it with a feeling of gratitude to the editors who have already given more than six years of exacting labor to this great work, and with the belief that their hope shall be realized—"the earnest hope that it will be found worthy of a place among the rapidly increasing number of books devoted to the study of religion and ethics."

GEORGE BURMAN FOSTER

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

There is no more evident need than a competent encyclopedia in English which shall give reliable information concerning those themes with which every student of theology must deal. MacClintock and Strong's

Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature, has long been out of date in many important particulars. The four-volume Schaff-Herzog, published 1882-1890, was in many respects an improvement on anything previously existing, but the small compass of the work necessitated too much abbreviation in the articles. Dr. Samuel Macauley Jackson, who was associated with Dr. Schaff in the preparation of this earlier encyclopedia, has undertaken the editorship of a new encyclopedia bearing the old familiar name,² and, like its predecessor, based on the last edition of the German *Realencyklopädie*. The work is to comprise twelve volumes, the first of which is before us, comprising 500 pages, in type somewhat larger than is customary in such reference books, thus avoiding unnecessary strain on the eyes. Dr. Jackson has the assistance of Charles Colebrook Sherman and George William Gilmore as associate editors, and the co-operation of the following departmental editors: Clarence Augustine Beckwith, D.D. (Department of Systematic Theology), Henry King Carroll, LL.D. (Department of Minor Denominations), John Thomas Creach, D.D. (Department of Liturgics and Religious Orders [Vol. I]), James Francis Driscoll, D.D. (Department of Liturgics and Religious Orders, [Vols. II to XII]), James Frederic McCurdy, Ph.D., LL.D. (Department of Old Testament), Henry Sylvester Nash, D.D. (Department of the New Testament), Albert Henry Newman, D.D., LL.D. (Department of Church History), Frank Horace Vizetelly, F.S.A. (Department of Pronunciation and Typography).

There are manifest disadvantages in preparing an encyclopedia for an American public on the basis of one originally prepared for German scholars. In order to make the new work adequate some articles have been added, and especial attention has been paid to biographical notices of prominent men in this country. While this is a needed addition to the work, it is to be feared that in some cases an undue amount of space has been given to those whose reputation in the realm of theology is likely to be very transient. To devote half a column to the singing evangelist, Mr. Charles Alexander, while St. Ambrose receives only one and one-half

² *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge Embracing Biblical, Historical, Doctrinal, and Practical Theology, and Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Biography from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*. Based on the Third Edition of the *Realencyklopädie*, Founded by J. J. Herzog and Edited by Albert Hauck. Prepared by More than Six Hundred Scholars and Specialists under the Supervision of Samuel Macauley Jackson, D.D., LL.D., Editor-in-Chief, with the Assistance of Charles Colebrook Sherman and George William Gilmore, M.A. Associate Editors. Complete in Twelve Volumes. Vol. I, "Aachen"—"Basilians." New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1909. xxix + 500 pages. \$5.00.

columns, and the Augustinian Order only a little over a column, is one example of lack of perspective.

The editors have endeavored to exercise the greatest care in the condensation of the German articles. The English revision has been sent to the German authors, where possible, for their approval. In a few cases the writers for the German encyclopedia furnished their own articles newly written in English. The signatures appear to most of the important revised articles, though in some cases no name is signed. For example, the article on "Abelard" is published with no indication of its source. A comparison with the German edition shows that it is a condensation from this article, and this origin should have been indicated.

The encyclopedia represents a conservative position, embodying only such conclusions as may safely be relied upon. In the case of the Old Testament articles, most of which appeared twelve years ago in the German edition, considerable revision has been necessary in order to take account of the development of scholarship since that day. Professor McCurdy has contributed a few articles of his own which are in every case more readable and suggestive than those articles which were condensed from a German original. In fact, the articles prepared by American authors reveal the superiority of direct contributions to condensations of German articles written to a different scale, and with a somewhat different audience in mind. Among the important articles are two by Professor Gilmore on "Assyria" and "Babylonia" of eleven and sixteen pages each, which give a very comprehensive view of the field without, however, entering into recent controversies. The article on "Baptism," nineteen pages in length, requires four collaborators, and its somewhat disproportionate length may be excused in view of the excellence of the discussions. Professor Newman has given an admirable historical article on "Baptists," twenty-four pages in length; Professor Warfield, with his usual accurate historical knowledge, has written on "Agnosticism," "Apologetics," and the "Doctrine of the Atonement," though his very marked antipathy to the Ritschlian theology has led him to fail to do justice to the influence of this type of thought in the field of scholarship. The article on "Apologetics" attempts to defend Christianity by an objective method of proof which will appear futile to those who sympathize at all with modern functional conceptions of philosophy.

The encyclopedia seems destined to do good service in giving reliable information on most of the themes in which theological students will be interested, though it gives little intimation of the issues which scholars must meet in the near future. The bibliographies have been carefully prepared by Professor Gilmore, and will give to the ordinary pastor or

theological student a good selection of reliable works on any theme. While it is a source of congratulation that we are to have this encyclopedia, which is an immense improvement on anything of its kind at present existing in English, it is to be regretted that American scholarship should have been represented to be so largely dependent upon the reproduction of German articles as would appear from this important work of reference.

GERALD BIRNEY SMITH

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

For long both thoughtful Christian worker and general pastor of moderate accomplishments have required a brief yet comprehensive biblical dictionary, placing at command the main results of modern biblical criticism in a sympathetic and constructive way. Such a dictionary should have two qualifications. It should be usable by being one volume, modest in size and price, containing complete cross-referencing, compact bibliographies, treatment of all biblical topics and every typographical help. At the same time it should be thorough in scholarship, giving insight enough into the method to win confidence in it, yet largely suppressing minute detail and technique. These two things Hastings' latest venture in the field of dictionaries endeavors to accomplish.³

The typographical work is excellent, the small six-point roman being used with good effect, although no leads are used between major divisions in articles. The text, however, is slightly vitiated by careless proofreading, as "them inistry" (p. 448a, l. 24), "HARISEES" (p. 720a, l. 1), etc. It is to be regretted that the editors thought it necessary to use a large octavo page with an inch-and-a-quarter margin to spare around. A reduction of the margin by at least a half-inch around—more would not be too much—would not materially affect the appearance of the page and the volume would become less formidable to the user by a saving of more than a fifth, possibly a fourth, in bulk.

The editors have made a notable attempt at conserving completeness with brevity. Four unusually clear and on the whole trustworthy maps meet every requirement of the dictionary. All articles on mere English words such as "abhorring," "mollify," and the like, characteristic of the larger dictionary, are rigidly excluded to give room for a fuller treatment of

³ *Dictionary of the Bible*. Edited by James Hastings, D.D.; with the co-operation of John A. Selbie, D.D.; and with the assistance of John C. Lambert, D.D., and of Shailer Mathews, D.D., Professor of Theology and Dean of the Divinity School in the University of Chicago. New York: Scribners, 1909. Pp. xvi + 992, and 4 maps. \$5.00.

properly biblical subjects. A careful examination shows the omission of no biblical topic properly coming within the province of this dictionary, though a few articles might have been somewhat abridged in their theological portions to make room for two more necessary features of such a work, viz., a complete system of cross-referencing and compact bibliographies. The editors justly pride themselves on their system of cross-referencing, black-letter words in the body of an article indicating special articles on the same and making easy the discovery of special treatment in a general article; but it is regrettable that the system is not fully used, as when the rich material of Barton's "Israel" is not referred to under "asherah," "pillar," or "God, (§ 2 f.—Jehovah)," or when Orr's "Atonement" does not refer to Maclean's "Paul the Apostle," especially in view of the fact that the fullest use of the system would not have added two pages to the volume. Further, the editors have done well in including a brief article on "Concordances;" but apparently they have made no systematic attempt to give with each major article a compact bibliography, although occasionally such are given as at the end of Gray's "Psalms." Yet the class of readers served by this dictionary would welcome brief bibliographical summaries. Fortunately, scattering reference to useful literature is found in many articles, partially compensating for the lack of bibliographical summaries or a comprehensive article on the bibliography, to which appropriate reference could be made in the various articles. A half-dozen more pages would have amply sufficed for this purpose, nor would they have appreciably increased the bulk.

The editors are to be commended for the inclusion of an introductory article on the "Pronunciation of Proper Names," by Stewart, wherein the various systems are explained and the general principles that should govern are expounded concisely. One could wish that the editors had not been so reluctant to commit the dictionary to some system of pronunciation, in view of the large utility of such a work among readers desiring such help, and had endeavored to get a consensus from the more than one hundred contributors. Such a consensus would conduce to uniformity where now there is lamentable diversity. Incidentally, attention should be directed to the inconsistency shown in the use of the divine name, in some articles appearing as Jahweh and elsewhere as Jehovah, though it is too much to hope that the softer Yahweh would gain general currency.

That scholarly thoroughness is a characteristic of the work is evident from a glance at the names of contributors. A few of the articles are condensed from the articles in the larger dictionary; but the vast majority have been written specially for this volume and each article is signed in

full. Biblical scholarship of the first rank is represented in the staff of one hundred and five contributors. Yet one looks in vain for certain names, especially continental and American. Three-fourths of the contributors are British, only two are German, and about one-fifth are American. Of the latter eight belong to Chicago schools, while Harvard and Union are entirely unrepresented.

One almost forgives the insularity of the book for the wisdom of the editors in their choice of writers to represent neither extreme of criticism or of reaction. Herein lies the value of this work; for it seeks to win appreciation for the critical method by a genuinely sympathetic and constructive presentation of results. This is done, first, by a capital article on the critical method, i.e., "Criticism," by Adeney; secondly, by a presentation of the general lines of evidence relied on for conclusions arrived at in the major articles, reference being made to special treatises for minute details, as Edghill's "Hexateuch," etc.; and, thirdly, by a genuine endeavor to conserve the good of the old method without detriment to the good of the new. Thus a sufficient insight is given into the critical method to win confidence in it. One, however, must deplore the tendency rather too often recurrent to approach problems, especially in the New Testament field, somewhat more from the doctrinal and less from the historical side than is consistent with objective scholarship, as in Orr's "Salvation" and Lambert's "Logos." In effect rather too much stress is given to the theological bearings of the subjects treated, despite the room for a fair discussion of biblical theological terminology.

To sum up: In the balance of articles according to intrinsic worth, in fairness, thoroughness and lucidity of treatment, and, despite faults that cannot be overlooked, in general usability, this dictionary meets a genuine need of lay students and Christian workers, will be of positive use to the general pastor, and not without interest and suggestion to the biblical scholar.

RALPH H. FERRIS

CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

The Funk & Wagnalls Co. has published a single-volume Bible dictionary⁴ under the editorship of Melancthon W. Jacobus, with E. E. Nourse and A. C. Zenos as his associates. There are some thirty-three additional contributors, and important articles are furnished by

⁴ *A Standard Dictionary of the Bible*. Melancthon W. Jacobus, Editor-in-Chief. E. E. Nourse and A. C. Zenos, Associate Editors. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1909. xxiii + 920 pages. \$6.00.

these. However, the bulk of the work has been done by the three editors, and as we look the dictionary through we do not grudge any of the space they have taken. They have evidently given painstaking care to their articles which compare favorably with any of the others in the book. Every article has been signed with initials, even if it be so unimportant as to occupy only a single line of space. One may be sure, therefore, of the individual authority behind every statement made. The list of contributors represents some eight or ten different Protestant denominations, nearly all, if not all, of them of the Lutheran or Calvinistic type. The editors are Congregationalist and Presbyterian, and they would seem to have given conscientious supervision to the dictionary as a whole. However, the theology represented by the dictionary is free from all the outgrown and disfiguring elements that characterized the older Calvinism, and in this modern and non-polemical form it will commend itself to all the churches. Moot questions are avoided for the most part and, doubtless because of limitations of space, the contributors have contented themselves with general statements of fact with which all will be ready to agree. The position of the work as a whole is that of open-minded conservatism, acknowledging what new truth it must and retaining all the old truth it can. The documentary hypothesis is adopted for the Pentateuch, and the Mosaic authorship is denied. Deuteronomy is dated 650 B. C. The Fourth Gospel was written by John the apostle, but his authorship of the Apocalypse is not so certain. Luke wrote the Book of Acts. There are Pauline elements in the Pastoral Epistles, but they present problems that are insoluble. Ephesians is an almost necessary letter for Paul.

The dictionary aims to be a comprehensive guide to all the Scriptures, and it treats of their languages, literature, history, biography, manners, and customs. It has articles of introduction to all the books of the Old and the New Testaments and of the Apocrypha. It also deals with the most important themes in biblical theology. There are over nine hundred pages of material. The maps and the illustrations are well chosen and are illuminative of the text. A brief bibliography is appended to the more important subjects. Pronunciations are spelled out. For the most part the distribution of space among the articles seems to be judicious. One wonders, however, upon what principle twice as much space was given to Jerusalem and Palestine as to Jesus and Paul. We would wish no less space given to the longer articles which are both admirable, but we would have welcomed more of the equally admirable discussion of what the editors in the preface call the One Supreme Personality in all religion. We are glad to see that the American Standard Edition of the Revised Bible has

been made the standard English text of the biblical citations and references. The publishers have made every effort to put forth a volume which would be easy to handle, pleasing to the eye, and serviceable to the student at every point. The print is very readable, and the arrangement of material is first-class. There are beautifully clear titles and analyses of contents for the longer articles; the sub-sections stand out in different and easily distinguishable lettering; there are insets marking the subjects of paragraphs and principal divisions of the text, and in every way the book is adapted for quick and easy reference. It lies open at any page. It is made for use. It will find a large clientage to whom it will soon come to seem indispensable. It is a handy volume, prepared with such scholarship that it will be helpful to a large class of Bible students. No single-volume dictionary will be satisfactory to more advanced scholars, but such a book as this will be sufficient for the needs of busy workers who have no time for long research. They will find what information they desire in most accessible form in the *Standard Bible Dictionary*.

D. A. HAYES

GARRETT BIBLICAL INSTITUTE
EVANSTON, ILL.

The second and final volume of the *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*,⁵ possesses the same merits and demerits as the first volume which was reviewed in this *Journal* in January, 1908. One is impressed with the fact that a great deal of the ground covered has already been treated in a more scholarly and satisfactory way in Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*. For an instance, the article on the "Sermon on the Mount," by Professor W. F. Adeney, is discriminating, scholarly, and well-handled within the limits allowed, but, as Professor Adeney himself points out, thorough and exhaustive treatment has already been provided by Professor Clyde W. Votaw in the extra volume of the *Dictionary of the Bible*. A careful comparison will indicate that this is the case in so many instances as to render this dictionary something less than a vital necessity to those having the larger work.

One is impressed, moreover, with the multiplicity of subjects which, being given a place, impart to the work an encyclopedic appearance: e. g., "Laughter," "Labor," "Living," "Opposition," "Physical," "Womanli-

⁵ *A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*. Edited by James Hastings, D.D., with the assistance of John A. Selbie, D.D., and (in the reading of the proofs) of John C. Lambert, D.D. Volume II, Labour-Zion. With Appendix and Indexes. New York: Scribners; Edinburgh: Clark, 1908. xiv + 912 pages. \$6.00 per volume. Sold only by subscription and only in sets.

ness," "Science," "Union," etc. These afford latitude for very useful comment but do not always seem imperatively necessary. An article like that of Professor James Orr on "Redemption" clearly belongs to an encyclopedia of theology, as does also that of Bishop D'Arcy on the "Trinity." To treat "Vicarious Sacrifice" as a separate subject in addition to "Sacrifice," "Ransom," "Propitiation," "Death of Christ," and "Atonement," is to run the risk of over-refinement in classification and of overlapping in treatment. *Ten* columns to "Poet," *one* to "Pre-existence," and four to "Sabbath," seems hardly a fair allotment.

Professor R. A. Falconer contributes a good historical article on the "Lord's Supper" which is questionably supplemented by an ecclesiastical treatment from Rev. Darwell Stone, M.A., whose summary includes the following: "In the reception of the Holy Communion there is a gift of Christ's body and blood to sustain and increase his life in those who receive it. . . . The tradition found in the teaching of the writers of the church corroborates what is thus seen to be taught in the New Testament." Considerable theological dialectic attaches also to the treatment of the "Ubiquity" or "Omnipresence" of Christ, and one feels like suggesting that John 3:13 would tax the writer's ingenuity far less if he were able to admit its editorial origin. The article on the "Originality" of Jesus' teaching, by Rev. G. W. Stewart, is judicial and constructive, and provides an excellent bibliography. An interpretative treatise on "Palestine," by Rev. John Kelman, possesses literary and suggestive merit, but here again the *Dictionary of the Bible* is the standard.

Professor James Denney contributes a conservative and able article on "Preaching Christ" in which the essential elements of the original evangel are clearly set forth and a norm is established for determining what "preaching Christ" must include for the present day. The essential elements in the preaching which may be so denominated are found to be: the resurrection and exaltation whereby the historical and ethical Jesus is identified with the Messiah of perpetual power and glory at the right hand of God—a place that can be filled by no other. The repudiation on our part of the Lord's visible return, which played so important a rôle in apostolic Christianity, permits us still to preach Christ if we hold that "the kingdom of God comes and is consummated through him alone." Furthermore, however artificially represented, Jesus as Judge retains absolute moral value for humanity and determines eternal destinies in the thought of those who truly preach him.

There is an appendix of thirty-seven pages on Christ in the early church, in the Middle Ages, in Reformation theology, in the seventeenth century,

in modern thought, in Jewish literature, and in Mohammedan literature. The dictionary closes with an article on "Paul" by Professor William Sanday. Indices of "Subjects," "Greek Terms," and "Scripture Texts" are appended.

ALLAN HOBEN

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

WERNLE'S INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY

Professor Wernle's recent *Introduction to the Study of Theology*¹ is a masterpiece indeed, remarkable alike for its depth and range of thought, its erudition, its candor, its common-sense, its knowledge of contemporary life and thought, and its courageous discussion of the problems that must be faced and mastered by the modern theologian and the modern pastor. The book is not, the author tells us, a superfluous addition to existing encyclopedias of theology; it is to fill a void that they have failed to fill. Long acquaintance with students of theology has taught him that they wander bewildered through the colossal edifice, because the head of each department lauds it as the only worthy and weighty discipline. But since Jesus and his gospel make the Christian and the theologian, it is necessary to see that there is a path from every point to the central power.

Dr. Wernle, however, has built no easy roads to Jesus, no short cross-roads to the truth in him. On the contrary, he confesses frankly:

I wished to represent to my readers the study of theology as difficult as it appears to me; not indeed by treating the future pastor as a future teacher; not by demanding of each the same interest for every discipline, regardless of his particular aptitudes; not by exciting the fever for devouring books. On the contrary by guiding him to the essentials of theology, at any rate to two of them, the critique of the Bible and the critique of the church. The road to living Christianity, and to a joyful church activity, leads through and not around this criticism.

The work comprises 520 closely printed octavo pages followed by a comprehensive index of names and subjects. Before entering upon the main divisions of historical, systematic, and practical theology, the author discusses the goal of theological study, to wit, truth, piety, service. Each page abounds in wise and fruitful suggestions, but especially those that treat of the relations of theology to piety.

Piety [he tells us] has never lived by the grace of science, neither has it been the exclusive privilege of scholars. To distinguish thus between piety and thought about piety, in other words, between Christian religion and Christian theology

¹ *Einführung in das theologische Studium*. Von D. Paul Wernle. Tübingen: Mohr, 1908. xvi+524 pages. M. 7.

is the only sure way to save the student from unnecessary and futile excitements which tend to sap the foundations of his religious life.

Dr. Wernle condemns alike and unsparingly the historical apologetic that aims merely to rescue the old and the rational apologetic that aims merely to exploit the new. Both are destructive of piety, for neither seeks the truth. But what are the prerequisites and helps to theological inquiry? More of them and more important than many imagine, or than has been hitherto supposed. Linguistic, literary, historical preparation, to be sure; but these are no longer an adequate preparation. A thorough training in the method of natural science, a thorough understanding of terms like law and evolution as these are understood by physicists and biologists, a clear apprehension of the boundaries that divide speculative from demonstrable science, are nowadays indispensable. Nor can one proceed very far without acquaintance with the problems of psychology and philosophy. One need not be a master of science or of metaphysics, but one needs must know enough of both to understand their bearings upon theology.

Dr. Wernle makes historical theology the middle nave of his cathedral seeing that the history of religions in general, the history of Israel in particular, lead directly, as to an altar, to Jesus Christ and his manifestations, not merely to his own but to subsequent epochs. Moreover the author holds (and rightly) that however necessary systematic theology may be, it must respect and defer to reality.

Let the philosopher think as he will about the value and truth of religion, but let him frame his definitions according to the history of religion in the entire range of its phenomena, and not determine the historic development according to his metaphysics.

Considering the large content that Wernle gives to historical theology, the wonder of the reader grows with every page. For topics numerous, important, difficult, requiring for their illumination large and minute learning, are irradiated by a powerful and steady mind. The problems are stated with surprising clearness and often elucidated in brief and heavily freighted paragraphs. Whether the reader ponders the remarkable section upon *Religionsparallele und Religionsmischung* in his treatment of religious history in general, or the literary history of Israel, or the religion and theology of primitive Christianity, he finds everywhere the same sanity, the same candor, the same grasp of essential problems, the same demand for unassailable solutions; everywhere the recognition of outstanding questions and the severest scrutiny of proposed and pretended demonstrations. No less instructive and stimulating are his reflections upon the

history of the church and the history of dogma. The three pages devoted to the present situation flash with suggestions of prime importance.

The topics treated in the second part, or systematic theology, are first its necessity, and secondly the proper articulation of its members, namely, the philosophy of religion, Christian doctrine, dogmatics and apologetics, dogmatics and ethics. "The first and weightiest task of systematic theology is to test the credentials of religion in general, or of the claim to preference of any one religion." The boundary line between systematic and historical theology lies here: history has to do with actual systems, cults, beliefs, behavior; dogmatics with the valuing of these historical beliefs with a view of ascertaining where best man may find the reality of God and his intercourse with the human soul. In discussing the nature of religion Dr. Wernle utters some golden sentences about the psychological study of religious experiences; and also in discussing the truth of religion and of Christianity; but perhaps most searchingly in his treatment of nature and morality beginning on p. 385. He has been profoundly stirred by Tröltzsch to whom he refers more frequently than to any other living writer.

Practical theology for Switzerland and Germany presents, of course, quite other aspects than for us in America. Yet even here Dr. Wernle has much to tell and teach us.

The volume is rich in bibliographical notices which are doubly valuable because woven into the text. Unfortunately they refer with few exceptions to German books only. If the work should be translated additions of English authorities or English versions would increase its usefulness. Though differing from the author in many essential points, I have only unbounded admiration for this mine of wisdom and of knowledge; and for the skill and spirit in which he displays its treasures. The depths that he has explored could be reached only by one determined to discover all the truth of God attainable by unflinching courage and untiring industry, by one endowed with gifts and grace of the finest quality, by a sage and a saint, by a "master of them that know," and a devoted disciple of Jesus, the Messiah.

CHARLES J. LITTLE

GARRETT BIBLICAL INSTITUTE
EVANSTON, ILL.

STUDIES IN HEBREW ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

Professor Kittel, textual critic and historian, has followed the prevailing mode and become archaeologist. A sojourn in Palestine has stimulated that distinguished scholar to several original studies on biblical archaeology; these he has brought together in the present volume, with which at the same time

he introduces to the scholarly world a new series of contributions to biblical science, under his editorship.¹ This first volume has been speedily followed by two others.²

The longest and most important of the studies is dedicated to "The Holy Rock on Moria: Its History and Its Altars." Dr. Kittel is to be congratulated upon choosing a subject which is as interesting as any that can be proposed in Palestinian archaeology, and yet one which has not been thoroughly and scientifically treated. On Moria-Zion lies the most remarkable rock-altar in the Holy Land, withal one of the most classic spots in the history of religions. Yet information concerning it is fairly inaccessible; for instance, in George Adam Smith's monumental *Jerusalem* there is not one direct reference to the Sakhra. In this brochure Kittel has brought together all available material, his own careful notes and measurements as well as those of his predecessors, copies of the few photographs that have been taken, and the data of the Arabic and early Christian writers, so that the reader is put in the position of learning what is known about the rock.

After a description of the Haram, the author gives a careful account of the Sakhra. It is to be noted that any mensuration of the rock, as also the approach to it by unbelievers, is jealously forbidden by the Muslim guards of the mosque. The history of the rock is then taken up. First of all the author works back to the time of Herod. For the pre-Christian era he follows the history from primitive times until he reaches Herod again. The result of his argumentation is that in historic times the rock has remained very much the same, and that its cut edges and hollows must go back to remote antiquity. In these latter sections all the material is carefully sifted which throws light upon the various altars from the time of David down, and the attempt is made to assign their outlines upon the surface of the rock. Kittel plausibly suggests that Arauna, the Jebusite's threshing-floor, was itself a primitive sanctuary; as Hos. 9:1 shows, altar and threshing-floor may be identical terms. Altogether we have here a painstaking and solidly worked-out thesis upon Palestine's most famous holy place.

The remaining essays we must review still more briefly. The second in order treats of the "Primitive Rock-Altar and the Deity." It begins with recalling the angelic manifestations to Gideon and Manoah, when the offerings of these worthies placed upon the sacred rock are struck by

¹ *Studien zur hebräischen Archäologie und Religionsgeschichte.* Von R. Kittel. Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament. Edited by R. Kittel; Heft 1. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908 Pp. xii + 242.

² *Ezechielstudien*, J. Herrmann and *Juden und Samaritaner*, J. Rothstein.

divine fire and consumed; intended as gifts in the primitive sense of sacrifice, they become holocausts by the miracle of deity. Kittel, with fine interpretative skill, finds in this contrast an expression of the peculiar characteristics of the God of the Hebrews and his worship; he is a celestial god, fire is his element, and the fiery consumption of sacrifice is symbolic of his spiritual character; that is, he is different from the spirits of the caves and rocks to which the Canaanites offered their simple gifts. (On p. 119 the author underestimates the survival and extension in the latest ritual of the application of the blood to the altar, as over against the latter's function as the place of burning.) His thesis leads the writer to a general study of the Old Testament passages bearing on sacrificial ritual in early Israel and of the remains of ancient altars in Canaan. He holds that the sacred stone, which once was sufficient for the simple blood-sacrifice, became obsolete with the introduction of whole-burnt sacrifice, and was relegated to the place of a *maṣṣēba*; the proper token of the new religion was the large stone altar. Traces of such a fire altar have been found in the early strata of Megiddo, and the Cretan discoveries reveal constructions which Kittel thinks may have been the direct ancestors of the Canaanite and Israelite fire altars.

Then follows a paper offering an interesting speculation on the Serpent Stone ("Stone of Zohemoth"), I Kings 1:9. This is prefaced by a careful study of the site of the spring, En-Rogel, which Kittel unhesitatingly identifies with the modern Well of Job (this name he takes to be a traditional corruption of "Joab"). His hypothesis lies in the claim of the discovery of the actual Serpent Stone; this he identifies with a rough cube of stone lying near the well, measuring about a meter in each of the three dimensions, which at first sight suggested to him the aspect of a sacrificial stone. The stone is not native to the soil at that point, is too large to have been dropped there accidentally, and hence must have been brought thither with some purpose. Why then should it not be the Serpent Stone? That the object in no way suggests a serpent in its form is no conclusive argument against the suggestion. The hypothesis is not one for which demonstration can be advanced, yet it is a reasonable suggestion which may claim the approval of archaeologists.

The final essay is a fresh treatment of the portable lavers in the Solomonic temple (I Kings 7:27 ff.), over which Stade, Klostermann, Furtwängler, and others have carried on a long-drawn-out discussion. With a special eye to recent discoveries in Crete, Kittel comments afresh upon the biblical passage. We commend his carefully worked-out paper to the reader.

Rothstein³ offers new interpretations of several passages in Haggai, and his suggestions not only are important exegetically, but, if valid, must have considerable effect upon several moot points in the history of the Jews after their return from the Exile. The first section treated is Hag. 2:10-14, with which the usual exegesis does not come out very satisfactorily. It is the strongest possible rebuke of "this people and this folk," all whose actions are put in the category of the unclean. But the people of Haggai's book otherwise bear no such character; they are remiss, faint-hearted, but not outlawed from God and liable to his outraged holiness. Accordingly Rothstein interprets "this people," etc., as referring, not to the true Israel, the Gôla, but to some group of persons, whose exclusion from the community, for fear of inevitable contagion, is the object of the prophetic word. These must be then the Palestinian or half-breed Jews, or Samaritans, however we may call them, in distinction from the Jews of the Gôla, and Rothstein finds the historic scene of the prophet's utterance in Ezra 4:1 ff., where "the adversaries" approach with the request to be permitted to participate in the building of the temple. Such a demand must have produced a crisis in the administration's policy; the prophet's word was given in order to drive it into the rigorous policy of exclusion of all doubtful elements. But this combination requires a redating of Ezra 3:8 ff. and 4:1 ff. These passages, Rothstein argues, cannot refer to the second year of the Return (as 3:8 has it), for Zerubbabel, not Sheshbazzar, is in command, but to the second year of Darius, the date vouched for by Haggai and Zechariah. This correction Rothstein boldly makes, while he further conforms the passage with Hag. 2:15 by reading "the sixth month" for "the second" (3:8). The twenty-fourth day of the ninth month of Darius' second year thus becomes "the birthday" of the Jewish church, the day when it definitively shut itself off from the outer world. The other chief object of exegetical discussion is Hag. 2:15-19, which Rothstein combines with the fragment 1:15, withal eliding the date in 2:18, thus placing the utterance on the day of the cornerstone-laying.

The historical result of Rothstein's exegesis is to illustrate and corroborate the Book of Ezra in regard to its account of the beginning of the rebuilding of the temple. We thus would gain a surer foothold for the view that with the prophetic revival in 520 Judaism advanced to the extreme of repulsion of outside influences, so that Ezra and Nehemiah were work-

³ *Juden und Samaritaner: die grundlegende Scheidung von Judentum und Heidentum. Eine kritische Studie zum Buche Haggai und zur jüdischen Geschichte im ersten nachexilischen Jahrhundert.* Von J. W. Rothstein. (Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament; Heft 3.) Leipzig; Hinrichs, 1908. 82 pages. M. 2.

ing in the spirit of the fathers of the Restoration, and were not creators of a new policy. Certainly the exegesis of Hag. 2:10 ff. gains immensely in clarity at Rothstein's hands, and no better framework can be obtained for it than Ezra 4:1 ff. Rothstein thus totally reverses Kosters' contention that there was no Gôla, for according to him the Gôla celebrated its epoch-making triumph in 520 B.C.

J. A. MONTGOMERY

DIVINITY SCHOOL
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Dr. Astley's Donellan Lectures⁴ embrace six topics, three of which are concerned with "Genesis and Science," the others covering "The Origin and Development of Religious Belief," "The Religion of Old Israel," and "Anthropology and the Christian Revelation." There are also four appendices, and a bibliography admirably arranged according to the subjects of the chapters of the books. There is also a fairly adequate index.

The standpoint of the writer is that of the scientist. He views the scientific position, not merely sympathetically from the outside, but advisedly from the inside. He does not assume certain theological dogmas as axioms and then accept as much of modern science as he consistently can. On the contrary, he accepts every well-established scientific fact, and then puts upon theology the burden of adaptation. In this position he is supported by the course of the history of thought. New scientific discoveries have usually first been vigorously assailed and finally accepted. This book is a hopeful sign of an era, already to a large extent present, in which all theories shall be required to take cognizance of the facts.

How truly the author "hews to the line" may best be shown by a quotation, and the passage is worthy of citation because of its excellence:

If a miracle is the arbitrary intervention in the affairs of the universe of a Deity who stands outside of it, and causes some act to be performed contrary to its laws merely in the way of portent or prodigy, then no one today outside the ranks of the uneducated and the ignorant believes in such a Deity, or in such actions on his part. But if the miracle is the calling into action of some higher law, previously unknown to experience, on the part of the Deity who is immanent in, and the informing intelligence of, the universe he has made, then no educated person will today deny the possibility of such action on the part of such a Deity for a worthy object (pp. 288 f.).

The book is clearly written and so readily intelligible. In his thinking,

⁴ *Prehistoric Archaeology and the Old Testament*. The Donellan Lectures, University of Dublin 1906-7. By H. J. Dukinfield Astley, M.A., Litt.D. Edinburgh: Clark, 1908. Imported by Scribner. x+314 pages. \$2.00 net.

the author never veers from a true Christian course, and he shows a first-hand knowledge of many profound scientific problems. The volume will be especially valuable for those—if there are still any such—who are apprehensive of science as an enemy to Christianity.

L. W. BATTEN

ST. MARK'S CHURCH
NEW YORK CITY

PATON'S COMMENTARY ON ESTHER

This recent volume of the invaluable *International Critical Commentary*¹ gives us the best commentary on Esther extant and is worthy to stand in the series of which it is a part. It is a careful and scholarly piece of work and will enhance its author's already good reputation. Professor Paton has included in his commentary the Aramaic and Greek additions to Esther, treating them not as a part of the book, but as early comments upon it, so that in range the commentary is the most complete, we believe, that has been published. The Hebrew text is regarded by our author as a unit with the exception of 9:20—10:3, which is believed to be an excerpt from an earlier chronicle. This excerpt was made by the author of Esther himself, who wrote his book to give an account of the origin of the feast of Purim which is stated in these verses. The composition of Esther is for good reasons placed after 135 B. C. The author is thought to be a Jew of the Dispersion living in Persia. A few of the statements of the book are confirmed by historical evidence, but it also contains many statements which are contradicted by the Greek historians, many of which are inconsistent with others in Esther itself, and many improbable. Professor Paton concludes that the book is not historical, and that it is doubtful if even a historical kernel underlies its narrative.

After reviewing the various theories of the origin of the feast of Purim which have been put forth, Paton concluded that it is probable that the feast was borrowed from Babylonia either directly or by way of Persia, though the precise Babylonian feast from which it is derived has not yet been determined.

The text of the narrative of Esther presents fewer difficult problems to the exegete than that of many books of the Old Testament, and its higher criticism is comparatively simple; Professor Paton has, accordingly, presented the textual criticism with a fulness without parallel in the volumes

¹ *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Esther*. By Lewis Bayles Paton, Ph.D., D.D. "The International Critical Commentary Series." New York: Scribners, 1908. xvii + 339 pages. \$2.25.

of the series. It is interesting on this point to compare the Old Testament volumes of the series which have appeared. Gray in *Numbers* devotes three pages to textual criticism; Driver in *Deuteronomy*, none; Moore in *Judges*, five; H. P. Smith in the *Books of Samuel*, five; Harper in *Amos and Hosea*, seven; Briggs in the *Psalms*, thirty-two, several pages of which are devoted to the poetical form of the Psalter; Toy in *Proverbs*, three; Barton in *Ecclesiastes*, eleven; while Paton in *Esther* devotes forty-two pages to the textual criticism. In favor of this extensive treatment of the sources of the text of Esther is the fact that it has been one of the most popular of the Old Testament books among the Jews, and MSS of it have multiplied without number. In spite of this, however, the space devoted to the subject seems out of proportion.

Under "Interpretation" Professor Paton has given a very full list of the commentaries, both Jewish and Christian, which have appeared upon Esther. Here, too, however, historical material, which one would expect to find in a history of Jewish literature, but which one does not look for in a commentary, is introduced. This together with the full treatment of the textual material expands the "Introduction" to 118 pages, while the "Commentary" occupies but 188 pages. It is possibly well, in spite of this disproportion, for a scholarly pastor to have this material within his reach here; otherwise he might not have it at all.

Full as Professor Paton's text-critical notes are, they would have been of greater use to larger numbers of those who ought to use his commentary, if, instead of frequently giving the readings of the various versions in all the different languages, he had always given the Hebrew readings supported by the various versions with a list of the versions supporting each. It was quite fitting for him in his excellent "Text-Critical Apparatus to the Book of Esther" in the Harper Memorial volumes to give the readings of the versions as they stand, but many pastors who gather benefit from textual notes in which the Hebrew readings and versions supporting them are given, have neither the time nor the skill to translate back into Hebrew from the different languages.

These are, however, minor matters. The commentary places within the reach of every English reader a sane, competent, and scholarly guide to the best that is known concerning the book of which it treats, and ought to find a place in the library of every student of the Bible.

GEORGE A. BARTON

BRYN MAWR, PA.

THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

Professor Vedder's book on the New Testament canon¹ represents an attempt to sketch the whole matter of the origin and rise of the New Testament as a body of scripture. The first question here would seem to be, How came there to be a New Testament canon of scripture at all? In answering it, Professor Vedder throws much emphasis upon the apostles and their testimony; the Christian prophets and the gifts of the spirit, in which the early Christians so fully believed, seem to him to have little value for the problem. And yet others have found in them the key to the whole movement. Like Westcott and Gregory, Dr. Vedder finds the collection of New Testament scriptures forming everywhere spontaneously and simultaneously in the second century, in Africa, Alexandria, Syria—the East and the West. That a New Testament canon in any sense first emanated from Rome, he stoutly denies. Here is indeed a great problem, and it is cause for regret that Dr. Vedder has not handled it more judicially. He denies the Roman origin of the Muratorian canon, claims Clement of Alexandria as a voucher for his "provisional" canon, and quietly assumes the second-century origin of the Peshitto. This last, in a writer so rigorous in demanding the most positive proof from his opponents, is unfortunate, to say the least, since Burkitt has pretty conclusively shown that the Peshitto belongs early in the fifth century, not the second. The first and second points are hardly stronger; the Muratorian is almost certainly of Roman origin, and Clement of Alexandria on Dr. Vedder's own showing was really no canonist at all, in the exclusive sense. In short, Dr. Vedder's reconstruction collapses. The followers of Bishop Westcott must look further and deeper, if they are to overthrow the historical findings of Professor Harnack. We cannot agree with Dr. Vedder in his argument against the ordinary use of Greek in the second century in the Roman church; here he has not done the evidence justice; and indeed not a few of his minor contentions are open to serious objection. It is not easy to resist the feeling that in some of these the author is somewhat lacking in candor, and his undue severity in condemning men such as Harnack, with whom he disagrees, and for whose reasoning, we are told, puerile is too good a word (p. 163), must react upon himself. Some good and suggestive things are said in this book, it is true, but it fails to perform the task it undertakes. In his search for the beginnings, Dr. Vedder has not gone far enough or deep enough; in his weighing of evidence he betrays unmistakable bias, and in detailed statements he is often inaccurate. His contempt for the lost litera-

¹ *Our New Testament. How Did We Get It?* By Henry C. Vedder. Philadelphia: Griffith and Rowland Press, 1908. x + 388 pages. \$1.00.

ture of the second century sits ill on a historian (p. 59). To connect the *Didache* with the year 100 and *Diognetus* with 130 is astonishing. With regard to Marcion's relation to the canon Dr. Vedder misapprehends the bearing of the facts. Marcion's attempt was not to substitute his New Testament for the one current among the churches, but to substitute a New Testament for the Old. Schlecht's discovery of the original form of the *Didache* seems to have escaped Dr. Vedder (p. 225), or he would know that in its earlier form it lacks just those echoes of the Sermon on the Mount to which he appeals. The allusions to a letter of Ignatius to the Philippians (p. 65) and to Gregory of "Nazianzen" (p. 374) are inaccuracies. On the whole, the study of the rise of the canon requires deeper insight, keener discrimination, and a more candid and generous temper.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE APOLOGETIC OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

How far back in the history of the church ought one to date the beginning of the Age of the Apologists? In the judgment of Mr. Scott¹ the fashioning of an apologetic commenced immediately after the death of Jesus, and the earliest extant apologetic literature is found in the books of the New Testament. Indeed, it was primarily as such that these books were produced. And this is true even of the Synoptic Gospels; they are not mainly biographical, but represent the effort to establish conviction as to the messiahship of Jesus through the choice of incidents in his career that favor such a conclusion about him. This conception of the central aim of the New Testament books is not entirely new; but never before has it been wrought out with the fulness and supported with the clearness that characterize these lectures given at Glasgow University under the Alexander Robertson Trust.

The literature of the New Testament makes manifest its apologetic aim under several forms, namely: (1) where it is seen to be directed against Judaism; (2) in its support of Christianity in opposition to the prevalent heathenism; (3) by its attacks upon the encroachments of Gnosticism, and (4) in its endeavor to exhibit Christianity as the absolute religion. By the recognition of the apologetic character of much that is found in the New Testament, one will be brought to a juster judgment as to the right interpretation and the wise use of this material today. It will be regarded less as a final statement of Christian truth, more as an exhibit of the

¹ *The Apologetic of the New Testament*. (Crown Theological Library.) By E. F. Scott. New York: Putnam, 1907. vii + 258 pages.

endeavor to meet successively the problems presented to the expanding church by its contact with the modes of thought in the midst of which it was working. Beneath the varying apologetic may be found always the eternally valid truth on which it is based.

But a study of the apologetic of the New Testament will do more than enable one to distinguish between the passing form of statement and the ultimate reality. It will indicate clearly the most effective forms of an apologetic for today. This is true because those points of view which formed the basis of conflict between Christianity on the one hand, and Judaism, heathenism, and Gnosticism on the other, are frequently recurrent in the history of human thought. The conflicts between legalism and liberty, between materialism and the recognition of the spiritual, between religion in its simplicity and religion as an attempted philosophy—these are those that brought forth the New Testament apologetic, and they are always present. Much is to be learned from the New Testament, therefore, that will prove profitable for use in all time, as to a sound apologetic method. And for this reason the closest study of the New Testament method is advisable.

Ultimately it will be seen that these first apologists commended their message to the world of their time by expressing it in the highest categories of contemporary thought. What we need today, Mr. Scott urges, is a closer alliance between Christianity and the actual mind of the age; our religion has too long identified itself with antique modes of thinking.

HENRY BURTON SHARMAN

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE MYSTICISM OF PAUL

Dr. Campbell fears that our age is losing sight of the fact that the essence of our Christian religious experience is mystical and he desires through an exposition of the mysticism of Paul¹ to bring a message to the church of today. As a religious mystic, he tells us, Paul possessed a perception of God as a living personal Father, as a transcendent and immanent Deity, and held direct communion with him. As a Christian mystic, his communion with God is in Christ, and had its beginning in a vision which was an inner revelation of an objective reality. As an evangelical mystic the apostle expressed this union in the figure of a crucifixion, death, burial, resurrection, and ascension with Christ; while as a rational mystic he grounds his belief upon the testimony of his own consciousness, tests his

¹ *Paul the Mystic: A Study in Apostolic Experience.* By James M. Campbell. New York: Putnam, 1908. 285 pages. \$1.50.

subjective experience by objective revelation, and submits revelation to the judgment of reason. As a practical mystic he united the passive and active elements in his life, and maintained unbroken the sense of the continuity of his own personality, developing a healthy, robust, virile manhood through self-expression and not self-repression. He nourished his mystic life by prayer, silence, and meditation, by self-surrender to, dependence upon, appropriation of, and co-operation with, the divine.

Paul declares to the church of today that the formative thing in Christian experience is personal contact of man with the living Redeemer; that not outward form but inward spirit is the essential thing in religion; that the source of authority in religion is not in external things but in the things of the Spirit; that the religion of the Spirit ought to be characterized by the fire of a holy passion, and provide a center of rest in the midst of the world's turmoil and strife; that the living God is the ultimate of human thought and the union and communion with him the ultimate of human experience.

Dr. Campbell has brought to his discussion a fine religious appreciation and insight and a knowledge of contemporary religious literature. He has thus produced a readable, devotional, and thoughtful book and one especially useful for the popular and general reader. But the special student of Paulinism will not feel that he has in this volume any distinctive contribution to the interpretation of the apostle. The book lacks the historical method and spirit; it is an interpretation of Paul in the forms of present-day thought before he has been really appreciated in the forms and categories of his own thinking. Dr. Campbell presents nothing naïve nor antiquated but makes Paul so modern, so logical, so consistent that one loses, at times, the vigor and originality of the Apostle to the Gentiles. The author fears the church has lost much in dropping into the background Paul's faith in the angels, but if Paul really believed in a transcendent and immanent God it is difficult to understand why angels were so essential to his own faith. When the Christian has the immediate fellowship of God he asks not after angels and demons. God is himself the object of Christian faith.

The work lacks, also, psychological insight and method. Paul's mysticism is pre-eminently a historical, psychological, religious problem. We want to know how far the form of Paul's religious experience was the result of the historical conditions and views of his age? In how far are we to find its explanation in the nature of his own psychic life? Dr. Campbell thinks that the theologian is interested in the contents, but not in the psychology of his religious experience. But is it possible for him to appreciate the content without an understanding of its psychology? This con-

tent is a process or state of experience and a psychological explanation is essential for its valuation. To put the question otherwise, we may ask: In what degree was Paul's experience conditioned by the peculiarity of his own psychic nature, by the fact that he was a religious genius? or in how far was his experience abnormal? And what content can we take from his experience and apply to our own lives as an element of control and as fitted for our own religious development? The theologian should not put us on the wrong track, he should not lead us to strive after the unrealizable. Just what does the writer mean by mysticism? When religion is apprehended and tested by reason, and mysticism means that the reality of religion is given in immediate experience, we are led to ask where there is any reality that does not finally come home to us in the form of an immediate or feeling experience. And when we are told that religious experience comes through the subliminal self then we need to know the relation of this subliminal to the ordinary self. Is it just the character of this mysterious self that its reality does not come through the perceptive and rational processes that characterize ordinary consciousness? There is still opportunity for extended historical and psychological study of the mysticism of Paul.

W. C. KEIRSTEAD

UNIVERSITY OF NEW BRUNSWICK
FREDERICTON, N. B.

TWO STUDIES OF THE APOCALYPSE

Wellhausen recently undertook the task of tracing the origin of and interpreting the "pictures" of the Revelation of John. While the analysis¹ is concerned with the main features of the Apocalypse, the more formidable problems of the older exegesis invited special attention. The method employed is a process of decomposition. The conclusion reached is that a John, not the apostle, in the time of Domitian or later compiled the present Apocalypse on the basis of Zealotic, Pharisaic, and Old Testament sources. These were modified and assimilated not only by adding suitable introductions, conclusions, and numerous interpolations but also by an exceedingly subtle retouchment. An editor, who introduced minor changes into the body of the text, prefixed 1:1-3, and appended 22:18, 19, is responsible for the present form of the Apocalypse. Only 11:1, 2, and 12:1-17, date from the last months of the Jewish conflict with the Roman Empire, since the sources as a rule imply the destruction of Jerusalem.

¹ *Analyse der Offenbarung Johannis*. Von J. Wellhausen. Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Berlin: Weidmann, 1908. 34 pages. M. 2.

The arguments advanced for assigning particular fragments of verses to a source, the compiler, or the editor, are often fantastic rather than convincing. Indeed, Wellhausen himself occasionally despairs of deciding with certainty when "John" rested and the assumed editor improved. More than once the high-power microscope has discovered a fivefold partition in a single verse, e. g., 17:7e and 20:4b¹. Two interpretations of the messianic remnant are offered in 11:1, 2, and 12:1-17; the former originating among the Zealots, the latter among the Pharisees. Numerous interpolations cut the Gordian Knot of Revelation, chap. 13. What remains of the beast denotes the Roman Empire, while the narrative describes the flight of the Jews after the destruction of the temple. The beast of 17:3b-10 is the Roman Empire; the seven heads represent seven emperors, of whom the sixth is Vespasian and the seventh Titus. "The beast of 17:11-17 is the eighth head of the beast, namely *Nero redivivus*. But the last word regarding this fourfold puzzle has by no means been said.

Some twelve years ago Bruston published a brochure on Daniel and the Revelation of John. But slight attention was first paid to it here or in Germany. The recent edition of these *Etudes*² is neither new nor complete. To say nothing of a revision, it is not even a reprint. A few further conclusions have merely been appended to the former deliverance. The notation of the table of contents does not correspond with that of the text. There are needless repetitions and an incoherent arrangement of topics, because the added material has not been incorporated into the earlier discussion.

An attempt is made to classify the assumed strata of the present Apocalypse. The first layer was deposited by John the apostle in Hebrew and prior to the death of Nero. It contained a narrative of the approaching victory of Jesus over the Roman Empire and paganism. It embraced 10:1, 2, 8-11; 11:1-13, 19a; chaps. 12-14 (omit 14:23); 15:2-4; 16:13-16, 19b; 17-19:3; 19:11—chap. 20. Subsequently to the death of John the apostle, one of his disciples added most of the first nine chapters. Thereupon, an editor inserted the narrative of the seven plagues and the description of the new Jerusalem, adorned the completed volume with a title (1:1-3), and sent it forth to have its authority questioned and its contents misunderstood.

CONRAD HENRY MOEHLMANN

CHICAGO

² *Etudes sur Daniel et l'apocalypse*. Par Charles Bruston. Paris: Fishbacher, 1908. 87 pages.

CRITICAL STUDIES OF PATRISTIC TEXTS

Beeson's addition to the Prussian Academy's series of Greek Christian writers is worthy of its sponsor.¹ It is, to be sure, not in Greek though it contains such fragments of the Greek as are preserved in other writings. As in the case of many other writings one is too thankful that it is preserved in any form to complain that it exists only in translation. In the case of this primary source for the history of Manichaeism we have double ground for gratitude in this edition, in that the version, hitherto incomplete, is, thanks to a discovery by Traube and the use of this by Beeson, now at our disposition in complete and carefully edited form. The well-edited text and its various readings fill one hundred pages, and introduction and indices nearly as many more. The indices are useful and adequate, and are four in number—to Bible references, names, Greek words, and Latin words. The introduction gives literary references to the *Acta*, discusses the author and language of the original, the Latin translation, the manuscripts, and their relationships, the transmission, and the editions.

The editor concludes that the original was doubtless by Hegemonius and in Greek. He considers that there is little ground for thinking that Jerome was right in supposing a Syriac original, although Hegemonius doubtless used older sources. Whether the work was written in Egypt, Syria, or Asia Minor, and whether in the first or second quarter of the fourth century, is still unsettled. The Latin translation was made about the year 400 in Rome. The half-dozen manuscripts, of which only the twelfth-century manuscript of Traube is complete and the Monte Cassino manuscript of about the same period even approximately complete, are treated with great fulness of paleographic detail. The relation of the manuscripts is treated with equal detail and wealth of various readings. The editor has an admirable foundation for his evidences of relationship in the considerable Greek fragments from Epiphanius.

This work by an American editor exhibits all the characteristic excellences of German scholarship and a few of its faults, as well as one variation significant of a hope that American scholarship may survive in the worldwide struggle for existence among types of scholarship. It has the painstaking accuracy in detail, the piling of proof on proof, the refined method of displaying the textual evidence in the footnotes and, characteristic of the

¹ *Hegemonius Acta Archelai*. Herausgegeben in Auflage der Kirchenvater-Commission der königl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Von Charles Henry Beeson. (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte. Bd. 16.) Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906. lvi + 133 pages.

very latest phase, a shyness and apologetic attitude in the use of graphic representations for fear of seeming to claim too great conclusiveness.

It may be that the method verges a little at times on fault in piling up proofs in the matter of various readings, where a few well-chosen ones would be quite as well adapted artistically to produce conviction. The same thing may be said of the full paleographic detail as to manuscripts which is above the strictly proportionate need for an edition and thus artistically superfluous. Such products of American scholarship as this work are not so wholly exceptional as they were twenty years ago, but those of this quality are still very rare.

Anything by Dombart on St. Augustine² one might expect to have value and interest; and this little tract on a very special subdivision of the text-history of the *De Civitate Dei* does not disappoint expectation as to its value, within its limitations, while to its limited but real interest in itself is added the very human fact that the distinguished author devoted his last energies to this work and died while the book was in press. The work is simply a discussion of the earliest printed editions but the discussion is conducted by very thorough comparison of the editions with one another on the basis of their variations from one another and from the manuscripts, and the conclusions reached are convincing. Dombart discusses chiefly the Sweynheim-Pannartz editions of Subiaco, 1467, Rome, 1468 and 1470, the Vindelinius editions of Venice, 1470, 1475, 1486, the Schöffer edition, Mainz, 1473, and the Mentelin edition, Strassburg, 1468.

He shows that the Sweynheim-Pannartz editions and the Mentelin edition are quite independent of one another, that the Vendelinus Venice editions are taken directly from the Sweynheim-Pannartz, that the Schöffer (Mainz, 1473) is chiefly from Mentelin's but partly also from the Sweynheim-Pannartz. The Wenssler edition (Basel, 1479) is copied directly from the Schöffer edition, 1473, and Amerbach's editions of 1489 and 1490 are a mixture of the *princeps* and Schöffer.

He further finds that the Sweynheim-Pannartz editions are taken from the Padua manuscript No. 1490, once owned by Petrarch, and that the Mentelin (Strassburg, 1468) edition is from an older manuscript, of the same group, as it happens, though not even this is one of the oldest or best. Incidentally the study confirms the result of Proctor and others placing the Mentelin edition before that of Schöffer and carrying it back so far as almost to dispute the claim of the Subiaco edition to being the *princeps*.

² Zur textgeschichte der "Civitas Dei" Augustins seit dem Entsteher der ersten Druche. Von Bernh. Dombart. (Texte u. Untersuchungen, XXXII, 2a.) Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908. 56 pages. M. 2.

Dombart concludes that in spite of the definite progress made on the text during the past centuries there is still plenty of work to be done especially in the matter of the order of the words and orthography.

ERNEST CUSHING RICHARDSON

PRINCETON, N. J.

The fourth volume of the Prussian Academy's *Eusebius* contains the works *Against Marcellus* and *On Ecclesiastical Theology*.³ For the authenticity of these as genuine works of Eusebius of Caesarea, Klostermann briefly contends, against the views of Conybeare. The seven manuscripts are reducible to one, the Venice Codex Marcianus 496, of the tenth century, from which all the others are derived. The text was first published by Richard Montagu, in 1628, unfortunately from one of the later manuscripts. Gaisford's edition of 1852, on the other hand, was almost wholly based on the Venice manuscript. Nolte published the text in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. XXIV, in 1857, but made no use of that most important manuscript. Klostermann bases his text on the Venice manuscript which he has himself examined. His apparatus of variant readings is naturally very limited. The Greek text of the two books *Against Marcellus* is followed by that of the three books *On Ecclesiastical Theology*, and this in turn by a collection of the fragments of the writings of Marcellus, gleaned from the books *Against Marcellus* and to a limited extent from the pages of Epiphanius. A full set of indices completes the work, which bids fair to stand as the definitive edition of these two minor works of Eusebius.

Armenian Bibles of the twelfth and earlier centuries are without the Revelation of John, which about 1198 A. D. found its way into the Armenian New Testament through the agency of Nerses, bishop of Tarsus. His recension was based upon an earlier Armenian version of the Apocalypse, which he corrected with the aid of a Greek text. This earlier version⁴ is here printed by Mr. Conybeare, who bases his edition chiefly upon a Bodleian manuscript of the fourteenth century. The translation of this text is accompanied by select variants, given in English, for the lay reader. After a detailed discussion of the evidence, the editor concludes that the

³ *Eusebius*. Vierter Bd. (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte.) Herausgegeben von Erich Klostermann. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906. xxx+256 pages. M. 9.

⁴ *The Armenian Version of Revelation and Cyril of Alexandria's Scholia on the Incarnation and Epistle on Easter*. Edited by Fred C. Conybeare, from the oldest manuscripts and English ed. London: The Text and Translation Society, 1907. 220+189 pages. 21s.

version was made early in the fifth, or even in the fourth, century, probably from an Old Latin copy. The Scholia of Cyril of Alexandria on the Incarnation are also included in this volume, in Armenian (once before published, 1711) with an English translation.

The lack of both index and table of contents greatly impairs the usefulness of this book, and subjects all who use it to no little annoyance, especially by reason of the intricate arrangement of its varied contents.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE TEACHING OF NESTORIUS IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT RESEARCH

That Nestorius was condemned for political and personal reasons and not on account of his heretical opinions has for some time been the judgment of church historians. This conclusion, based upon the results of the study of the uncritical and inadequate collections of his literary remains is placed beyond question by the work of the two men whose books are the subject of this review. While making a fresh study of Nestorius for the fourth edition of his well-known *Dogmengeschichte*, Professor Loofs was impressed with the great need of a critical edition of the writings of Nestorius that have come down to us. In his *Nestoriana*¹ he offers us a first attempt from the point of view of modern scholarship at a critical reconstruction of the text, the work of Garnier in the seventeenth century in no sense satisfying the conditions of a modern edition of the text. Those at all familiar with the cautious and exacting scholarship of Professor Loofs will not be deceived by the modesty of the man in offering this work as tentative, and inviting the criticism and co-operation of scholars in this field to carry it on to a more satisfactory text, but will accept and use the work with the greatest confidence.

Aside from the Syriac version of the *Bazaar of Heracleides* which came to light too recently to be used by Loofs, although he is acquainted with its general contents, no single sermon, letter, or treatise of Nestorius has come down to us except in the form of quotations in the writings of his opponents or under the protection of some more orthodox writer. Loofs himself has been fortunate enough to discover a sermon of Nestorius, the only one preserved intact, in a volume of sermons of St. Chrysostom. Hai-

¹ *Nestoriana*—Die Fragmente des Nestorius gesammelt, untersucht und herausgegeben von Dr. Friedrich Loofs, mit Beiträgen von Stanley A. Cook, M.A., und Dr. Georg Kampffmeyer. Halle: Niemeyer, 1905. 407 pages. M. 15.

dacher, the Roman Catholic scholar, came to this same result independently of Loofs in 1905.

The second work² is not without its ecclesiastical interest, the promotion of closer relations, and even intercommunion, between the Church of England and the so-called "Nestorian" church. While this does not in the least diminish the scholarly merits of the book, we can see that it is with unconcealed pleasure that the writer reaches the conclusion that "Nestorius was not 'Nestorian.'" It is to Loofs that he owes his inspiration in the investigation. The *Nestoriana* led him to a careful examination of Nestorius' literary remains, and called his attention to the existence of the *Bazaar of Heraclides*. Having procured a copy of a translation of this work, he found the results of his own previous studies confirmed. It is an apology from the hand of Nestorius written just before his death and giving the history of the controversy down to the Council of Chalcedon. Nothing could be more graphic than the account which he gives of the Council of Ephesus and of the whole controversy. Cyril, he declares, was "accuser and emperor and judge."

And so I was summoned by Cyril, who assembled the synod, and by Cyril, who was its head. Who is judge? Cyril. And who the accuser? Cyril. Who the bishop of Rome? Cyril. Cyril was everything.

Misrepresented, misunderstood, his sayings garbled by Cyril, he was condemned and expelled from his office. He did not hold the belief commonly attributed to him that in Jesus Christ two persons, the person of a God and the person of a man, were mechanically joined together, so that there were really two Sons and two Christs. He says that if he held the views attributed to him he would condemn himself; he declares repeatedly that Leo and Flavian and he held the very same opinion; and he welcomed the proceedings of the Council of Chalcedon as a final triumph for the faith for which he had contended. The conclusion to which Bethune-Baker comes is

that the ideas, for which Nestorius in common with the whole school of Antioch contended, really won the day, as regards the doctrinal definitions of the church; though Nestorius himself was sacrificed to "save the face" of the Alexandrines. . . . The views against which Nestorius protested would have robbed us altogether of the historical Christ of the Gospels. . . . The possibility of an ethical valuation of his human life and experiences was in a large measure saved by the stand the Nestorians made; for the church of the West, though all its doctrinal

² *Nestorius and His Teaching*, a fresh examination of the evidence by J. F. Bethune-Baker, B.D., with special reference to the newly recovered Apology of Nestorius (*The Bazaar of Heraclides*). Cambridge; University Press, 1908. 232 pages. 4s. 6d.

traditions linked it to them, was, as we have seen, by a strange political accident, arrayed for the moment against them. That the Son of God should continue to be the Lord of human life we owe to Nestorius.

HARRY L. TAYLOR

BOSTON

GRÜTZMACHER'S LIFE OF JEROME

After six years of investigation, Grützmacher has completed a biography of Jerome that promises to remain a standard of reference for decades. The only noteworthy change in method adopted in the concluding volume is a more extensive use of recent literature.¹ The year A. D. 400 is assigned as the cut for the third volume. The material is grouped under two headings, the Origenistic controversy and thence to A. D. 420, the year of Jerome's decease.

There is an incisive and surprisingly impartial analysis of the various phases of the movement that necessarily terminated in the condemnation of Origen. Jerome came to regard himself as a pioneer of orthodoxy. His ardent admiration of Origen as exegete and theologian degenerated into a cruel exultation in being able to aid in nailing the main father of his former and subsequent exegetical work to the cross of heresy. The condemnation of Origen and the bitter quarrel with Rufinus did not end Jerome's torture. Augustine, Vigilantius, and Pelagius were yet to be encountered, and amid all the enmity Jerome's colorlessness as a theologian is ever conspicuous.

During the last two decades of his life, Jerome's exegetical interest centered in the Psalms and the prophets. He continued to draw upon Origen for allegorical interpretation and upon Hebrew scholars for historical exegesis. His work on the Psalms is meager and superficial. The commentary on the minor prophets is little more than a compilation. No attempt is made to account for the Aramaic portion of Daniel. A pre-exilic Isaiah is the author of the entire book that bears his name, not even excepting chaps. 36-39. One of Jerome's best exegetical deliverances is his commentary on Ezekiel. In his Jeremiah, Jerome approaches most nearly to a historical interpretation, but mars his work by venomous ridicule of Origen.

A few criticisms need to be made. The year A. D. 400 is an unfortunate choice for the cut of the third volume. The year of the publication of *De viris illustribus*, A. D. 392, is one of the few fixed dates in the life of Jerome

¹ *Hieronymus: Eine biographische Studie zur alten Kirchengeschichte*. Von Georg Grützmacher. I, Leipzig, 1901, viii + 298 pages; II, Berlin, 1906, viii + 270 pages; III, Berlin, Trowitzsch, 1908, viii + 293 pages. M. 20. For a review of the two previous volumes, see this *Journal*, April, 1907.

and should have furnished a more convenient and logical division. This would have avoided contradictions. The commentary on Matthew was not written prior to the beginning of the Origenistic controversy and yet it is discussed in the second volume instead of the third. Although Vol. III is said to begin with the year A. D. 400, the major portion of the long first chapter deals with events prior to that year. If such incomplete references as those on p. 45 should not be objected to, it is a serious defect that the magnificent triple-index is incomplete. The most important pages for reference are I:99-102, yet we look well-nigh in vain for any reference to them in the index. The main discussion of the Matthew commentary is in volume I:244 ff., but the index fails to mention it. The narrative of the death of Jerome is appended without warning to a very brief discussion of the Pelagian controversy. The decease of the illustrious translator merited at least a separate section.

CONRAD HENRY MOEHLMANN

CHICAGO

AN IMPORTANT EDITION OF SCHWENCKFELD'S WORKS

The series of which this¹ is the first volume fills a place; it will do for Schwenckfeld what the Weimar edition is doing for Luther, and the "Corpus Reformatorum" for Melancthon and Calvin. One cannot but admire the zeal of the handful of followers of Schwenckfeld in undertaking so monumental a work. They propose to publish the complete works of Schwenckfeld, and to supplement them by a history of the Middle Way. The idea was conceived over a score of years ago, and from the beginning the editor-in-chief, Dr. Hartranft, has been identified with the project. This first volume indicates the amount of work that has been done, and is an earnest of the usefulness of the whole series.

The volume consists of an "Advertisement," which relates the history of "Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum," an introduction, and the body of the work. The introduction gives a brief account of the life of Schwenckfeld, and devotes a considerable number of pages to his fundamental tenets. This introduction is marred by two very serious faults: its diction and its bias. "Markgraf" and "Herzog" are used instead of their English equivalents. They have, however, the virtue of belonging to some language

¹ *A Study of the Earliest Letters of Caspar Schwenckfeld von Ossig*. Editor, Chester David Hartranft, Hartford Theological Seminary; associate editors, Otto Bernhard Schlutter, Elmer Ellsworth Schultz Johnson, Hartford Theological Seminary. "Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum." Published under the auspices of the Schwenckfelder Church, Pennsylvania, and the Hartford Theological Seminary, Connecticut. Vol. I. Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1907. viii+lxxi+661 pages. \$7.00.

which is more than can be said of such words as "ethicality," "lingo," "stillstand." Expressions like "ground principle," "caught on," "futuristic vista," and "they never downed him" are of questionable taste; but where is the dignity in phrases like these: "the inherent cussedness of man," "the cocky airs of the Lutheran and Reformed preachers," and "priestly bib and tucker"? Pomposity and obscurity of style are much in evidence. The reviewer is well aware of the danger of injustice in extracting sentences from their setting, and yet he finds that the quotation below so well illustrates the objections above made, that he thinks he may, with no injustice, venture to quote. Of authors who infuse themselves into their productions, and thus give life to the language they use, we read,

They inoculate it with the preludes of futurity and immortality over against the damaging and decadent gloom of the auto-creators. Their generous, expansive meliorism dispels the disheartening shades which gather about the philosophers and enthusiasts of evil, whether nihilistic or atomistic or monistic or advocative of an overtone selfishness. It is like the conflict between the divine theology of Antigone and the Philistine dogmatics of Creon (p. xlvii).

In view of the fact that the first of Schwenckfeld's fundamental tenets given is individualism—man "is forced to make his own experience" (p. xvii)—it seems a pity that his editors should be so intolerant of the experiences of those who do not believe with Schwenckfeld. Luther and Calvin are pronounced "bigoted theologians" (p. xxii); their spiritual descendants seem to be meant by . . . "the half-awake dogmatists and historians who still slumber in the ecclesiastical roosts of centuries, and are unable to get off their feudal perches and away from their sacred flummery" (p. xxi). They realize that they may be charged with attacking other faiths and that this is not compatible with the scientific method, and, therefore, they justify themselves: "Surely it is scientific to speak the truth as one sees it . . . " (p. lvii). Is it indeed?

The quality of the body of the work is far above what the introduction leads one to expect. There is evidence of a wide and thorough knowledge of the period under consideration. The plan pursued is to have each document preceded by a bibliographical introduction, and followed by a translation, three excursions upon its language, its theology, and the history contained in it; and finally a glossary. This scheme has resulted in about ten pages of explanatory matter for every one of text, and in endless repetition. This repetition the editors are aware of, and they permit it because "it is only by continuous reaffirmation that one can get a hearing under the stolid system of orthodoxy which has shaped historic judgment and style" (p. lvi). A thorough index is absolutely necessary to make this mass of

material useful for purposes of reference; no doubt such an index will complete the series.

Regardless of the merits or demerits of the excursions of the editors, this work has grèat value; for it gives the texts of Schwenckfeld's works, and in so far is a source-book. These texts are reproductions of the originals as far as this is possible in printing, and are on the whole satisfactorily edited. They give the work its value for scholars and make it a real contribution to the literature of the Reformation.

EDWARD B. KREHBIEL

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PRIMITIVE LUTHERAN ETHICAL THEORY

It may be premature to say that we are about to witness in the near future a revival of interest in the ethical side of the Reformation of the sixteenth century. If, however, the two treatises which have just been issued by the firm of Trowitzsch & Sohn, in Berlin, betoken anything, they certainly show such a turn of specialistic historical investigation, at least on the part of young and aggressive scholars. The first of these¹ takes up what in the order of development historically came later, and aims to expound the early Lutheran theory of ethics as presented in the writings of Johann Gerhard. It is an effort at a more thorough and sympathetic understanding of the ethical aspect of the German Reformation movement than has hitherto been attained. The author, a young and clear-minded theologian, Renatus Hupfeld, believes that this end can be reached best through a minute and exhaustive study of one of the typical developments of the movement. His greatest difficulty he evidently finds in the task of disentangling purely ethical from dogmatic theological notions. Yet in order to understand the ethical ideas of Gerhard he finds it necessary to take account of the theological ground upon which they have taken root. The exact nature, for instance, of virtue in human conduct must be looked at as based upon the Reformation doctrines of original sin and regenerating grace. In consequence of the corruption of human nature resulting from Adam's fall, concupiscence rules the human heart in such a way that no man can do good freely. The human soul has indeed the power to do outwardly right deeds, but its activity in them merely serves as a means of rounding out man's part in the world of nature. It is to be viewed as a function of humanity devoid of moral character in the strict sense of the

¹ *Die Ethik Johann Gerhards*. Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der lutherischen Ethik. Von Renatus Hupfeld, Lic. Theol. Berlin: Trowitzsch & Sohn, 1908. vii + 261 pages. M. 6.80.

word. In itself it is neither good nor bad. It can only have ethical significance when preceded and conditioned by regeneration of heart. Otherwise spiritually it falls under the category of sin.

How then does man attain to spiritual merit? The question is answered by a reiteration of the two characteristic thoughts of the Reformation interpretation of the gospel. First, man obtains the possibility of spiritual merit by the upspringing in his heart of faith as a consequence of repentance. This means that he reaches the certain assurance of salvation independently of the perfection of his own work, and through grace alone. Secondly, faith displays itself by its own necessity in a new obedience. It awakens new spiritual affections and creates a new attitude toward God and the world. It thus makes possible a spontaneous conformity to God's law; for it bears within itself the principle of filial relationship to God—a humble, childlike, and grateful acknowledgment of obligation. In this way righteousness, first as a spiritual and then as an ethical development and principle, becomes operative. The concrete manifestation of this new obedience then takes the negative, but not empty, form of a struggle against sin, and the positive one of an outflow of love toward God and toward one's neighbor. From the latter issues normal Christian character and conduct.

It is an interesting but scarcely illuminative exposition of the ethical theory of Lutheranism. It does not fulfil the promise of disentangling the ethical from the theological element in the system. It raises the question whether such disentanglement can ever be accomplished, and whether if accomplished it promises to yield any valuable assistance toward the perfection of ethical theory for the present day. If it cannot do this, it must necessarily remain a matter of purely historical interest and importance. The point of view of present-day ethical theory is determined so much by the emphasis laid on the sociological aspects of ethics, and these were so completely ignored by the individualism of the Reformation theology that it seems too much to expect any practical bearings from a study of that theology on scientific ethics.

The kindred topic of the meaning of concupiscence in Luther's life and teaching is treated by Lic. Wilhelm Braun² with the same desire of laying before an age of a different spirit and different ideals the great Reformer's attitude toward the most vital of the ethical questions of his day. On the one side, Luther's conception is realized to be fundamentally the outgrowth of his theological system, and, to that extent, to lie somewhat to one side of the ethical sphere pure and simple as included in the modern view of

² *Die Bedeutung der Concupiscenz in Luthers Leben u. Lehre.* Von Wilhelm Braun, Lic. Theol. Berlin: Trowitzsch & Sohn, 1908. vii + 312 pages. M. 6.

the world. On the other side, it is shown to stand in contrast with that of the teachers of the church who preceded Luther, both scholastics and early Fathers. These held, from the days of Augustine onward, that, with admission into the church through baptism, original sin was obliterated. Concupiscence therefore could not be sin, since it remains after baptism as before. Its movements within must be the result of physical conditions and causes and betoken the need of the physician's attention and art rather than the care of the curator of souls. It was otherwise with Luther. Such a treatment appeared to him to be calling things by other than their true names. Since an impulse toward sin is contained in and becomes manifest through concupiscence it must be sinful. Yet its sinfulness was not allowed to stand in the way of the individual's salvation. It was annulled by an act of grace on God's part. Thus Luther saved the day for sound ethical theory. He did so, however, not by a psychological and metaphysical analysis of conceptions and attributes of human nature, nor by the method of speculative philosophy, but by the force of a vital religious consciousness which revealed to him within himself nothing but sin, and presented to his mind's eye all ethical health, all virtue, all good as a working of God's spirit out of pure and free unconditioned compassion. This result, though not in itself a system of ethics, nor even the germinal beginning of it, opens the way for the building of an untrammelled ethical philosophy and, to that extent, it is positive gain.

ANDREW C. ZENOS

McCORMICK THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
CHICAGO, ILL.

SOME RECENT DISCUSSIONS OF MODERNISM

The remarkable literature now proceeding from the modernists who persist in remaining within the Roman Catholic church may be considered as falling into two groups. The one regards the change and reformation which the church must undergo as merely a matter of discipline, such as relaxing the present Italian centralization, reforming the Roman congregations, and adopting a more tolerant attitude toward modern scholarship and democracy. The other drives the knife deeper. It maintains that critical studies have brought about a hopeless bankruptcy of the traditional scheme of Catholic dogma, and that consequently Catholicism can continue to live among educated men only on condition that it revise and restate many of the articles of its ancient creed. The men who hold this radical view, however, believe, and with passionate earnestness at times declare, that Catholicism possesses an incomparable spiritual vitality and value,

and has within itself a power of adaptability which gives ground for the hope that it can pass through its present crisis without essential injury, and emerge from it more vigorous and beautiful than before.

Of the former class, the *Menus propos d'un catholique libéral*,¹ and the *Programme of Modernism*² to a certain extent, are specimens. The latter work, however, belongs in part to the more radical group; for it sums up in an admirable manner the bearing of criticism upon certain dogmatic formulae and implies that the needed changes are far-reaching indeed. Still it cherishes the old form of words, however seriously modifying the traditional understanding of the ideas behind them, and indignantly rejects the charge that modernists deny the divinity of Christ.

The *Lendemain d'encyclique*³ is a more penetrating, and we had almost used the word, a more straightforward book. Its author, beyond doubt a priest, refuses to cling to formulae and phrases whose official interpretation he has cast aside. That men are born in original sin, that Christ is God, and came on earth to repair the transgression of Adam, and that the sacraments work *ex opere operato*, are propositions, he says, that scholarship has absolutely exploded. He hopes for a Catholicism which shall embrace all spiritually minded men in a brotherhood of charity, and in worship of the Infinite. But, unlike the authors of the *Programme*, he is not ardent in his trust that Roman Catholicism can ever accept the profound changes that lead to this simple formulation of faith. He writes in sorrow and great fear, lest the cause of God have evil days before it. Of all the books named in this review, this is the most human, the most interesting, and the most true.

De Bonnefoy's little work⁴ is charmingly written, and charmingly indecisive. While it seems to lean toward a fairly moderate view of the necessary reform of Catholicism, it does not shrink from telling us of the more thoroughgoing changes demanded by the radicals. It makes fascinating reading, but it sheds little light on the abyss which seems to be already opened before Catholicism, and not only Catholicism, but every form of dogmatic Christianity.

¹ *Menus propos d'un catholique libéral*. Par Léon Chaine. Paris: Nourry, 1908. 215 pages. Fr. 2.50.

² *Le programme des Modernistes*. Paris: Nourry, 1908. 170 pages. Fr. 2.50. *The Programme of Modernism, and the Encyclical of Pius X*. Translated from the Italian by Rev. George Tyrrell. New York: Putnam's, 1908. 245 pages. \$1.50.

³ *Lendemain d'encyclique*. Par Catholici. Paris: Nourry, 1908. 123 pages. Fr. 1.25.

⁴ *Le catholicisme de demain*. Par Jehan de Bonnefoy. Paris: Nourry, 1908. 200 pages. Fr. 2.50.

It is not an easy task to write a history of modernism, and to trace its roots in fields so diverse as biblical criticism and Christian socialism, the history of dogma and speculative philosophy. Difficult as the undertaking is, Pfarrer Kübel⁵ has accomplished it, if not perfectly, at least with striking success. That he should have painstakingly canvassed the extensive literature of the subject is no more than we should expect in a German investigation; but that he should have displayed such insight into modes of thought and manifestations of religious activity in a church other than his own, is altogether unusual and worthy of the highest praise. He understands and respects what so many outside Catholicism find impossible to appreciate—the reasons which retain modernists in a church which anathematizes them. Herr Kübel has entered with fine sympathy into the modernist mind, and thoroughly comprehends the attitude of these liberal Catholics not only to criticism but to the inner spirit and official authorities of the Roman communion. Had he given a little more space to the spiritual side of modernism, to its effort at reforming the devotion as well as the theology of the church, his book would have been perfect.

To mention one or two details—Herr Kübel is hardly fair to Batiffol in referring only to Batiffol's history of the Roman breviary. The late rector at Toulouse has done important work since that early study of his, and what is more to the point it was not his book on the breviary which recently caused his deposition. Our author is in error, too, in confusing the present archbishop of Boston with his namesake of the Catholic university.

Not unworthy of citation even in a brief review is Kübel's description of the encyclical against modernism as *seit Voltaire die blutigste Satire auf die katholische Kirche*.

M. Lepin's book⁶ has a threefold object: to set forth the more fundamental opinions of M. Loisy; to show that these opinions are irreconcilable with Catholic dogma; and to prove that they are no less in disaccord with sound criticism. The first of these purposes is admirably accomplished; the second is no difficult matter; but as to the third M. Lepin achieves only a dubious success. His treatment of the most conspicuous point in Loisy's criticism namely, that Christ conceived the kingdom in an eschatological manner, and looked forward to the imminent advent of messianic glory, is far from thorough. He quite omits considering either the apocalyptic ideas which prevailed among the Jews in our Lord's time, or the most

⁵ *Geschichte des Katholischen Modernismus*. Von Johannes Kübel. Tübingen: Mohr, 1909. 260 pages. M. 4.

⁶ *Les théories de M. Loisy: exposé et critique*. Par M. Lepin. Paris: Beauchesne, 1908. 371 pages. Fr. 3.

striking texts in favor of Loisy's interpretation. And even many of the texts which M. Lepin conceives to be in opposition to Loisy, lose nearly all their force, if we keep in mind the elementary distinction that in Christ's thought there are two "moments," in the coming of Messiah's kingdom, the first humble and "not with observation," which is our Lord's own lowly origin and toilsome ministry; the second his resplendent advent "in clouds," and "with glory." The question at issue is whether the Lord believed this second "moment" to be near. M. Lepin does not deal with this question at all, not having made the distinction—surely a necessary one—on which it rests.

The book closes with an endeavor to demonstrate the validity of the virgin birth, the redemptive death, the resurrection and the divinity of Christ. The treatment of these doctrines is after the customary fashion of orthodoxy, and will appeal to those that are like-minded with the author.

M. Français⁷ takes up those chapters in the history of the physical and critical sciences which show an obstructive church and a persecuting hierarchy to peculiar disadvantage. The work has been done before by Laveleye, Draper, and White; but M. Français is competent enough, and writes in a sufficiently engaging manner to warrant a reading of his book by such as are interested in the warfare of science and theology. He manages to pack a very respectable amount of erudition in a small space; and his copious footnotes and references are a highly pleasing assurance that his study has been done in a serious and critical fashion. The author apparently is one of those disillusioned priests whom modernism is bringing to the surface in quick startling numbers. He denies that the persecution of scholarship is due only to a faction of intransigent clerics. The church is responsible, he maintains. And the church, he broadly hints, that has failed to stifle science, though it tried so hard to do so, must perish now that science is triumphant.

In a brochure of ninety-seven pages M. Le Breton⁸ tries to show the unhistorical character both of the gospel narratives, and of the doctrine of the resurrection. The roots of the apostolic belief he finds in Jonah and in the prophecy of the Psalmist. "Thou shalt not suffer thy holy one to see corruption." Dwelling upon these types and prophecies the apostles come to the conviction that Christ rose "according to the scriptures." As for the apparitions, the disciples in Galilee, and the two on the road to Emmaus had had their imagination inflamed by the reports from Jerusalem

⁷ *L'église et la science*. Par J. Français. Paris: Nourry, 1908. 173 pages. Fr. 2.50.

⁸ *La résurrection du Christ*. Par Paul Le Breton. Paris: Nourry, 1908. 97 pages. Fr. 1.25.

that certain women, one of whom, Mary Magdalen, was a visionary, had seen the Lord. Happening in this unbalanced state of mind to behold some unknown stranger who may have resembled Jesus, the disciples, victims of suggestion, thought that it was the Christ. St. Paul's vision M. Le Breton does not discuss. Like all other hypotheses as to what happened on Easter Sunday, this latest one is unsatisfactory, as we hardly need to say. There ought to be a few more quotation marks in the book, for whole sentences are taken from Loisy's "Les évangiles synoptiques."

CATHOLICUS

SOME BOOKS ON THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

Professor Bloomfield has published a volume of six lectures, with some little amplification, given before various American universities during the fall and winter of 1906-7.¹ Treating the vast theme in so brief a compass, some principle of selection must be adopted. The author chose to bring out as markedly as possible the development of the religious thought of the Veda in distinction from myth and ceremony. Hence the reader will find in these lectures no complete account of Vedic mythology and legend, nor of the priestly ritual and religious folk-practices, but he will learn to his satisfaction how the religion of the Veda rests upon a pre-historic foundation which is largely nature-myth, how it continues in Rig-Veda hymns as hieratic ritual worship of polytheistic gods, how this religion grew more and more formal and mechanical in the Yajur-Vedas and Brahmanas, until it was practically abandoned. Then he will learn how and when the germs of higher religious thought arose, and, finally, how the motives and principles that underlie this entire chain of mental events landed Hindu thought, at a comparatively early period, in the pantheistic and pessimistic religion of the Upanishads which it has never again abandoned.

This is the salvation of the Hindu, namely the perfect knowledge that the soul of man that dwells in him is the unpolluted, not-to-be polluted, serene, holy, eternal, blissful, divine self—the *ātman* or *brahma*. The realization of this truth, unhindered by any other desire, that is all that is needed; than it nothing else whatsoever can have anything more than temporary importance.

Professor Bloomfield's lectures are scientific but popular, profound but luminous, serious but brilliant. We have nothing in English so well

¹ *The Religion of the Veda. The Ancient Religion of India.* (From Rig-Veda to Upanishad.) By Maurice Bloomfield, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908. xv + 300 pages.

adapted to awaken an interest in the great subject of which they treat. Especially should pastors and missionaries of scholarly tastes welcome this volume of the series of American lectures on the history of religions.

For a long time a work has been needed which would render accessible to wide circles of occidental students and religious people alien religious documents in appropriate selection and in reliable translation. Nothing has been done in recent years which will aid more in broadening and deepening our first-hand knowledge of extra-biblical religions, and hence in solving the ultimate questions of all science of religion, viz., what, then, is religion and what does it signify for the men who participate therein?

Since the Sacred Books of the East, translated by Max Müller, are too expensive and too voluminous for many, we welcome a handbook such as this before us² whose price is not prohibitive, whose translation is model, whose selections are characteristic, from the *canonical* literature of extra-biblical religions, with brief introductions and interpretative annotations.

Naturally, the reader should not expect to find *schöne Literatur* in this volume. Selections were made from the point of view solely of their utility and significance for a knowledge of the particular religion which they illustrate. Literary "pearls" are purchased at too great a price when they serve but to frustrate or distort our knowledge of historical reality. To escape the possibly well-meant but ill-advised depreciation of alien originality, at the instigation of polemic frenzy, on the one hand, and, on the other, to betray no trace of *Schönfärberei*, as the Germans say, inspired by apologetic and propagandist interest—this is to steer clear of Scylla and Charybdis indeed, and this is what the authors have done with enviable impartiality and objectivity. Mention should be made of the detailed and orderly fulness of the index, so seldom found in German books, which greatly facilitates the use and increases the usefulness of this work.

GEORGE B. FOSTER

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Dr. Adam's book³ is a work that easily takes rank with other volumes of the Gifford Lectures. An interesting life of Dr. Adam, written by his wife, fills the first fifty-five pages. Following this, are the twenty-two lectures, revised by the author shortly before his death, dealing with the religious and philosophical development in Greece from Homer to Plato.

² *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch*. In Verbindung mit W. Grube, K. Geldner, M. Winternitz, und A. Mez. Herausgegeben von A. Bertholet. Tübingen: Mohr, 1908. xxviii + 401 pages. M. 6.60.

³ *The Religious Teachers of Greece*. By James Adam. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribners, 1908. 467 pages. \$4.00.

The fundamental plan of the book is to indicate the contribution of poetry to the religion of the Greeks, and then the contribution of philosophy. To accomplish this purpose, Dr. Adam reviews the poetry of Greece from Homer to Sophocles, somewhat as Zeller does in his *Pre-Socratic Philosophy*, but with a freshness and vigor which betokens the independent scholar. While Zeller's own work, together with practically all standard interpretations of the period, including many monographs, are freely referred to, one feels the touch of a master of Greek literature in this new exposition of the subject. Especially interesting are his chapters on "Orphic Religious Ideas" and on "Pindar." Still further, the contribution of this field to philosophy, or better to some of the topics elaborated by later Greek philosophers, such as Plato, is brought out clearly and justly.

The treatment of the field of philosophy from Thales to Plato is equally fresh and vigorous. The debt which this part of Greek literature owes to poetry and to religion is made very evident, while the reaction of this type of thought upon religion is no less clearly shown. Oftentimes Dr. Adam differs from the leading historians of Greek philosophy in his interpretations, but usually the reasons which he offers in support of his positions are in the main convincing. Especially good is his handling of Anaxagoras and his conception of the *Nous*, the Age of the Sophists, and Euripides. To Plato he devotes most space (in all five lectures), and while presenting his cosmological doctrine, elements of asceticism, and theories of education and of ideas, he not only shows the source of many of Plato's views in the earlier Greek thought and religion, but also points out striking similarities between these conceptions and elements found in Paul and other New Testament writers, to say nothing of others who molded the teaching of the early church. In most cases, Dr. Adam does not state positively that a definite platonic influence is to be traced in the New Testament, but the inference from the parallels which he gives is very plain and apparently justified. The clearness of style and breadth of vision which the author evidences in his own field, to which he rather strictly confines himself, and his tactful but strong presentation of the results of his studies, commend the book to men of various tastes and interests.

GREGORY D. WALCOTT

HAMLIN UNIVERSITY
ST. PAUL, MINN.

THE BULWARKS OF BELIEF

President King is one of the great interpreters of the "social consciousness" to itself. The implicated meanings of modern thought-develop-

ments, it is his peculiar province to explicate. The significance for the higher life of the scientific, philosophic, and religious doctrines held today, this is his peculiarly rich province of interpretation.

The present volume¹ is written in the same practical vein as its predecessors. It is indeed an essay in apologetics, aiming to minister to the Christian life as a life. The suggestions offered grow out of psychology, epistemology, and the broader field of philosophy; and they are applied at the various points in Christian experience where difficulties are commonly felt.

The "reality" which the book aims to establish in spiritual things seems to be, first, the rational, reasoned satisfaction of the thinker; second, the *feeling* of confident certainty in the experience of the spiritual facts. Doubtless these two things cannot be held completely apart; but the careful reader will feel that there is some unnecessary confusion here.

The large plan of the book is to deal first with the *causes* of the sense of unreality which is confessedly prevalent. The analysis of this portion of the book is illuminating. The directive principle of the whole treatment is indicated by the following:

If the spiritual life is to be to us a real and recognized power, it must seem, first, an undoubted reality; second, to be knit up with our best thinking in other spheres; third, to have clear significance for life, as appeal and impulse to character, and as bringing enjoyment and enrichment into life (p. 7).

The reader will recognize here, as often elsewhere, some of the root-thoughts of President King's fruitful discussions in "rational living." And if we mistake not, the confusion of the two points above referred to, is in evidence in this passage.

The causes of the "seeming unreality" are shown to be largely misconceptions, and so far they are removable by enlightenment. Further, some of the difficulty roots in the moral life, and disappears with the moral adjustment. Here, too, is a place where practical knowledge ministers to confidence and "reality." But beyond this the author clearly recognizes that the very nature of the spiritual life forbids the dramatic "reality" that attaches, e. g., to the sense-life. Such a sense of reality would defeat the end of moral development. In the large sense the recognition of this very fact forms an apologetic defense of the spiritual. "A purposed seeming unreality of the spiritual" is the theme of one of the most suggestive discussions of the book.

One of the temptations of modern apologetics lies just here. We are

¹ *The Seeming Unreality of the Spiritual Life*. By President Henry Churchill King. New York: Macmillan, 1908. 256 pages. \$1.50.

tempted to make the spiritual facts "scientific" by assimilating them completely to the realm of natural science. The strength and *reality* of religion must ultimately lie in its own distinctive and unassimilable character. The recognition of the *unity* of all experience must not lead to such *identity* that the spiritual loses its *sui generis* character. We must not explain religion by showing that it is something else. The "unreality" of the spiritual life cannot be completely exorcised without eliminating the element which constitutes it spiritual. President King reveals a sane sense of proportion and propriety in his argument, and a like sense of the limitations of his argument.

In the second or more constructive portion of the book we have the amplification of the principles which came into view in the first part. There are, in successive chapters, very brief discussions of many of the most vital aspects of religious life and doctrine. The theistic problem and the christological both receive suggestive treatment. The whole book in its aim is rather suggestive and fragmentary than complete. The arguments are here in germ. The appeal of the individual themes and chapters will vary with the personal equation of the reader. The chapter on "The Spiritual Life not a Life of Strain" seems to the reviewer a strong and timely discussion. In this chapter, too, we are reminded that better psychological knowledge has administered relief to many troubled lives and emancipated from the tyranny of an old dogmatism. On the other hand it has introduced a new dogmatism in some quarters, so crude and absolute that we must feel that the last state is worse than the first.

It is to be feared that along with this legitimate help that is scientifically grounded, there has been a much larger amount of mere faddism, that has prescribed some fixed mental state—sometimes stated in very religious terms, and sometimes not—as the one effectual panacea for all ills. So far as this is true—and it is quite too true—this means that a multitude are put into an abnormal attitude of mental strain, that is reflected even in the cast of their countenances, and particularly in their eyes, which have something in them quite akin to the hunted look of the insane. Whatever achievements may for the time lie back of this attitude of strain, you are not able to escape the conviction that there is here something, in truth, not wholly normal, not quite wholesome, something allied to the hysterical, that inevitably suggests that the true solution has not yet been found (p. 94).

To many, this diagnosis of present-day religious (?) "faddism" will seem pertinent; and not less pertinent the exposure of the cheap perversions of "psychology."

President King says a courageous thing, and a thing which is a key to his own vital restatement of religious truth, on p. 192.

One is sometimes asked what he does with such and such a line of argument. Well, when a man has definitely abandoned on good grounds a given standpoint, he doesn't do anything with the massive arguments which proceed from that standpoint.

This proposition will serve appropriately to introduce another apologetic work by David Graham, a British barrister-at-law.² This is an epistemological essay written in the spirit and method of the common-sense philosophy, and aiming by lawyer-like analysis to show the irreproachable foundations of knowledge. It is professedly a

development of what is commonly known as the Scottish philosophy, and requires that we shall resolutely follow the guidance of the common-sense whithersoever it leads, and as resolutely refuse to go where it does not lead. . . . The Bedlam confusions of the schools, ancient and modern, have mainly arisen from their failure to observe and conform to the laws of this method: that a consistent and satisfactory theory of knowledge and of life can only be found in, established on, and illuminated by, the dictates and the sanctions of common-sense.

In these sentences from the preface we have a bird's-eye view of the argument. The most stimulating thing about the book is its confidence that it outlines the way of truth. It is a vigorous galvanizing of the common-sense theory of knowledge, exhibited with a fair degree of originality. It will be evaluated according to one's attitude toward the fundamental tenets of the Scottish philosophy.

Of quite another type is Dr. R. F. Horton's defense of religious belief.³ It is a collection of brief essays dealing with essential phases of religious life. The book is rational, devout, and practical. The spirit of modern thinking is taken constantly into account, and the mood of the average man. Christian doctrines are briefly restated in terms of present-day convictions. It does not exhibit the same background of articulated principles as does President King's book, but offers rather a series of concrete treatments of aspects of doctrine. It aims indeed not at a formal scientific apologetic, but consists rather, according to its subtitle, of "answers to certain religious difficulties." It ought to have a ministry where a conservative and yet thoughtful and vital discussion of religious problems in a modern spirit is needed. It is a popular book in the best sense.

HERBERT A. YOUTZ

AUBURN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
AUBURN, N. Y.

² *The Grammar of Philosophy: A Study of Scientific Method.* By David Graham. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribners, 1908. 383 pages. \$2.50.

³ *My Belief. Answers to Religious Difficulties.* By Robert F. Horton. Chicago: Revell, 1908. 295 pages. \$1.25.

THE WILL TO DOUBT

The Will to Doubt is a masterly essay in philosophy written by one who is evidently thoroughly at home in philosophic thinking.¹ It is written from the general philosophical position of pragmatism, but the author is evidently no mere disciple of any man but an original and independent thinker. He aims to appeal to the general reader as well as the student of philosophy, and there is a freshness and individuality about his style that is attractive; but the discussion is too fundamental and abstract, and the reasoning too close, and the philosophical view-point too new to allow the book to be of great value to any but the trained student.

Professor Lloyd opens his discussion by pointing out that we are all universal doubters; that consciousness means tension, instability, or doubt in its very nature; that habit which seeks fixity in growing experience must necessarily be accompanied by doubt; that doubt deepens experience and brings a man into closer fellowship with nature and with his fellows.

When we come to examine our experience we find it shot through with contradictions. Our ordinary view of life with its conception of reality, and its division of the spiritual and the material, of nature and freedom, of God and devil, law and miracle, one and many, time and space, cause and effect, is a nest of contradictions. And the views of critical science are no better. Science would be objective, specialistic, agnostic, and yet, could it succeed in its own ideals it would commit suicide. And objective science is purely formal and without value for life.

But this universality of doubt does not lead the modern doubter to the position of the older agnostics, nor even to such a conception of the Absolute as Bradley reaches in his *Appearance and Reality*; since for the philosophy of pragmatism, with its mediating, instrumental view of knowledge and intelligence, doubt has real value in life. We are saved by our doubts instead of, or at least as well as, by our faith; for contradiction shows the failure of any concept to give an adequate view of a dynamic experience. The contradiction manifests, as it were, a cross-section of experience and is an effective correction of the narrowness, relativity, or one-sidedness of our concepts. Thus while our ordinary or scientific views of life may be inconsistent in themselves these very contradictions may work together to give real information of reality, and work for truth. Contradiction is only difference at its greatest limit, and difference marks an indwelling unity,

¹ *The Will to Doubt. An Essay in Philosophy for the General Thinkers.* By Alfred H. Lloyd. New York: Macmillan, 1908. 285 pages. \$1.25 net.

so that doubt manifests the unity and realistic character of experience. Contradiction makes experience realistic, practical, and social.

So the doubter comes to believe through his doubts and in the very things he doubts. He finds "reality without finality" in all things. "There is reality in all things. Reality is without form or residence, real as spirit, not as a programme. There is nothing finally or fixedly real in itself, and yet all things are working together for what is real." The doubter's world is the scene of a "constant evolution which we may call God or nature as we please." "God and men are active parties to one and the same life." "The conflicts of human life are the perfection, the living perfection of God." "God is, nay, God's life is not what some but what all men do. And the doubter's world is just the world, the world of things always relative, the world of constant conflict in which alone this can be true." "Truth hath neither visible form nor body; it is without habitation or name; like the Son of man it hath not where to lay its head," is the constant refrain of the book.

But if God is identified with nature, the latter is "no unprofitable mechanism, always doing the same thing" but an ever-developing, ever-producing reality, serving an end larger and deeper than any known law. *The* law is never *a* law, and the whole cannot be conceived of after the analogy of a part. There is perfect sympathy between the spiritual and the material and both work together for reality and are means to the one end.

In the doubter's world there is a place for genuine individuality and even for immortality. No one person can have worth in himself, but he is not unreal for being dependent upon others. Reality is itself dependent upon an infinite multiplicity of differences, and it is this fact which gives the individual a chance for real worth and value since he can contribute to reality. And it is only as he works with others to produce a life that is real and true that he comes to possess an individuality or to partake in immortality. Only reality has immortality.

In a recent issue of this *Journal* there appeared from the pen of a prominent theologian a discussion of the relation of ethics to religion based upon a conception of reality similar to the one given in this book.² And it is surely a fundamental question for the religious thinker of today whether the philosophy of pragmatism is the friend or enemy of the Christian faith. Pragmatism is a new movement in philosophy and it gives this volume great interest to the religious student because Professor Lloyd seeks to give its religious value and to interpret some of the essential ideals of Christianity

² "Can Christianity Ally Itself with Monistic Ethics?" By Frank Thilly, in *American Journal of Theology*, October, 1908, p. 547.

in harmony with his philosophic thinking. There is yet considerable uncertainty as to the religious value of this system of thought. Does this uncertainty arise, in part, from its dynamic conception of reality and the instrumental idea of thought according to which reality can never be conceived of as a system, or from the difficulty of the reader to adjust himself to its view-point and categories, or that it has not, as yet, worked out with clearness its own position in the different realms of experience?

Does its identification of God and nature impoverish God while it enriches nature? Is the reality of pragmatism rich enough to be the Father of Jesus? Is the conception of immortality presented in this book, according to which our friends "live in us and we in them much as our past selves, our infancy and youth, are alive with us and in us today" rich enough to be the hope of the brother whom Jesus has led into fellowship with his Father? And if not which produces the truer and higher life, the faith of Jesus or the philosophy of pragmatism? For pragmatism can have reality only as it can produce a life that is real and true.

W. C. KEIRSTEAD

UNIVERSITY OF NEW BRUNSWICK
FREDERICTON, N. B.

GOD AS INFINITE BENEVOLENCE

As the writer says, *The Infinite Affection*¹ is an "attempt to bring together, in related order and within a brief compass, statements of our ancient faith in modern form and language and with present-day emphasis." Although he would undoubtedly disclaim so ambitious a project, Dr. Macfarland may be said to undertake here a reconstruction of the fundamental doctrines of Christian theology in the light of modern thought. If he makes little parade of scientific terminology and the current catch-words of philosophy, it is because he not simply speaks but thinks in terms of evolution, immanence, and "identity in difference." Hence while there is little obvious adjustment there is much illuminating interpretation in the book and throughout it is pervaded by a fine spirit of devotion. The personality of Jesus, shown in word and action, is held to be the supreme authority for Christian thought and practice. Jesus is divine because he is the perfect revelation of the will and character of God. In him God's moral nature is fully revealed as infinite affection. This quality most completely expresses God's character, and all other attributes must be regarded as but determinations of it. The question whether such a conception of the divinity of Christ distinguishes him in kind or only in degree

¹ *The Infinite Affection*. By Charles S. Macfarland. New York: The Pilgrim Press; London: James Clarke & Co., 1907. 174 pages.

from members of the human race, the author neatly answers by a reference to universal evolution in which differences of degree pass into differences of kind and to an ultimate identity, in which all distinctions are included. But Jesus, beside being truly divine, was really human and in his humanity we have proof of the kinship of man with God and promise of infinite possibilities of moral development when the divine principle in man is freed from the shackles of sin and selfishness and allowed freely to unfold.

Another interpretation of the world as an expression of infinite benevolence is contained in Emory Miller's work^a now published in a revised edition. The author has a good grasp of philosophic principles but his detailed analysis and formal argument are frequently less clear and convincing than the brief and simple statements of the previous writer. He argues from determinate being which is perceived, to self-determined being, its opposite, which it implies. Perfect self-determination is infinite personality, or God. The action of a completely self-determined being takes the form of the realization of an ideal self, or *perfect self-love*. The whole of reality, including the creation of the cosmos, the establishment of the moral order and Christian plan of salvation, is then explained as the evolution of this self-love or "perfect egoism" of God. The difficulty here is to see how such self-love could devote itself to external objects without contradicting that absolute self-determination of which it is the expression. This difficulty the author does not, in the opinion of the reviewer, at all remove, but as a last resort falls back on the assumption that it is and hence must be so. The difficulty—one of the gravest which theology has to solve—is better met by a different conception of self-determination, to which Hegel points the way, who is always warning us against opposing the absolute as abstract self-identity to the world of actual difference. The self-determined should not be merely contrasted to determined as its opposite for then it will always remain limited by it. It should rather be conceived as that identity which takes up the differences and embraces them, integrated within itself. Thus the self-determined or infinite will be seen to contain an element of difference or negativity which it continually surmounts, an "other" to which it ever sacrifices itself, but by the very act of sacrifice attains realization. In this way we conceive of God as progressively realizing himself in the world and as genuinely sharing in that sacrifice which duty requires of men.

HENRY W. WRIGHT

LAKE FOREST, ILL.

^a *The Evolution of Love*. By Emory Miller. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1907. Rev. ed. 355 pages. \$1.50.

BRIEF MENTION

STRACK, H. L. *Einleitung in den Talmud*. Vierte, neubearbeitete Auflage. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908. viii+182 pages. M. 3.20.

In the fourth edition of his *Introduction to the Talmud* Professor Strack has given us a clear and concise history of the Talmud, making it possible for those who are not acquainted with the Hebrew and Aramaic languages to learn what the Talmud is, how it originated and developed and finally became the religious textbook for the Jews until the rise of the Reform Movement.

The treatment of the subject is throughout scientific and shows that the author is not only thoroughly familiar with the Talmud, but also with the vast literature that has been written on it. After defining the terms *Mišna*, *Barajtha*, *Gemara*, *Talmud*, *Midraš*, *Halakha*, and *Haggada* in the first chapter, the author proceeds to give us a historical account of the origin of the *Mišna*, by which term we are to understand the *Mišna* of R. Jehuda Hanasi, or the canonical *Mišna*. To this subject chaps ii-iv are devoted.

Next in chronological order the Talmud is taken up. The term Talmud, as used here by the author, is to be taken in the sense of *Gemara*, i. e., the collection of commentaries and discussions on the *Mišna*, and not in the broader sense of the word as including also the *Mišna*. Both Talmuds are discussed, chap. v dealing with the Palestinian Talmud and chap. vi with Babylonian. Chaps. vii-x treat of the extra-canonical treatises, the oldest editions of *Mišna* and Talmud, and the authors of the *Mišna* and Talmud.

To the general student the last two chapters will perhaps be the most interesting. As is the case with the Bible so is it with the Talmud. Much is known about it, but little of it. And therefore chap. xi which gives typical passages of the Talmud in a correct translation will convey a better idea to those uninitiated in Talmudic studies as to the style and content of the Talmud than any mere scientific exposition could do. It is to be regretted that the quotations are so few.

Last, by no means least in value, is the chapter dealing with bibliography. He who is interested in the Talmud in general, or in any phase of it in particular, such as theology, philosophy, history, mathematics, geography, etc., will find splendid bibliographical help to assist him in his work. In fact the last chapter may be regarded as a complete compendium of the best works, past and present, on Israel's post-biblical monumental work. The book will serve a useful purpose to students of the Talmud.

ROGERS, ROBERT W. *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria Especially in Its Relation to Israel*. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1908. xiv+235 pages. \$2 net.

This book consists of five lectures delivered at the Harvard Summer School of Theology in July, 1908. The lectures were entitled: "The Recovery of a Lost Religion;" "The Gods of Babylonia and Assyria;" "The Cosmologies;" "The Sacred Books;" and "Myths and Epics." The first lecture recites again the story of the discovery and decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions, to which so much space is devoted in the author's *History of Babylonia and Assyria*. In a work of this nature one would prefer to have had this space devoted to the religion. The chapter on the

gods treats the gods very briefly, but gives a graphic sketch of the history of the country and of the forces which made certain gods more prominent than all others. Much had been written on the cosmologies, so that the material of the third chapter is by no means new. In the chapter on "Sacred Books" we get at the heart of the religion. Professor Rogers brings the reader here face to face with the incantations, prayers, and hymns, so that the reader catches the spirit of the religion by which these people lived. In connection with the myths our author in his last chapter gives a brief but clear statement of Winckler's astral theory of the mythology, which he rightly rejects. While the book will in no wise take the place for the scholar of Professor Jastrow's thorough work on the same subject, it presents in Professor Roger's clear and graphic style a picture of the salient features of the religion and its relation to the Old Testament, which will be of great use to busy pastors. The translations of examples are long enough to give a good impression of their character and are well done. Had more mythical figures from the seals been reproduced in the illustrations rather than so many pictures of clay tablets, which to the non-Assyriologist must look much like one another, it would have been an improvement, but the book should prove useful to a large number as it is.

HERRMANN, JOHANNES. *Ezechielstudien*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908. 148 pages. M. 4.

Cornill was a pioneer in a critical study of the text of Ezekiel. About one-half of this book is an attempt to discuss some of the problems which grow out of the text. The second half discusses the prophet and his preaching, the material of his discourses, and the methods adopted by him to enforce his teachings. The work is done in a thoroughly scholarly manner, and is an important yet popular aid to understanding Ezekiel's great life-work.

KENT, CHARLES FOSTER. *The Heroes and Crises of Early Hebrew History*. Vols. I and II. New York: Scribners, 1908. 251 and 238 pages. Published in six volumes. \$6.

These volumes appear very attractive. The first task of the student is to discriminate between the different kinds of literature in the Bible. Hardly less difficult and perplexing is the historical problem. He must construct for himself a framework in which these various writings shall each find its appropriate setting. And there is also the theological problem. The student needs to know what were the various messages of the Bible, what occasioned them, and what was their effect upon the religious life and development of the people.

It has been difficult to find a convenient guide to the solution of all these problems. The popular histories do not direct the student how to solve them for himself. The literature upon the subject is so voluminous and scattered that the general student is apt to become discouraged. Professor Kent has sought to make accessible in their appropriate places such portions of this literature as bear directly upon the various selections.

As a teachers' handbook, the work is open to criticism at one point. At the end of each section is a paragraph entitled "Aim and Teachings," in which the author sums up the more important religious truths of the narrative. If these could have been put a little more suggestively, or interrogatively, rather than dogmatically, the student would be stimulated to discover for himself what the author has now discovered for him.

Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions.

Vol. I, xxxii+327 pages. Vol. II, 457 pages. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1908. 21s.

This congress was held at Oxford, September 15-18, 1908. The speedy appearance of these two sumptuous volumes is an occasion for congratulations to the committee of editors. The congress was organized into nine sections, viz.: (1) Religions of the Lower Culture; (2) Religions of China and Japan; (3) Egyptian Religion; (4) Religions of the Semites; (5) Religions of India and Iran; (6) Religions of the Greeks and Romans; (7) Religions of the Germans, Celts, and Slavs; (8) The Christian Religion; (9) Method and Scope of the History of Religions. In these various sections no less than one hundred and thirty-seven addresses were heard. It is not practicable to print all of these in full, hence a rule of the congress provides that "the addresses of presidents of sections shall be printed in full in the *Transactions*. Other papers shall be printed in abstract at a length not exceeding 2,000 words, except by special invitation of the Papers Subcommittee." Thirty-nine papers were fortunate enough to secure this "special invitation." The volumes thus contain forty-nine papers printed in full, together with the abstracts of the remainder, eight only failing to receive any notice.

The range of interests represented by these papers is world-wide and the standard of scholarship is high. The names of such speakers as Jevons, De Groot, Giles, Jastrow, Frazer, Charles, Bertholet, Rhys Davids, Lanman, Farnell, Porter, Sanday, von Dobschütz, Bonet-Maury, Conybeare, J. Mark Baldwin, and D'Alviella are sufficient evidence of this. The congress was inevitably predominantly British; one cannot but regret the scarcity of German and American names upon the programme.

These volumes furnish a conspectus of the present status of the study of the world's religions. They show the lines along which modern scholarship is moving in these fields of research. Not all religions are equally well represented. Egyptian religion receives relatively little space; while the subject of Semitic religions is honored by only two or three papers of any large significance. As is eminently fitting Christianity is given much space and is represented by scholars of the highest eminence. No student of religion can afford to neglect these volumes.

STERNBERG, G. *Die Ethik des Deuteronomium*. Berlin: Trowitzsch und Sohn, 1908. 98 pages. M. 2.60.

The discussion of this important subject starts out with the attempt to show that Deuteronomy was written in the reign of Solomon. Such a departure from currently accepted views needs a volume for its defense rather than a few pages. Furthermore, the treatment of the main theme of the book is too formal and external. What need is there in a brief treatise like this of wasting page after page upon lists of passages in Deuteronomy which show that the ethical standard of the author is the will of God as expressed in the Deuteronomic law? It would have been much more profitable to have traced the historical preparation for the formulation of the ethical demands of Deuteronomy, and to have shown how these demands were related to the conditions of the time in which they arose. A keener archaeological sense would have saved our author from attributing the prohibitions against yoking ox and ass together and against boiling "a kid in its mother's milk" to any ethical motives of consideration for the feelings of animals.

STAERK, W. *Das assyrische Weltreich im Urteil der Propheten*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1908. vi+240 pages. M. 8.

The period covered by this study ranges from Amos to Nahum, measured by Hebrew standards, or from the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III to the Fall of Nineveh, according to the yard-stick of Assyrian history. The author conceives his task to be that of tracing the effect upon Israel of the "contest between the world-empire and the world-religion." He ranges himself with Gressmann, Baentsch, and Volz in opposition to the conclusions generally accepted by the school of historico-literary criticism. Not but that he gladly acknowledges the importance of the service rendered by this school in its insistence upon a strictly unbiased scientific attitude toward the writings of the Old Testament. His chief variations from commonly accepted conclusions are his attribution of the origin of monotheism in Israel to a very early period and his defense of the messianic elements in Amos, Hosea, Micah, and Isaiah as genuine oracles of the prophets under whose names they are published. With these presuppositions the author proceeds to interpret the prophets of the Assyrian period in the light of the historical movements of their times. The book is well worth careful study; but it will carry conviction only to those who are willing to accept a mythological world-view for which neither Staerk, Gressmann, Baentsch, Volz, Winckler, nor Jeremias has as yet adduced convincing proof.

CORNILL, C. H. *Einleitung in die kanonischen Bücher des Alten Testaments*. Sechste, neubearbeitete Auflage. [Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften.] Tübingen: Mohr, 1908. xvi+332 pages. M. 5.

Cornill's *Introduction* first published seventeen years ago now reaches its sixth edition. Through its fifth it was made accessible to English readers in 1906. The changes in the present edition are very slight, being limited almost entirely to matters of form and style. The preface is of special interest since it states in unmistakable terms the author's firm adherence to his earlier conclusions respecting the origin of Israel's literature and his conviction that these conclusions are so firmly grounded that no amount of evidence along pan-Babylonian lines can shake them. Eerdmans' attempt to force a revision of commonly received opinions concerning the origin of the Old Testament writings is likewise dismissed as lacking in scientific value. It is to be regretted that, in a work of this sort, the author has not seen fit to discuss the bearing of the Elephantine papyri upon the question of the date of the Deuteronomic law. With the exception of a single allusion in the preface these papyri are ignored.

LÖHR, MAX. *Die Stellung des Weibes zu Jahve-Religion und -Kult untersucht*. [Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament herausgegeben von R. Kittel. Heft 4.] Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908. 54 pages. M. 1.80.

The subject is treated under nine heads: (1) A List of Women's Names in the Old Testament; (2) A Classification of These Names on the Basis of Meaning and Chronology; (3) The Bestowal of Names; (4) The Preservation of Names of Women in the Old Testament; (5) The Social Status of Woman; (6) Women's Vows; (7) Woman as a Prophetess; (8) Participation of Women in the Yahweh-Cult; (9) Acts and Duties of Women in the Cult. The author sets himself to discover whether the dictum of Wellhausen, Smend, Stade, *et al.*, that Yahwism took little account of women

but was essentially a religion for men, is correct or not. His conclusion seems well established; women had full and free access to Yahweh in the pre-exilic period, but in the post-exilic Judaism their religious rights and privileges were greatly curtailed.

HODGSON, GERALDINE. *Primitive Christian Education*. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribner, 1906. 287 pages. \$1.50.

There is an attempt made in this volume to prove that the early church made important contributions to education. It begins with a quotation from Compayré: "In their struggles against the antique world the primitive Christians came at last to confound classic literature and the pagan religion in one common detestation. At the outset, owing to its tendencies toward mysticism, Christianity could not be a good school of practical and human pedagogy." Hallam and Symonds have written in a similar vein, and Gibbon's contemptuous flings are well known. In order to construct a counter-argument, the author gives the biographies and quotes the utterances of several of the eminent representatives of the primitive church, as the apostles, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius, Gregory, Basil, the Cyrils, Clement of Rome, Tertullian, Jerome. The citations are made from the recent translations published in Oxford and Edinburgh, and they make no pretension to critical study of the sources. The impression left by the book is that the subject is important enough to deserve further investigation, that popular conceptions of the intellectual standards of ancient Christian leaders should be revised, and that the materials exposed to view are worth exploiting for their positive value in the history and theory of education. The contention of the early Christian scholars that the highest culture culminates in moral and spiritual character, and that all science, art, and literature must be judged in relation to this supreme end, is one which commands approval of the competent at this hour.

SCHUMANN, ALEXIS. *Alexander Vinet. Sein Leben—seine Gedankenwelt—seine Bedeutung*. Mit einer Abbildung. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1907. 215 pages M. 2.

This is a very appreciative story of the life of Vinet. The enduring importance of Vinet for the entire evangelical church is considerable. It is seen in his pure and disinterested personality; in his unlimited love of freedom in all departments of thought and activity; in his conception of the church as an organized social institution, although he was an individualist; in his advocacy of the separation of Church and State.

WIELAND, FRANZ. *Die Schrift, "Mensa und Confessio" und P. Emil Dorsch S. J.: Eine Antwort*. München: Leutner, 1908. 113 pages. M. 1.

This publication of the Munich historical seminary is a hot reply to Dorsch who has accused Wieland of heresy, modernism, and the spirit of Harnack.

TURMEL, JOSEPH. *Histoire du dogme de la papauté des origines à la fin du quatrième Siècle*. Paris: Picard et Fils, 1908. 488 pages. Fr. 4.

Beginning with the foundation of the Roman church, which the author finds to be about 50 A. D., we have a continuous narrative which aims to set forth the dogmatic development of this church to the end of the fourth century.

PISANI, P. *L'église de Paris et la révolution 1789-1792*. Paris: Picard, 1908, 350 pages. Fr. 3.50.

Another volume in the same series. It contains nine chapters, five appendices, and full index in 350 pages. It contains much interesting information, and a rather vivid description of those stirring times.

KOENIGER, ALBERT MICHAEL. *Die Sendgerichte in Deutschland*. Erster Band. München: Lentner, 1907. xvi+203 pages. M. 4.

This volume constitutes III, 2, of "publications from the Munich Church History Seminar," edited by Professor Alois Knöpfler. The term "Send" is said to be the German form of "synod" (Grimm, Hauck, etc.), though it is not easy to see why it might not be the German equivalent of a derivative of *Missi* (civil officials sent out by the Frankish government to inquire into the administration of affairs in the provinces. The German *senden* = Latin *mitto*). From the early Frankish times bishops and archdeacons, in connection with their periodical visitations of the churches, held courts of inquiry for the careful ascertainment of delinquencies in the lives of priest, and people, the administration of the temporalities, etc. Koeniger's monograph is based upon a diligent study of unprinted as well as printed materials and seems to contain a sufficiently exhaustive account of the proceedings of these disciplinary tribunals from their rise to the beginning of the twelfth century. The formulae for the guidance of the *Sendgerichte* throw much light on the conditions that prevailed in ecclesiastical life and thought and the manner in which the higher ecclesiastical authority attempted to promote decency and order in the local churches.

Festgabe Alois Knöpfler zur Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahres gewidmet. Von A. Bigelmair, S. Euringer, J. Greving, K. Holzhey, J. Hurbin, R. Jud, A. Kempfer, A. M. Koeniger, G. Pfeilschifter, Th. Schermann, J. Schnitzer, A. Seider, J. Sickenberger, F. X. Thalhofer, H. Vogels, M. Weiss, F. Wieland. München: Lentner, 1907. vi+348 pages. M. 5.

The present volume constitutes III, 1, of "Publications from the Church History Seminar of Munich," of which Alois Knöpfler is general editor. Knöpfler is the successor of Döllinger, and his numerous disciples call attention to the fact that while Döllinger was a great scholar, had many hearers, and left many books behind him, he died a lonely man with no disciples, no heirs; whereas Knöpfler has from the beginning devoted himself to the founding of a church history seminar and has called forth a large body of earnest investigators and writers from among his pupils. This fact is attested by the long list of works that have come forth from his seminar. Bigelmair writes on "The Beginnings of Christianity in Bavaria," without making any essential addition to the materials already available but handling the well-known facts with discretion and independence. Euringer writes in the spirit of "modernism" of the "Natural Science Hexaemeron Problem and Catholic Exegesis." He gives a very interesting account of the way in which Catholic exegesis has sought to adjust itself to supposed scientific results of research. Greving writes on "Penitential Instruction in the Pre-Reformation Time," giving results of the examination of a number of books prepared for the use of confessors that show the prevailing estimate of the importance of different sins and classes of sins. Holzhey discusses "Genesis, chap. 1, and Ancient

Philosophy." He reaches the conclusion that there is nothing in the way of supposing that the cosmogony of Genesis, chap. 1, represents an attempt made some time between Ezra and Alexander the Great to combat with the sharp weapons of Greek philosophy and natural science Babylonian hylozoism and polytheism. He maintains, with some of the early Christian writers, a close relationship between Moses and Plato. The titles of the remaining articles are: "The Theological Position of Agobard of Lyons," by R. Jud; "Bertold III of Andech," by A. Kempler; "The Origin of Indulgences," by A. Königer; "No New Work of Ulphilas," by G. Pfeilschifter; "The Prayers in the Didache, chaps. 9 and 10," by Th. Schermann; "Michael Lindener, Falsifier, not Translator, of the Sermons and Writings of Savonarola," by Jos. Schnitzner; "The Lead Tablets in the Sarcophagus of St. Valentinus," by A. Seider; "*Lux vera, veniens in hunc mundum*," by J. Sickenberger; "A Penitential Book from the End of the Fifteenth Century," by F. X. Thalhöfer; "On the Hymn *Splendor paternae gloriæ*," by H. Vogels; "Albert the Great as Bishop of Regensburg," by M. Weiss; "Regeneration in the Mithras Mystagogy and in Christian Baptism," by F. Wieland. The last article is one of the most interesting. The writer makes the saving efficacy of Christian baptism to rest upon faith, not only in the sense that faith is the condition of the efficacy of baptism, but also in so far as the effects of the sacrament itself are recognized and come to consciousness only in faith. He regards the Mithras conception of regeneration as involving a far more material and magical transformation. For a Roman Catholic the author is remarkably spiritual in his conception of baptism. The book is a good illustration of the freedom of thought exercised by Roman Catholics in German state institutions of learning.

MELHORN, PAUL. *Die Blütezeit der deutschen Mystik*. "Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher IV. 6." Tübingen: Mohr, 1907. 64 pages. M. o. 50.

In his introductory remarks the author defines mysticism, points out its relations to Greek mysteries (Eleusinian, etc.), to Plato and Plotinus, to the New Testament, and to early Christian literature. Pseudo-Dionysius, the Areopagite, is recognized as the great source for mystical thought during the Middle Ages. The churchly type of mysticism represented by Scotus Erigena, Hugo and Richard of St. Victor, Bernard of Clairvaux, and the degenerate forms of mysticism (scarcely distinguishable from pantheism), as seen in Amalric of Bena, the Beghards, and the Brethren of the Free Spirit, as well as the German mystics of the fourteenth century, were all indebted to the Areopagite. It is to the German mystics that the body of the monograph is devoted. After discussing the reasons for the blossoming of a German mystical literature about the close of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, he takes up successively Master Eckhart, John Tauler, Henry Suso, Mystical Life in the Nunneries, John of Ruysbroeck, and the German theology. An excellent bibliography and some notes are appended. The booklet is a masterpiece of accurate definition and condensed expression. It is probable that the subject has never before been so satisfactorily handled in so few words. An English translation seems desirable.

KOLDE, TH. *Historische Einleitung in die symbolische Bücher der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1907. iv+lxviii pages. M. 2.

Kolde's treatise on the symbolical books of the Lutheran church (the *Book of Concord*) was prepared and published as an introduction to the tenth edition of J. C.

Müller's much-used annotated text of the symbolical book first published in 1848. Kolde is one of the foremost specialists in Reformation history and theology and in this introduction gives his readers the benefit of his wealth of learning. Beginning with the Augsburg Confession, he treats first of its rise and secondly of its history. Considerably more than a third of his space is devoted to this fundamental document. The Apology of the Augsburg confession is treated far more briefly and without subdivisions. The Schmalkald articles are treated under the headings "Rise," "Contents," and "History." Luther's catechisms are considered under the headings "Rise," "History," and "How Came Luther's Catechism to the Rank of a Symbolical Writing"? The Formula of Concord is discussed without subdivisions. A convenient bibliography of the *Book of Concord* closes the work. The object of the separate publication of Kolde's "Introduction" is no doubt to make it available for use with earlier editions of Müller's text and with other editions of the *Book of Concord*. In fulness and accuracy of information the "Introduction" leaves nothing to be desired.

RADAU, HUGO. *Bel, the Christ of Ancient Times*. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1908. 55 pages.

Two of the most elementary rules by which to determine the derivation of Christian ideas from other religions are: (1) these other religions must contain ideas similar to those in Christianity, and (2) the Christian ideas must be inexplicable on the basis of other Christian principles. These two rules have not been observed by Mr. Radau. The myth of Marduk, as he reconstructs it, is only in part similar to the history of Christ; and this history can be explained satisfactorily without assuming Babylonian influences. The booklet was first published in *The Monist* for 1903, pp. 67-119.

NÖSGEN, K. F. *Das Wirken des heiligen Geistes an den einzelnen Gläubigen und in der Kirche*. Berlin: Trowitzsch, 1907. vi+303 pages. M. 6.

This work of Professor Nösgen is in reality a second volume to that issued in 1905. In the first volume he gave a general discussion of the nature and modes of operation of the Holy Spirit. In this he confines himself to the work of the Holy Spirit in the individual Christian and in the church. In the present volume, even more than in the former, the author is controlled by his ecclesiastical presuppositions. Though presumably based upon the Scriptures, the work can scarcely be called a study in biblical theology. The method is rather that of the systematic theologian who enforces his propositions by proof-texts from the Bible.

In the elaboration of the work of the Holy Spirit in the individual Christian the material is arranged under three heads: (1) The Calling; (2) The Justification; and (3) The Regeneration of the Believer. In discussing the first head the author admits that the calling of the individual into the Christian life is, in the Scriptures, seldom attributed directly to the Spirit, yet nevertheless he concludes that it must be so. Under the other heads he finds abundant biblical material to fortify his general propositions. In the last half of the book the writer devotes the larger portion of his space to the Charismatic operation of the Spirit in the church. He says that he emphasizes this phase because writers in our times are inclined to minimize this function of the Spirit. He points out that the Charismatic gifts of the Spirit are not primarily for the good of the individual possessing them, but are rather bestowed for the edification of the

church. He does not at length discuss that most difficult subject, the "gift of tongues," nor does he try to harmonize the conception set forth in the second chapter of Acts with that implied in the first epistle to the Corinthians. He, however, draws a sharp distinction between the enlightening function of the Spirit bestowed upon all believers and the prophetic function (often manifested in ecstasy) possessed by some of the prophets in both Old and New Testament times. As one would naturally expect, he maintains that the latter is a much higher function of the Spirit than the former—a position which could hardly be maintained by one who studied the biblical material historically and critically.

Though adding little to the subject from a scientific standpoint, this volume, like the former one, will no doubt prove helpful in the church circles for which it was written.

KÄHLER, MARTIN. *Angewandte Dogmen*. Leipzig: Deichert 1908. xii+531 pages. M. 10.

This is Vol. II of the second edition of Professor Kähler's work, *Dogmatic Questions of the Times*. The first volume came out a year ago, bearing the title, "Concerning the Question of the Bible." The author holds a distinguished position in the German theological world, standing in a class by himself. He is termed a "biblicist," a term which may be justified here because of the biblical terminology, and the abundance of biblical quotations. On the other hand, unlike some others before him, he is open to a free recognition and use of the results of critical scholarship, as well as modern theological thought.

The series of essays before us are designed, as the author says to show to pastors the practical applicability of theological doctrines, and to help Christians of every sort to a better understanding of the faith, and to a recognition of the Son of God.

He acknowledges that, strictly speaking, only the articles on "The Holy Spirit," the "Prayer of Petition," "the Apostolic Congregations," and "The Last Things" come under the primary title of the work. Some of the others have first appeared elsewhere and are thus collected in permanent form. These are in part christological essays: viz., "Does Jesus Belong in the Gospels?" "Hero Worship and Faith in Jesus," "The Glory of Jesus," "Confession of the Divinity of Christ," "Communion with Christ," "The Holiness and Love of God," "The Ten Commandments," and "Missions."

The book is a rich mine for the one who knows how to quarry. Yet it seems that its practical value would have been considerably increased had the author used less frequently a sententious and oracular mode of expression, a fault noticeable in a number of German theologians and conspicuously and refreshingly absent in others, especially when writing for a more popular audience.

CASE, CARL DELOS. *The Incarnation and Modern Thought*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1908. 44 pages. \$0.53.

In this dissertation, which aims at being the prolegomena to any future Christology, it is maintained that for a theory of the incarnation which shall commend itself to the modern mind, recourse must be had from the Latin theology, with its emphasis upon the transcendence of God, to the more characteristically Greek conception of divine immanence. Thus instead of having a Christology which treats the incarnation

as an absolute miracle, one is enabled to see in that event the most natural of occurrences. The Logos, the eternal principle of humanity and of all existence, has simply individuated his life into a personality in Jesus Christ. The Kenotic view is to be regarded as true but not the whole of the truth, inasmuch as it confines attention to the concealment of the divine life involved in incarnation, instead of emphasizing the divine self-manifestation.

BOUSSET, WILHELM. *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*. Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1906. 617 pages.

The first edition of this book, published in 1903, was reviewed in Vol. VIII of this *Journal*, pp. 315 f. It is a sign of the great interest which scholars take today in Judaism, that only five years later a second edition was demanded. Bousset has radically revised his former treatment to the great improvement of the discussion. His first part now deals with the universal tendencies and the national narrowness of Judaism, the second with the cult and the ceremonial righteousness, the third with the new forms of the new piety, the fourth with the idea of judgment, the fifth with the monotheism and its limitations, the sixth with the relation of God and men, the seventh with the subordinate forms of the Jewish piety, the eighth with the religio-historical problem. It goes without saying that Bousset has made use of the literature published since the first edition; so his book takes account of everything that has hitherto been said on this period. It is 105 pages larger than the first edition, all sections having been greatly enlarged.

BETH, KARL. *The Miracles of Jesus*. (Foreign Religious Series.) New York: Eaton & Mains, 1907. 77 pages. \$0.40.

A conservative treatment of the subject manifesting a spirit of fairness and considerable ability. The writer is satisfied with the general historicity of the miracles of Jesus, and yet he recognizes that "it requires no material sign to grasp the divine truth as divine; it needs only spiritual penetration to experience the revelation in a living manner. Whoever demands phenomena—extraordinary, powerful deeds—as evidences of the divine will be a loser; he is lacking in the principal condition for religious knowledge."

SCHMIEDEL, PAUL W. *The Johannine Writings*. Translated by Maurice A. Canney. London: Black, 1908. New York: Macmillan. xii + 287 pages. \$1.50.

These studies have already appeared for the most part in a German series of booklets popularizing modern biblical science. They are here gathered into a convenient volume. Professor Schmiedel has a very low opinion of the Fourth Gospel as a source for the life of Jesus and is decidedly against a recent tendency to place it before the Synoptics in certain particulars of the death of Jesus. But as a book of religious inspiration and a discussion of the fundamental nature of Christianity he esteems it very highly. The gospel is not of multiple authorship but John the apostle had nothing to do with its authorship or indeed with any of the Johannine writings. Though much akin to the gospel the First Epistle is not from the same hand. They both belong to the second quarter of the second century (about 140) and are of unknown origin. The Apocalypse in its present form dates from about 95 A. D.

Surely Schmiedel makes by far too much of the symbolic character of the gospel. His discussion is lacking in a "sense for the simple and the natural."

NESTLE, EBERHARD. *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*. Utrumque textum cum apparatu critico. Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1906. 657+665 pages.

NESTLE, EBERHARD. *Novum Testamentum Latine*. Textum Vaticanum cum apparatu critico. Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1906. 657 pages.

NESTLE, EBERHARD. Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. *Novum Testamentum Textus Stephanici A. D. 1550*. Cum variis Lectionibus editionum. Curante F. H. A. Scrivener. Editio quarta ab Eb. Nestle correcta. Londini: G. Bell et Filii; Cantabrigiae: Deighton, Bell et Soc., 1906. 598 pages.

Three attractive and convenient editions of the New Testament text from the pen of Nestle have recently appeared. His well-known Greek text, first published by itself, is now combined with Nestle's edition of the Latin Vulgate, and the result is a convenient bilingual edition, somewhat after the old Bagster style, Greek and Latin facing each other on opposite pages. There are marginal references and some select variants, both Greek and Latin. The Latin text is also published separately, and constitutes one of the most convenient and elegant editions of the New Testament Vulgate to be had. Nestle has also edited a corrected edition of Scrivener's oft-reprinted edition of Stephanus' famous Editio Regia, of 1550, a timely service, since that edition is in steady demand for certain critical purposes. There is a considerable apparatus of the variants of the chief critical editions, and the thin paper and clear type make this an attractive form in which to study the great historic edition of the mediaeval and traditional text, the *textus eceptus*.

KÖLBING, PAUL. *Die bleibende Bedeutung der urchristlichen Eschatologie*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1907. 32 pages. M. 0.75.

Accepting it as settled that John the Baptist, Jesus, and the early church held the eschatological views that were inherited by them, what significance has that eschatology for today? Kölbing holds that the religious roots of the primitive Christian eschatology were grounded in the prophetic faith in the moral majesty of Jehovah and in the hope of the pious Jews for a heavenly kingdom of God. This heavenly kingdom was hoped for because it was felt that moral perfection, such as Jehovah demanded, was not attainable in the flesh, because of the natural weakness of man. Today it is no less true that the difficulties of satisfactory moral achievement lead the Christian to postulate a future when the limitations imposed by the flesh shall be removed. We have, therefore, an eschatological hope not essentially different from that which the early church inherited from the prophets and heard emphasized by John and Jesus.

JACQUIER, E. *Histoire des livres du Nouveau Testament*. Tome troisième. Paris: Lecoffre, 1908. 346 pages. \$0.70.

The present volume is the third in a series of historical studies on the books of the New Testament. It is devoted to the Book of Acts, the Epistles of James, Peter, and Jude. The author discusses at length the chief questions pertaining to the authorship, date, purpose, teaching, text, etc., of the several books. The work is carefully done and shows a wide acquaintance with the recent literature of the subject, the

long and numerous quotations from which make it a serviceable compendium. It concludes with an appendix devoted to a discussion of the language of the New Testament in the light of recent studies, and of the Freer Manuscript. In his discussion of the latter, the views of Grenfell, Goodspeed, Sanders, Schmidt, Gregory, and Harnack are considered, and a translation proposed.

NICOL, THOMAS. *The Four Gospels in the Earliest Church History*. The Baird Lecture for 1907. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1908. 319 pages.

Dr. Nicol presents in this volume a study of the external evidence for the date, authorship, and ecclesiastical recognition of the four gospels. Despite its unyielding conservatism, it constitutes an illuminating and valuable discussion of the many difficult questions arising in this field of investigation. Beginning with the testimony of the "Gospel Collection of the Four," as it presents itself at the close of the second century, the author works back to the earlier and more difficult period, namely, the closing decades of the first century. The gospels are then taken up individually and subjected to the same method of treatment.

The following constitute the chief conclusions arrived at: (1) Justin used the four gospels, probably in the form of a harmony; (2) Marcion and Hermas probably knew the four gospels; (3) The four gospels were first collected in Asia Minor; (4) The Diatessaron was probably composed in Greek; (5) The Ignatian Letters are genuine; (6) The presbyter John is "none other than the apostle John himself;" (7) The theory based upon the DeBoor's Fragment, that John and James died simultaneously, in 44 A. D. (Acts 12:2) and that therefore John could have had no residence in Ephesus, and could not have written the Fourth Gospel is rejected; (8) The apostle John is the author of the Fourth Gospel; (9) The four gospels are authentic and trustworthy productions of the apostolic age, and have come down to us practically unchanged from the hands of their apostolic authors.

Dr. Nicol has prepared his work with great care. One oversight is noted in his failure to note the death of Hilgenfeld, p. 15.

WALKER, W. L. *The Teaching of Christ in Its Present Appeal*. New and rev. ed. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribners, 1908. ix+240 pages. \$1.

The first edition of this brief study of the thought of Jesus appeared more than three years ago. The present edition differs from the first only in a few slight additions. Aware of the work of critics on the sources of our knowledge of the teaching of Jesus, the author holds firmly to the view that the freest criticism need not deprive us of our confidence in the essential teachings of Christ. It is just these "essential teachings" which he endeavors to elucidate in a simple, non-technical manner. His discussion of the social aspects of Jesus' teaching is not unlike that of Tolstoi in its literalness and earnestness. He says, "If the spirit with which Christ sought to inspire men were cherished and allowed to rule our life, or if his precepts were obeyed, the worst evils of life would disappear. Wars would cease; men would no longer consent to direct their energies to maim and kill their fellow-men; every cause would be seen to be lower than the great cause of a true humanity."

The treatment of the "Cross of Christ," the "Person of Christ," and the "Spirit of Christ" is simple and practical throughout. The two concluding chapters are devoted to showing that the teaching of Paul and of the Fourth Gospel are not essentially different from that of Jesus.

This volume is commended to all Christian workers who would gain ready access to the mind of the Master.

KRÜGER, G., UND KOHLER, W. *Theologischer Jahresbericht*. Sechszwanzigster Band enthaltend die Literatur und Totenschau des Jahres 1906. Leipzig: Heinsius, 1907. 1576 pages.

This historical annual survey of the literary output of the western world in the field of theology lays all scholars under obligations to the indefatigable energy and toil with which the thousands of articles and books are classified and the most important contributions intelligently reviewed. While all the sections are admirably complete especial mention should be made of the 600 pages devoted to church history and to the 256 pages dealing with philosophical and systematic publications in the realm of theology. The selection of the few books and articles deserving special mention calls for exceptional balance of judgment, and seems to have been made with admirable impartiality. Naturally the issues of immediate interest to Germany receive more attention than issues in other lands. For example, discussions of pragmatism would be assessed at a somewhat different value in America. But the editors deserve the gratitude of all students of theology for their catholic purpose and for the success with which they register the progress of theological thinking.

TROELTSCH, ERNST. *Die Trennung von Staat und Kirche, der staatliche Religionsunterricht, und die theologischen Fakultäten*. Tübingen: Mohr, 1907. 79 pages. M. 1.60.

This rectoral address is a historical résumé of the movements toward separation of state and church, a philosophical defense of Lutheran opportunism, and an attempt at a *raison d'être* of the theological faculties, should the separation of state and church become a reality. Incidentally Professor Troeltsch pays his respects to the "experimental, crude, unfinished" state of educational affairs in matters of religion in the United States.

SCHMIEDEL, OTTO. *Richard Wagners religiöse Weltanschauung*. [Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher. V. Reihe. 5. Heft.] Tübingen: Mohr 1907. 63 pages. M. 0.70.

A very readable, compact sketch of the interesting religious development of the great composer. His career is divided into four periods: (1) that of uncritical reflection of current Christian ideals; (2) the revolutionary period, when he was a political outcast and distinctly revolted from Christianity; (3) the pessimistic period of hardship as a musician, in which Schopenhauer exercised great influence over him; (4) the final years in which he constructed a redemption-religion out of his previous pessimism. The sketch shows real insight and sympathy.

WEINEL, HEINRICH. *Isben, Björnson, Nietzsche*. Individualismus und Christentum. [Lebensfragen, No. 20.] Tübingen: Mohr, 1908. 244 pages. M. 3.

Weinel, with his well-known insight and clearness has here interpreted the messages of these three powerful representatives of certain phases of modern thought. He indicates the significance of this new "transvaluation of values," and sees in it a wholesome challenge to routine and traditionalism in Christianity. It has occasioned a deeper inquiry into the real nature of Christianity, and is thus indirectly leading to a new appreciation of the Christian ideal of a freedom which is a gift of God, rather than a strenuous achievement of the individual.

GODRYCZ, J. *The Doctrine of Modernism and Its Refutation*. Philadelphia: John Jos. McVey, 1908. 132 pages. Cloth, 75 cents, net.

On the supposition that the readers of this book either do, or do not, believe in the pronouncement of the recent Papal Letter on modernism, it is difficult to see why the author should write it; for if they do believe in the *ipse dixit* of the Father, the book is superfluous to them, and if they do not, it is irrelevant, since, in every case, it assumes precisely what is required to be proved. The bearers of modernism deny the author's presuppositions, repudiate his "clear and impartial statement" of their positions, and would not be able even remotely to "recognize their own weapons . . . drawn from reason and the sciences," with which the author quite instructively informs us he "goes out to meet the enemy on his own field . . . by a series of arguments," as we are further informed, "as interesting as they are convincing."

MELANCTHON, W. JACOBUS. *Roman Catholic and Protestant Bibles Compared*. The Gould Prize Essays. 2d ed., New York: Scribner, 1908. xv+361 pages. \$1.25 net.

The first edition of this work appeared in 1905 with merely the text of the three Gould Prize Essays. So much dissatisfaction was expressed with this edition because of the omission of the notes which made the essays really valuable, that the promoters have issued this second edition "with appendices originally accompanying the essays and a complete bibliography covering the general literature of the subject." It is evident that the notes in several places have been condensed, but they still give the reader the basis for the arguments advanced by the several essayists. The bibliography is quite uneven. Literature on some divisions of the subject is brought down to 1907, and on other parts only to 1903. The compiler evidently was not equally well at home on all the themes. The volume as a whole is a contribution to the discussion of the theme.

BILLINGSLEY, JAMES J. *The Scientific Basis of Immortality*. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1907. 47 pages. \$0.15.

In *The Scientific Basis of Immortality* Billingsley takes issue with all who deny the possibility of a scientific demonstration of immortality. The pamphlet is popular in style.

MEYER, ARNOLD. *Was uns Jesus heute ist.* [Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher. V. Reihe. 4. Heft.] Tübingen: Mohr, 1907. 50 pages. M. 0.50.

This booklet attempts to show the significance of Jesus from the point of view of the radical criticism represented by Dr. Meyer. The deity of Jesus is denied on historical grounds and rejected on religious grounds. The real achievement of Jesus consisted in the creation of a vital faith in God which he enables men to share. He is thus the supreme revealer and creator of religious life. Meyer's position differs from Unitarianism only in its religious fervor, which approaches mysticism rather than rationalism.

STANGE, CARL. *Das Förmigkeitsideal der modernen Theologie.* Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908. 31 pages. M. 0.50.

In this little essay Professor Stange points out the tendencies in modern liberal theology which he regards as dangerous to the Christian religious faith. The biblical conception of miracle is by no means the heathen idea of a mere eruption of divine activity into a natural course of events, but it rather indicates that all events in nature are to be viewed in their relation to the redemptive will of God. The elimination of the idea of miracle in modern theology leads to an abstract idea of God, and undermines the certainty of his presence and activity in the natural world, and even makes the God-concept more or less hypothetical. Further, the modern idea of personality, with its concept of development, obscures the real nature of evil, weakens the guilt-feeling, substitutes growth in the natural life for a new birth in the divine life, and reduces Jesus to an example to be imitated, instead of a redeemer from sin.

STOCKER, R. DIMSDALE. *Spirit, Matter, and Morals.* London: Owen & Co., 1908. 97 pages. 1s.

Spiritism is always expressed in terms of corporeality. Pure materialism is just as inconsistent, and must be inclusive of a spiritual element. In the final chapter, "Rational Ethicism," the author sets forth his argument for religion: "Only as spiritualism, materialism, and rationalism fuse in ethical monism, and the laws of life are interpreted with reference to moral purpose, can the full satisfaction of the soul be reached and the heart's desire be attained."

BRÉHIER, EMILE. *Les idées philosophiques et religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie.* Paris: Picard, 1908. xiv+336 pages. Fr. 7.50.

Bréhier's study, *Les idées philosophiques et religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie*, is marked by its insistence upon the religious rather than the metaphysical motive as the key to Philo's thinking. This religious motive is attributed to the influence of Egyptian cult more than to Judaism. The consequent morality is subjective and involves a theory of conscience essentially modern.

GUYOT, HENRI. *Les réminiscences de Philon le juif chez Plotin.* Paris: Alcan, 1906. 92 pages. Fr. 2.

Guyot, in *Les réminiscences de Philon le juif chez Plotin*, contends that the text of Plotinus betrays the direct influence of the text of Philo, particularly in the notions of the divine infinite, of intermediate powers, and of ecstasy. He insists that Philo's influence was preponderating in these instances, but not all will agree with his conclusion.

SCHIAN, MARTIN. *Die evangelische Kirchgemeinde*. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1907. 114 pages. M. 2.70.

This is the fourth number of the first volume of "Studien zur praktischen Theologie," edited by Professors Eger of Friedberg, Schian of Breslau, and Clemen of Bonn. The preceding numbers consisted of an article each by Professor Clemen, "Zur Reform der praktischen Theologie;" by Professor Eger, "Die Vorbildung zum Pfarramt der Volkskirche," and by Pastor Haupt of North Tonawanda, N. Y., "Die Eigenart der amerikanischen Predigt." There is evidently a feeling of dissatisfaction in the church of the Fatherland, and a need of readjustment to present conditions. The editors of this series aim to meet this need in the scientific method peculiar to the German academic point of view, and to present the results of studies by competent persons in semi-technical form. The present discussion recognizes fundamentally the local church as the unit of organization, and undertakes to exhibit its relation to the church at large from this point of view. The author discusses the essence of the evangelical local parish (*Gemeinde*) the tasks of the evangelical parish, the principles of parochial activity, and the methods of organization and work. This treatise is of special importance to pastors and others who try to explain the failure of evangelical American bodies to reach German immigrants in any appreciable number and of still greater importance to persons who desire to face intelligently the grave problem of an alien church in America.

STEPHAN, HORST. *Die Pietismus als Träger des Fortschritts in Kirche, Theologie und allgemeiner Geistesbildung*. Tübingen: Mohr, 1908. 64 pages. M. 0.60.

This pamphlet is the reprint of an address delivered before the Theological Conference in Hessen, January 6, 1908. It is an attempt at an evaluation of the historical influence of Spener on the ecclesiastical, devotional, intellectual, and dogmatic life of the Lutheran church. Pietism, in the opinion of our author, is renewed emphasis on the priesthood of all believers, and thus becomes a democratizing factor. Its fundamental idea is "experiential religion" uttering itself in practical activity, and for this reason could not produce very strong results in dogmatic theology. Nevertheless, it is maintained that Ritschl and Schleiermacher owe much to Spener.

STAHN, H. *Die Simson-Sage: Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Richter 13-16*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1908. 81 pages. M. 2.40.

This study includes the history of the interpretation of the Samson story, the text and literary character of the story, its contents in the light of parallel stories among other peoples, and its origin in Israel. The author allies himself with those who regard the whole narrative as a sun-myth. Samson was a sun-god. This treatment is clear and concise; yet abundance of parallel materials is furnished upon which to base an opinion. To those desiring to orient themselves with reference to this interesting phase of Old Testament study this treatise may be highly recommended.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The more important books in this list will be reviewed at length.

OLD TESTAMENT AND SEMITICS

- Bertholet, Alfred. *Das religionsgeschichtliche Problem des Spätjudentums*. Tübingen: Mohr, 1909. 30 pages. M. o. 80.
- Box, G. H. *A Short Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*. (Oxford Church Textbooks.) London: Rivington; New York: Gorham, 1909. 143 pages. 1s.
- Ehrlich, Arnold B. *Randglossen zur Hebräischen Bibel. Textkritisches, Sprachliches und Sachliches. Erster Band: Genesis und Exodus*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908. 424 pages. M. 9. 50.
- Jastrow, Morris, Jr. *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens 13te Lieferung*. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1909. 385-464 pages. \$1. 50.
- Jugie, M. *Histoire du canon de l'ancien testament dans l'église grecque et l'église russe*. Paris: Beauchesne & Cie., 1909. 140 pages. Fr. 1. 75.
- Lundgren, Friedrich. *Die Benutzung der Pflanzenwelt in der alttestamentlichen Religion*. (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissensch. XIV.) Giessen: Töpelmann, 1908. 191 pages. M. 5.
- Müller, Johannes. *Beiträge zur Erklärung und Kritik des Buches Tobit*. 53 pages.
- Orchard, W. E. *The Evolution of Old Testament Religion*. London: James Clarke & Co., 1908. 288 pages. 3s. 6d.
- Rogers, R. W. *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, especially in Its Relations to Israel*. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1908. 235 pages. \$2.
- Schechter, S. *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*. New York: Macmillan. 1909. xxii + 384 pages. \$2. 25.
- Smend, Rudolf. *Alter und Herkunft des Achikar-Romans und sein Verhältniss zu Aesop*. (Beihefte zur Zeits. f. d. alttest. Wissenschaft, XIII.) Giessen: Töpelmann, 1908. 72 pages. M. 4. 40.
- Thompson, Sir Herbert. *The Coptic (Sahidic) Version of Certain Books of the Old Testament*. From a Papyrus in the British Museum. Oxford: University Press; New York: Frowde, 1908. 191 pages. \$3. 00.
- Thomsen, Peter. *Loca Sancta: Verzeichnis der im 1. bis 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr. erwähnten Ortschaften Palästinas, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Localisierung der biblischen Stätten*. 1. Band. Halle: Rudolf Haupt, 1907. 144 pages.
- Westphal, Gustav. *Jahwes Wohnstätten nach den Anschauungen der alten Hebräer*. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1908. 280 pages. M. 1. 11.

NEW TESTAMENT AND ALLIED SUBJECTS

- Clemen, Carl. *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des Neuen Testaments*. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1909. 301 pages. M. 10.
- Fairweather, William. *The Background of the Gospels, or Judaism in the Period between the Old and New Testaments*. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribners, 1908. 455 pages. \$3.
- Green, S. W. *The Gospel of Mark. (The Westminster New Testament.)* Chicago: Revell, 1909. 245 pages. \$0. 75.
- Gregory, C. R. *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909. 804 pages. M. 10.
- Haussleiter, Johannes Paulus. München: Beck, 1909. 96 pages. M. 1. 20.
- Hellmann, Siegmund: *Pseudo-Cyprianus de XII Abusivis Saeculi*.
- Kirchner, Victor. *Der "Lohn" in der alten Philosophie, im bürgerlichen Recht, besonders im Neuen Testament*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1908. 216 pages. M. 3.
- Leroy, Hippolyte. *Jesus-Christ; sa vie, son temps*. Paris: Beauchesne & Cie., 1908. 344 pages. Fr. 3.
- Nestle, Eberhard. *Einführung in das griechische Neue Testament*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1909. 298 pages. M. 4. 80.
- Niebergall, F. *Praktische Auslegung des Neuen Testaments für Prediger und*

- Religionslehrer. Johannes. (Handbuch zum Neuen Testament.) Tübingen: Mohr, 1908. 55 pages. M. 1.20.
- Preuschen, Erwin. Vollständiges Griechisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1909. 332-579 pages. M. 1.80.
- Sickenberger, Joseph. Fragmente der Homilien des Cyrill von Alexandrien zum Lukasevangelium. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909. 108 pages. M. 3.50.
- Stearns, W. N. Fragments from Graeco-Jewish Writers. University of Chicago Press, 1909. 216 pages, \$0.75.
- Vedder, H. C. Our New Testament: How Did We Get It? Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1908. 388 pages. \$1.
- Warschauer, J. Jesus: Seven Questions. Chapters in Reconstruction. London: James Clarke & Co., 1908. 302 pages. 3s. 6d.
- Abtheilung. Hohes Mittelalter: Spätes Mittelalter. Reformation. Gegenreformation. Tübingen: Mohr, 1908. 193-448 pages. M. 4.
- Kvacala, J. Thomas Campanella ein Reformator der ausgehenden Renaissance. Berlin: Trowitzsch & Sohn, 1909. xvi+154 pages. M. 5.20.
- Linck, S. H. Zur Uebersetzung und Erläuterung der Kanones IV, VI, und VII des Konzils von Nicæa. Inaugural Dissertation zur Erlangung der Licentiatenwürde der theologischen Fakultät der Grossherzoglich Hessischen Ludwigs-Universität zu Giessen. Giessen: Münchow, 1908. 67 pages.
- Sabatier, Paul. Modernism: The Jowett Lectures for 1908. Translated by C. A. Miles. New York: Scribner, 1908. 348 pages. \$1.25.
- Sheldon, Henry C. Sacerdotalism in the Nineteenth Century. A Critical History. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1909. 461 pages. \$2.
- Vogt, Albert. Basile I empereur de Byzance (867-886) et la civilization byzantine à la fin du ix^e siècle. Paris: Picard, 1908. 447 pages. Fr. 7.50.
- Windisch, Hans. Taufe und Sünde im ältesten Christentum bis auf Origenes. Ein Beitrag zur altchristlichen Dogmengeschichte. Tübingen: Mohr, 1908. 554 pages.

CHURCH HISTORY

- Adeney, Walter F. The Greek and Eastern Churches. (International Theological Library.) New York: Scribners, 1908. 634 pages. \$2.50.
- Battifol, Pierre. L'église naissante et la catholicisme. Paris: Lecoq, 1909. 502 pages. Fr. 5.
- Cavene, Léon. Le célèbre miracle de saint Janvier à Naples et à Pouzzoles. Examiné au double de vue historique et scientifique, avec une introduction sur le miracle en général. Paris: Beauchesne & Cie., 1909. 356 pages. Fr. 5.
- Choupin, Lucien. Les fiançailles et le mariage. Discipline actuelle. Décret *ne remere* (2 août 1907). Paris: Beauchesne & Cie., 1908. 163 pages. Fr. 1.75.
- Foley, G. C. Anselm's Theory of the Atonement. The Bohlen Lectures, 1908. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1909. 319 pages. \$1.50.
- Harnack, A. Theological Translation Library. Vol. XIX. Harnack's The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries. Vols. I. and II. Second, enlarged, and revised edition. London: Williams & Norgate; New York: Putnam, 1908. 513 and 358 pages. \$7.00 per set.
- Heussi, Karl. Compendium der Kirchengeschichte. Zweite Hälfte. Erste

COMPARATIVE RELIGION

- Foucart, George. La méthode comparative dans l'histoire des religions. Paris: Picard, 1909. 236 pages. Fr. 3.50.
- Hubert, H., et Mauss, M. Mélanges d'histoire des religions. Paris: Alcan, 1909. 236 pages. Fr. 5.
- Le Roy, A. La religion des primitifs. Paris: Beauchesne & Cie., 1909. 518 pages. Fr. 4.
- Natorp, Paul. Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der Humanität. Zweite, durchgesehene und um ein Nachwort vermehrte Auflage. Tübingen: Mohr, 1908. 126 pages. M. 3.
- Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions. Vols. I and II. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908. xl+784 pages. 21s.
- Weckesser, A. Die monistische Weltanschauung und das Religionsproblem. Leipzig: Heinsius, 1908. 36 pages. M. 0.60.

SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY

- DeMill, R. M. *The Foundation and the Superstructure, or, the Faith of Christ and the Works of Man.* New York: Putnam, 1908. 392 pages. \$3.
- Kaftan, J. *Dogmatik. (Grundriss der Theologischen Wissenschaften.) Täuften und Seckstee verbesserte Auflage.* Tübingen: Mohr, 1908. 672 pages. M. 9.

ETHICS

- Clark, Henry W. *The Christian Method of Ethics.* Chicago: Revell, 1908. 254 pages. \$1.25.
- Haering, Theodor von. *The Ethics of the Christian Life.* Translated by James S. Hill. New York: Putnam; London: Williams & Norgate, 1909. 479 pages.

APOLOGETICS

- Ballard, Frank. *God, Prayer, and the Mystery of Pain. Being Part II of The People's Religious Difficulties.* London: Robt. Culley, 1909. 248 pages. 6d.
- Bavinck, Herman. *The Philosophy of Revelation. The Stone Lectures for 1908-9.* New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1909. 349 pages. \$2.
- Bousset, Wilhelm. *The Faith of a Modern Protestant.* Translated by F. B. Low. New York: Scribner, 1909. 119 pages. \$0.75.
- Krüger, Gustav. *Dogma and History. The Essex Hall Lecture.* London: Philip Green, 1908. 84 pages. 1s.
- Ligeard, H. *La théologie scolastique et la transcendance du surnaturel.* Paris: Beauchesne & Cie., 1908. 138 pages. Fr. 1.75.
- Lodge, Sir Oliver. *Science and Immortality.* New York: Moffat, Yard & Co., 1908. 294 pages. \$2.
- Otto Rudolf. *Naturalistische und religiöse Weltansicht.* Tübingen: Mohr, 1909. 295 pages. M. 6.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

- Curtis, Charles Newman. *An Epoch in the Spiritual Life.* New York: Eaton & Mains, 1908. 328 pages. \$1.25.
- Faunce, W. H. P. *The Educational Ideal in the Ministry: The Lyman*

- Beecher Lectures at Yale University in the Year 1908. New York: Macmillan, 1908. 286 pages. \$1.25.
- Goodman, J. H. *The Chambers of Imagery and Other Sermons.* London: Robert Culley, 1908. 246 pages. 2s. 6d.
- Holden, J. Stuart. *Redeeming Vision. A Volume of Addresses.* Chicago: Revell, 1908. 214 pages. \$1.25.
- Hoyt, Arthur S. *The Preacher: His Person, Message, and Method.* New York: Macmillan, 1909. 380 pages. \$1.50.
- Lewis, F. Warburton. *The Work of Christ.* London: Robert Culley, 1909. 203 pages. \$0.50.
- Rietschel, G. *Lehrbuch der Liturgik. Zweiter Band. Die Kasualien.* Berlin: Reuther und Reichard. 1908. 482 pages. M. 8.50.

MISCELLANEOUS

- Avebury, The Right Hon. Lord. *Peace and Happiness.* New York: Macmillan, 1909. 386 pages. \$1.50.
- Dummelow, J. R. (editor). *One-Volume Bible Commentary.* New York: Macmillan, 1909. cliii+1092 pages. \$2.50.
- Hastings, James, John A. Selbie, John C. Lambert, and Shailer Mathews (editors). *Dictionary of the Bible.* New York: Scribner, 1909. xvi+992 pages. \$5.
- Jackson, S. Trevena. *Lincoln's Use of the Bible.* New York: Eaton & Mains, 1909. 35 pages. \$0.25.
- Jacobus, M. W., A. C. Zenos, and E. E. Nourse (editors). *A Standard Bible Dictionary.* New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1909. xxiii+920 pages. \$6.
- Hermathena: *A Series of Papers on Literature, Science, and Philosophy, by Members of Trinity College, Dublin.* London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1908. 269 pages. 4s.
- Margolis, Max L. *The Holy Scriptures with Commentary.* Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1908. 104 pages.
- Mignot, Mgr. *Lettres sur les études ecclésiastiques.* Paris: Lecoffre, 1908. 324 pages. Fr. 3.50.
- Pratt, J. B. *What Is Pragmatism?* New York: Macmillan, 1909. 256 pages. \$1.25.

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RELIGION AND THE SUBCONSCIOUS

PROFESSOR GEORGE ALBERT COE, PH.D.
Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

At last, it seems, the path between God and the human soul has been found. The dream of the Hebrew nomad who beheld a ladder set up on the earth, the top of which reached to heaven, has received, we are assured, scientific verification. No longer may we say of spirit that we know not whence it cometh or whither it goeth, for it goes and comes by the route of the subconscious.

This "find," we are given to understand, is first of all a new discovery of ourselves. We used to regard ourselves as rational beings whose beliefs are to be justified by reflective thinking. Theology assured us that even divine revelation claims our assent only because it offers specific evidence of its source and authority. If some of us, dissenting from the rationalistic assumptions of the traditional dogma, gave the first place in the constitution of the mind to conscience or the moral nature, we thought of the moral nature as wide-awake, discriminating, critically conscious, not as a "sub" of any kind. And whether we put reason or conscience first, we assumed, as a matter of course, that the way to find God, if he is to be found at all, is to raise our own self-consciousness, rational or moral, to its highest power.

But it seems that we have mistaken the organ for the apprehension of spiritual things. Instead of going up to the top story of our psy-

chical being, and gazing toward the empyrean, we should climb down into the cellar of the mind and peer into the shadows. We have relied upon the last-developed, most highly specialized faculties, whereas we are now told that greater respect is due to uncritical processes that we share with savages and possibly with the lower animals. According to this view, the more discriminating we become in our thinking and believing, the less profound is our apprehension of the broader realities. Clear thinking at its best apprehends only the outer shell or the mechanism of things. True or final reality, which religion is interested in, lies at the base, not the apex, of consciousness. By letting ourselves down into our subselves we may enjoy a feeling-realization, or intuition, or vision that conveys a superior, but unanalytic and non-cognitive certainty.¹

Politics is not the only thing that makes strange bed-fellows. For in current representations of the subconscious old antagonisms are ignored in an astonishing manner. Thus, to begin with, the highest inspirations of the Christian religion become associated with the performances of the modern "psychic."

"Isn't there jam in the kitchen, Rogers?" asks Manson in the opening scene of *The Servant in the House*, and Rogers exclaims,

" 'Eving's! 'E've got eyes in 'is boots."

Of the dramatic skill with which Mr. Kennedy has here and elsewhere in the play touched a popular chord there can be, I suppose, no question; but what shall we say concerning a state of the popular mind that makes possible the acceptance, as an impressive introduction to the personality of Jesus, of what has the *prima facie* marks of a mind-reading trick? Nor is the populace out of touch at this point with the movement of theology. The telepathic hypothesis is adduced in support of the mysticism of St. Paul,² and again, when the theory of inspiration is in question, telepathy bobs up as a possible help to

¹ Here is a typical instance of the teaching of certain clergymen: Consciousness is represented as "but an insignificant fragment of mind," and we are taught that the subconscious plays a "dominating rôle" in "creative energy of thought, in religion, in education, in the formation of habits, in the causation and cure of many disorders, in memory, and in the functional activities of the body." On the effort to justify religion by grounding it upon a supposed non-cognitive certainty of feeling, I have made some critical remarks in the *Hibbert Journal*, Vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 367-71.

² J. M. Campbell, *Paul the Mystic* (London, 1907), p. 275.

conceiving it.³ To see the full significance of this point of view, we need to reflect that the mind-reader, fortune-teller, or diviner, however modern, is the historical and psychological descendant of the shaman and the medicine man.

If this seems to be strange company for the Christian religion, what shall be said of the proposed alliance between Christianity and modern spiritism? That spiritism has recently acquired respectability in quarters where once it was despised is certain. Twenty-five years ago, what Protestant clergyman found anything but delusion and moral decay in it? But today various prominent ecclesiastics not only lean toward the notion of spirit communication, but also look to this source for support for the Christian belief in spiritual realities. One of our most popular essayists on religion, in a discussion of "Religion and Ghosts,"⁴ after expressing the opinion that psychical research is proving the survival of bodily death, maintains that this matter is of the greatest concern for religion because "it is on the great fact of the spiritual world that the New Testament rests."⁵ The central point at which spiritism contributes to Christian apologetic concerns, of course, the resurrection of Jesus. Brierley does not hesitate to class Jesus' *post-mortem* influence—the phrase is Brierley's—with the phenomena of spiritism,⁶ and various theologians have reduced the appearances of the risen Jesus to "objective visions" which have the same kind of truth as that which materializing séances claim for themselves.⁷

A third surprise is the *rapprochement* between Catholics and

³ A. W. Moore, *The Rational Basis of Orthodoxy* (Boston, 1901), pp. 194 ff. See also Sir Oliver Lodge, *The Substance of Faith* (New York), 1907, pp. 82 ff.

⁴ J. Brierley, *Religion and Experience* (New York, 1906), chap. viii.

⁵ The general acumen of Mr. Brierley forsakes him when he makes such painfully uncritical summaries of spiritistic evidence as the following: "The researches of a Crookes, of a Myers, of a Gurney, of a Rochat, of a Gabriel Delanne, have brought within our view a mass of facts which are as solidly based as they are wonderful." "Sir William Crookes has taken photographs of these materializations."—*Op. cit.*, p. 96. Has Mr. Brierley never read the analysis of these phenomena by the veteran psychical researcher, Frank Podmore? See his *Modern Spiritualism* (2 vols., London, 1902).

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 30 f.

⁷ See J. H. Ropes' comment on K. Lake, "The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus" (1907) in the *Harvard Theological Review*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 386.

certain Protestants on the subject of evil spirits. Protestants in general have refused to follow Cotton Mather and John Wesley in their defense of the witchcraft belief as a part of supernaturalism, but Catholicism has consciously clung to the central idea of the witchcraft theory. That a chief physician to two popes⁸ should accept some modern spiritistic phenomena as genuine converse with spirits, howbeit evil spirits, is not surprising therefore. But we may well catch our breath when we find Protestant missionaries in Korea, China, India, and Africa giving their assent to the theory of demon-possession.⁹ A wave of such belief seems to be inundating many mission fields. Some general tendency of the kind might be looked for in missionaries untrained in psychology who witness the impressive automatisms that primitive thought always interprets as possession. But it is curious that an acute infection breaks out and spreads in so many mission lands just at a time when in the home-land spiritism attains unprecedented respectability.

Extremes meet again when the objective efficacy of prayer is explained and defended by reference to the supposed connection of mind with mind, and of the human mind with God, through the subconscious. If telepathy be true, then, of course, my prayer for another may produce effects in his mind and body. Myers' speculation concerning a possible medium for telepathic vibrations now reappears as an assertion that prayer recognizes "waves of psychic force."¹⁰ Only imagination is required to go on from this to a belief that matter has so many degrees of fineness and coarseness that mind and body shade into each other; that a man's "influence" surrounds him as warm air surrounds a steam radiator; and that such a "mental atmosphere" may detach itself from a person and cling to clothing, chairs, or rooms that one has used.¹¹

⁸ J. Lapponi, *Hypnotism and Spiritism* (New York, 1907).

⁹ As to Korea, see an article by D. K. Lambuth, "Korean Devils and Christian Missionaries," in the *Independent*, August, 1907, pp. 287 f. As to China, the work of J. L. Nevius, *Demon-Possession* (Chicago, 1895), acquires new interest through recent events. For the Indian phenomena, see H. S. Dyer, *Revival in India* (London, 1907), especially the defense of the demon-possession belief on pp. 14 f. As to Africa, see R. H. Nassau, *Feichism in West Africa* (New York, 1904), pp. 135-37.

¹⁰ J. Brierley, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

¹¹ So H. W. Dresser, *The Power of Silence* (New York, 1899), pp. 59, 84 f., 88 ff., 207 f.

The warm idealism, and even the practical insight, that sometimes accompany such crude mythology, do not lessen its crudity. What we have here is a close counterpart of the primitive theory that the soul consists of fine matter which can separate itself from the body so as to work and be worked upon at a distance therefrom. The thought-circle to which this idea belongs includes also magic, with its formulae for controlling "waves of psychic force." It is possible, as Farnell claims, that the higher forms of prayer have evolved from such magical formulae.¹² But, in any case, the appeal to the subconscious in proof of the efficacy of prayer is another instance of reversion toward the earliest and crudest religious philosophy.

This revival of primitive thought involves, of course, a change of base with respect to the supernatural. Science and supernaturalism, it is made to appear, have merely misunderstood each other. For the theology of the subconscious makes a special point of its harmony with "the latest results of science." No break appears between what claims to be ascertained facts of psychology and the transcendent realities that we are supposed to touch in the twilight of the subconscious. And, indeed, if we grant, first, that the soul is indefinitely extended, and second, that most of it lies in a region of darkness where self-analysis is impossible—if we grant this, what can hinder us from believing in any number of connections between this unknown soul and various possible storage batteries of cosmic energy? *Facilis descensus*. When we let go the standards of analytic observation and thinking, thenceforth our power of denying is paralyzed, and we can do little but affirm, just as primitive man did. Professor James frankly admits that the standpoint in question is a primitive mode of thought,¹³ and he dubs it "piecemeal supernaturalism,"¹⁴ so as to set it off from the universalistic supernaturalism of some idealistic theories. His less clear-sighted followers, when they attempt to rescue the supernatural in the lifeboat of the subconscious, little guess how distant is the shore on which they are landing, or what company they are getting into. Beginning, say, by explaining the strength that comes through prayer by reference to the being-who-works-in-

¹² L. R. Farnell, *The Evolution of Religion* (New York, 1905), lect. iv.

¹³ W. James, *Varieties of Religious Experience* (New York, 1902), pp. 495 ff.

¹⁴ P. 520.

the-dark of the subconscious, they soon find that the same scheme applies to an enlarging series of marvels. Knowledge comes unmediated by experience, or inference, or history; diseased bodies are remade directly by the spiritual power that is the ground of all things; why, then, should not the dead rise, or why should not an ovum be fertilized by the same cosmic energy? Why should not Mrs. Eddy be right in thinking that we shall yet grow spiritual enough to propagate by purely mental processes?

What is the explanation of these queer thought-alliances and thought-reversals? Do they in reality follow from any new discoveries of psychology, or rather has some obscure motive of theology seized upon a psychological concept without understanding it, and used it in a manner the reverse of scientific? The answer to this question is to be had, first of all, by a brief review of the status of the subconscious in scientific psychology.¹⁵ Such a review will show how slender is the logical connection between fact and theory in the new theology of the subconscious, and it will open the question why some theologians have been so forward to adopt this theory.

It is certain that at least a large part of the subconscious is to be understood as the dimly conscious.¹⁶ Attention, like vision, has a focus and a penumbra, so that one and the same object may be present now in the obscurity of the outer zone, and now at the center. Almost any kind of mental operation may go on in the outer zone, and just because such operations occur in the shadow they leave inferior

¹⁵ The general reader or hearer is excusable for not always discriminating between science and pseudo-science, particularly between psychology and the confused metaphysics that merely imagines itself to be psychology. Indeed, as there is no absolute break between common knowledge, science, and metaphysics, no mere label or other device of classification can be substituted for specific analysis. In respect to views of the subconscious we cannot divide men into just sheep and goats. For some scientific men apply scientific method more rigorously to one class of facts than another; on some points there is not yet entire agreement among unquestionably competent psychologists; and in any case the only scientific *index expurgatorius* is the ineffectiveness and the oblivion that the future holds in store. Nevertheless, it is certain that not a few speakers and writers who profess to occupy a scientific point of view are the opposite of scientific—they are “goats,” not “sheep.” Usually they can be detected through their habit of representing the subconscious under the category of substance. What is function or phenomenon in psychology becomes a substance in pseudo-psychology, and a metaphor is usually the medium of the transformation.

¹⁶ See a careful analysis of this conception in H. R. Marshall's article, “Psychotherapeutics and Religion,” in *Hibbert Journal*, January, 1909, pp. 295-313.

memory traces. When, therefore, their products appear in clear consciousness, they seem like strangers. An uncritical person may with perfect honesty, yet with complete untruth, assert that he has never perceived this or that object, or thought out this or that idea. In such cases one may naturally feel that another mind or a mysterious second self must have done the work.

Other subconscious phenomena are not so obviously cases of merely dim or subattentive consciousness followed by lack of memory. A subject whose attention is absorbed in reading a book may write words and sentences that he afterward does not remember to have written. This will serve as a sample of facts which have their culmination in "double personality." Three hypotheses concerning them are possible: First, the brain, by virtue of organization acquired in connection with past experiences, may of its own momentum bring forth mechanically these combinations of the signs of ideas. Hence, the intelligence to which these signs point may be that of the subject himself, though there is no present mental action corresponding to them. An essayist once worked out the fanciful idea of what would happen if sounds should be frozen up, and then, ages afterward, thawed out. Just as, in this case, conversation might go on in rational sequence without any fresh thinking back of it, so, conceivably, the brain and motor apparatus, in accordance with habits already formed, might repeat old expressions and, jogged by a fresh stimulus, even form new combinations of them.¹⁷

A second hypothesis, which has never been worked to its full capacity, is the one already suggested, namely, that words written (or spoken) by a "secondary personality" are, as they appear to be, true signs of mental processes then going on, but processes taking place so far from the center of attention, and with so little relation to the main purposes of the individual, as not to assert for themselves a place in the main chain of memory. In this case their dissociation

¹⁷ See A. H. Pierce, "An Appeal from the Prevailing Doctrine of a Detached Subconsciousness," in *Studies in Philosophy and Psychology* (Boston, 1906). The liability of the layman in psychology to misunderstand ordinary psychological conceptions may be judged from the fact that so well-informed a writer as Rev. E. W. Worcester attributes to Professor Pierce the notion that "traces in the brain or other modifications of brain substance are able under stimulation to transform themselves into thoughts!" See *Religion and Medicine* (New York, 1908), p. 21, note.

from the primary consciousness is not different in kind from that of ordinary, routine impressions and acts which, because they lack important significance for us, become to us as if they were not. It is thus possible, as it were, to sunder ourselves from ourselves, and this sundering may become dramatic to almost any degree. We dramatically sunder ourselves in our night-dreaming, in our day-dreaming, and in certain play moods in which we quizzically permit ourselves to act a part that is unlike our habitual self. In hysteria and in hypnosis this sundering, though it is at bottom only dramatic, only a part taken and played out, sometimes becomes so deep and wide that the subject does not effect in memory or in purpose a reunion of the dramatically severed selves.¹⁸

The third hypothesis is that subconscious processes are genuinely psychical as distinguished from the brain momentum just referred to, and that they can go on in independence of the primary consciousness. This theory of a "detached subconsciousness" has been in debate among psychologists, but the scales strongly incline toward a denial of it.¹⁹ That is, between consciousness on the one hand, and brain process on the other, there is probably no third something, but the whole of what is included under such terms as "secondary personality" is probably a phase of one or both of them. Even if there be a "detached subconsciousness," it brings us little nearer to the occultism of the popular exposition. For we have still to determine its specific functions, and there is great likelihood that these functions will turn out to be as far as those of the primary consciousness from directly revealing a second or larger world.²⁰

How has this sober prose of psychology been turned into the romantic theology that we have been considering? The means, whatever

¹⁸ Cf. Joseph Jastrow, *The Subconscious* (Boston, 1906).

¹⁹ In addition to the article of Pierce's just referred to, see "A Symposium on the Subconscious" by Münsterberg, Ribot, Jastrow, Janet, and Prince, in the *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, April-May, and June-July, 1907; also A. H. Pierce's review of it in the *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Methods*, Vol. IV, pp. 523-28.

²⁰ It is significant that one who attributes as many wonderful powers to the "detached subconscious" as does Rev. E. W. Worcester, should nevertheless assert that the subconscious mind "does not originate thought, it can only elaborate and develop it along the lines imposed by reason;" that "it must follow strictly the general tendencies of waking thought;" and that the activity of the subconscious mind is "no substitute for hard work." See *Religion and Medicine*, pp. 28 f.

the motive, has been metaphorical language. An old teacher of mine characterized a certain theory as an "exegesis of misunderstood metaphors." Was there ever a more complete case of such exegesis than the metamorphosis of descriptive terms like "the subconscious," "secondary personality," and the like, into dogmatically asserted metaphysical entities?²¹ Thus we get our supposedly real psychical "reservoirs" and "workshops," and our multiple "minds." The individual mind now becomes a mountain, the sun-clad top of which is our clear consciousness or primary self, and the lower part our secondary or subconscious self. Who can resist so apt a figure? Of course imagination must follow the mountain down still farther, and we note that its base is continuous with that of other mountains and with the all-sustaining earth. What can this signify but that the individual soul is continuous with other individual souls, and also with God, and that the subconscious is the intermediate part of ourselves where our upper consciousness joins on to all consciousness, human and divine? It is hard to say how many writers have used this metaphor with convincing power. By its help how easily we look beyond the limits of individuality, and how the past, the present, and the future blend into one. How inherently reasonable, then, are telepathy, clairvoyance, premonitions, spirit-messages, mystical openings, miraculous answers to prayer, inspirations of many kinds, demon-possession, genius, metaphysical healing of any disease whatever, and wonder-working *ad libitum*. Thus picture-thinking gathers into one pinfold animals domestic and wild, clean and unclean; and the whole evades criticism by a most simple device: The theory concerns substances that *ex hypothesi* cannot possibly be brought to the light where their boundaries might be defined.

The idea of a larger world with which our mind is continuous easily suggests the doctrine of divine immanence. Nowadays everybody believes in immanence, and this belief certainly implies that somehow God is present in the operations of our own mind. Some persons have been prosaic enough to interpret the divine immanence as meaning that in our ordinary functions of seeking the truth and

²¹ The much-used term, "subjective mind," seems to have emanated from Thomas J. Hudson, whose works have been strangely accepted by multitudes of clergymen and laymen as soundly scientific.

doing our duty we are working with God and he is working in us. But the theology of the subconscious will be more dramatic than this; it will find God in a set of functions that contrast with and sometimes overwhelm the plodding labor of thinking and of moral effort. "I believe," remarks a preacher, "that the subconscious mind is the individual manifestation of the Universal Mind—God." These contrasting functions are said, also, to convey information that contains its complete evidence in itself; it is intuition or revelation; it opens to us an order of reality that is hidden from the ordinary consciousness. Thus, in the name of the divine immanence we are invited to look for signs and wonders, and the old break between the natural and the supernatural is reinstated. The commonplace becomes more hopelessly undivine than ever. And then, what a queer divinity is introduced to us: A god who mumbles platitudes and ambiguities! A god who cannot get nearer to us than the most dim and inaccessible part of our mental structure! A god who is far way when we strive to earn our daily bread, or steer the ship of state, or determine truth with exactness, but near us in the borderland between waking and sleeping! Perhaps the divinity himself is subconscious?²²

Writers, like R. J. Campbell,²³ who endeavor to exhibit religion as a present experience of God, have doubtless selected the best possible basis for a new theology. It is probable, too, that the concept of divine immanence will be central in theology henceforth. But what will the theory of immanence do with the highly individualized consciousness in which thoughts appear as *my* thoughts, and choices as *my* choices? It is this individualized consciousness that feels the paradoxes and mysteries of life, realizes the stress of moral issues, and does all the investigating. Here, where issues are sharply defined, and rational and moral selfhood is most highly developed, we are at the farthest remove from the subconscious control upon which Mr. Campbell so largely relies.

²² Consider the implications of the following: "Just as our primary wide-awake consciousness throws open our senses to the touch of things material, so it is logically conceivable that if there be higher spiritual agencies that can directly touch us, the psychological condition of their doing so might be our possession of a subconscious region which alone should yield access to them. The hubbub of the waking life might close a door which, in the dreamy subliminal, might remain ajar or open."—W. James, *Varieties of Religious Experience* (New York, 1902), p. 242.

²³ *The New Theology* (New York, 1907).

What has driven, or enticed, religious teachers into this blind alley? It is easy to reply that the excessive devotion to external ends that characterizes the age begets a natural reaction toward mysticism; or that the nervous tension of modern life seeks relief in the kind of mental relaxation that underlies both suggestive healings and the wonders of psychic research; or that the spread of scientific method and the emptiness of the world as it is viewed by physical science—all mill and no grist, as it were—have stimulated a feeling that the important things of life are not to be gotten at by scientific analysis, but by some direct penetration into them; or that the marvels of the sciences themselves, from electricity to radio-activity, have put men into a believing mood; or that the breakdown of dogma, with its juiceless rationalism, naturally opens the way for a revival of direct and self-verifying religious experiences. All this is true enough, but it is only a part of the truth. Two other circumstances have had an influence as profound as it is subtle.²⁴

It happens that the Society for Psychical Research was organized just at the period (1882) when the evolution-controversy eventuated in a conviction on the part of the generality of thinking clergymen that the presence of God in the world is not to be looked for in any breaks in the evolutionary order. This conviction marked the end of external or physical supernaturalism. Logically it should have marked the end of the psychical supernatural also, for mind was now included in the order of nature. But the reconstruction that this would have required in such doctrines as inspiration, revelation, and Christian experience was too radical to be accomplished all of a sudden. During the last twenty-five years the reconstruction has gone on, in fact, with remarkable rapidity, chiefly in connection with the historical study of the Old Testament. Nevertheless, minds that were nurtured in the presuppositions of the old dualistic theology naturally assumed a receptive attitude toward the psychical supernatural.

²⁴ The fact that many physicians who make much use of suggestion in their practice think of its operation in terms of a detached subconsciousness is not as significant as it might at first sight appear. For the interest of the physician, in most cases, is in practical results rather than accurate psychology. A hypostasized subconsciousness serves him exactly as the "disease entities" of medical parlance, namely, as a means for the more or less sharp demarkation of a group of related facts. Then, too, the service of a mythical metaphysics in impressing the mind of the patient must not be overlooked.

Could not this, at least, be retained? Psychical research seemed to lend encouragement, and thus it comes to pass that the supernaturalistic doctrine of a dual experience and a dual world, after being dislodged from one position after another in the long contest of which Andrew D. White has written so dramatic a story, takes its final stand in a corner in which one more defeat means extinction. And what would a victory amount to? It would mean simply that religion has a permanent basis in the dim and irresponsible subconscious, while science and the aggressive activities in general have their seat in the clearness of the upper consciousness.²⁵

A second circumstance of fundamental import is that this crisis in theology came on just when technical philosophy was also in the throes of reconstruction and therefore least able to afford help. For ages theology was able to borrow from philosophy a concept of cause or of substance that could serve as a corner-stone of doctrine. The Kantian criticism, having rendered the notion of causation useless for this purpose, reliance came to be placed upon the concept of substance as it appears in modern idealism of the Hegelian type. Idealism, seeking in the nature of the logical reason for a clue to reality, declares that reality, like truth, is an all-inclusive One, and that it is spiritual. With one or another modification, this has been the prevailing standpoint of the philosophy of religion for most of the last quarter-century. But it has come more and more under fire. A conviction has grown not only that a mere analysis of the form of human reason is altogether too simple a way to explain this strange and multiform world of ours, but also that the idealist fails to effect any sufficient connection between the One and the Many. The peculiar difficulty of the idealistic philosophy of religion lies in the obscurity of the relation between the finite person and the one universal being. More and more the standpoint of the finite, the empirical, asserts itself against what is regarded as the high abstractness of speculation. The philosophy of religion must somehow become an interpretation of religious experience rather than a mere corollary of any such concept as Truth, or Being. Further, the empirical spirit of the age, penetrating religion, stimulates men to demand a simple, direct, verifiable way of approach to God.

²⁵ R. J. Campbell, more logical than many, perceives that this movement harks back toward belief in miracles. See *The New Theology*, p. 254.

Under the influence of Kant, the Ritschlian theology undertook to work out such a simple, unspeculative view of religious experience. The prevailing metaphysics of religion, starting with the existential judgment, had attempted to reach a divine substance, so to speak. But Ritschlianism insisted that religion has to do, primarily at least, with values, and not with substances. To the existential judgment it opposed a self-sufficing value-judgment expressive of immediate experience. Undoubtedly this point of view has permeated much of the best preaching in this generation. As a practical attitude and a fortress for defense it has been useful to religion. It has been, too, the forerunner of the more thoroughgoing philosophy of values that is now in process of formation. Whether one follows the banner of pragmatism or not, one can hardly observe the trend of psychology and philosophy without seeing that our interpretations of the world must give a larger and larger place to the value-attitude or the value-experience.

The theology of the subconscious, however, impatient, possibly, of the critical labor necessary to a theory of values, assumes the standpoint of the mere substance-concept, and endeavors to breathe into its nostrils the breath of life. Its ambition is to establish continuity of substance between man and God as a fact of direct experience. The phenomena of the subconscious get their theoretical value because they appear to lend themselves conveniently to this design. If the design would only work, we might, indeed, congratulate ourselves that we have found a simple, empirical demonstration of God. But, (1) at points vital for the theory, the psychological analysis is unsatisfactory; (2) even if subconscious continuity of the human soul with the divine substance were thus demonstrated, our apparent gain would be offset by the atavistic ideas of God that would be forced upon us; finally, (3) after all is said and done, why should we suppose that an ethical God can be more clearly revealed to us than in our moral experiences, the most complete of which are least under the control of the subconscious?

SENECA'S IDEA OF GOD

PROFESSOR HENRY F. BURTON
The University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.

Nowhere is the maxim that nothing is new under the sun more true than in philosophy. More than one great movement in modern thought has been but a repetition of an essentially identical movement among the ancients. A striking example of this is the notable change that has taken place in our time in the conception of deity prevalent among thinking men—a change which may be described as the substitution of the cosmological for the anthropomorphic idea of God, a disposition to think of God not as a mere magnified man but as a mighty, beneficent world-power. Along with this change has gone another—the transfer of emphasis in religion from doctrine to experience, a tendency to discover the essence of religion less in one's definition of deity than in one's attitude toward the God in whom he believes. Finally, accompanying these changes, there has arisen a new interest in conduct, a conviction that the chief end of man is not so much to understand or to worship God as to love him and to love one's neighbor as one's self. Precisely the same three tendencies are seen in ancient religious history. The original belief in the divinities of polytheism, and their worship by means of trivial ceremonies which were considered more sacred than moral laws, gave way, in the later period of Graeco-Roman thought, to the conception of a universal divine being whose kingdom is in the human soul and who demands righteousness in thought and act.

It happens that the clearest exhibition of the newer and nobler morality, religion, and theology that has come down to us is found in the pages of Lucius Annaeus Seneca, the Roman philosopher of Nero's reign, who, as a statesman, as an orator and stylist, and as an ethical thinker, was undoubtedly the foremost man of his time. Seneca was pre-eminently a moralist; but since in his view the duty of man is conformity to the will of God, and the laws of morality are but the expression of the moral nature of deity, he was necessarily

a theologian as well. Yet he has left no treatises on the nature or attributes of the divine being. His essays and letters relate to practical questions of ethics, and it is only incidentally that his conception of God and of the relation of God to man is revealed. We shall more easily form a correct estimate of his theological views if we first notice their sources by glancing briefly at the successive steps in the development of the idea of God in Greek thought.

Greek philosophy originated in a revolt against the traditional Greek religion. That system of nature worship in which outward events were conceived as due to the activity of unseen powers almost as numerous and diverse in character as the events themselves became unacceptable to the Greek mind as soon as it really began to reflect. The problem of philosophy was therefore to find a substitute for the gods, to discover the ultimate essence from which the existing world might reasonably be held to have originated. Every system of philosophy then was atheistic, in the sense that it involved the partial rejection at least of the gods of mythology. Yet every system may be looked upon as a system of theology as well as philosophy, since it postulated an ultimate, which, even though denied the name of deity, actually occupied the place and fulfilled the function of the gods in the interpretation of the universe.

The attributes of the ultimate being were developed gradually, at first defined in crude and exaggerated terms, but formulated at length with the utmost subtlety. The eternity of the original essence, both in the past and in the future, was assumed at the outset. The earliest thinkers, Thales and his successors, constituting the so-called Ionian school, asserted its unity, postulating a single material substance, as water or air, having the power of mechanical expansion and contraction, by means of which the universe was evolved and is kept in being. Anaximander added the attribute of infinity, assuming an unlimited, undifferentiated material ultimate to which he applied the term "divine," thus boldly seating the new philosophy on the throne of the old religion. Heraclitus was so impressed with the fact of constant change in things—"all is in flux" was his famous maxim—that he regarded activity as the essential attribute of the ultimate entity, which he compared to fiery breath. Parmenides, the chief intellect of the Eleatic school, emphasized the opposite

attribute, the unchangeableness of the ultimate, and postulated a single changeless substance as the essence of things.

The successors of Heraclitus and Parmenides perceived that these apparently antagonistic principles—activity on the one hand, producing the variety and change to which the senses testify, and unity and permanence on the other, which reason demands—must both be recognized. Empedocles undertook to reconcile this antagonism by assuming four material elements—fire, air, water, earth—acted upon by two opposite forces, attraction and repulsion. Anaxagoras attempted the same thing in a slightly different way, assuming an indefinite variety of material atoms, corresponding in character to the various substances actually existing in the universe, all of them wholly inert, save one, which he called “mind.” These attempts at harmony were but partly successful, for the unity of the ultimate was abandoned in the effort to account for variety and change. Both Empedocles and Anaxagoras substituted for the single ultimate of their predecessors a double ultimate—inert matter on the one hand and force on the other. But the unity of the original essence was soon reasserted, in opposite senses, by two contemporary schools—the Atomists, who assumed a single material substance—homogeneous atoms, and the Pythagoreans, who traced the origin of things to a single immaterial principle—the idea of number.

In the contrasted views of the Atomists and the Pythagoreans the antithesis between matter and spirit begins to appear in Greek thought. The earlier schools had not asked the question “Is the ultimate essence material or spiritual?” Its materiality was uniformly taken for granted, but at the same time non-material attributes were assigned to it. The “fiery breath” of Heraclitus was a material substance, but it was said to act freely in accordance with divine law and under the guidance of reason. The ultimate “being” of Parmenides was material, for its essential attribute was its capacity to fill space, yet it is cognized not by the senses but by reason and is declared to be identical with thought. The “mind” of Anaxagoras consisted of material atoms, yet it acts intelligently and teleologically. But when the Pythagoreans define matter itself as the embodiment in space of a wholly immaterial essence, and the Atomists trace all vital and mental phenomena to the self-activity of material particles,

spiritualism and materialism become well-defined antagonistic conceptions.

Nearly every school of philosophy thus far considered held to the unity of the ultimate being. In modern terminology they were "monists," that is, their ultimate was a single substance, out of which all things have been evolved, and which therefore is identical with the substance of the universe. The monism of the Atomists was materialistic, for they traced all phenomena, spiritual and material, to a single material substance—the atoms. The Pythagoreans were idealistic monists, since they referred all phenomena, material and spiritual, to a single immaterial principle—the idea of number. The earlier thinkers, who had not yet distinguished matter and spirit, were consequently neither materialists nor idealists, but may be called pantheistic monists, if we use the term in its literal, etymological sense, for their ultimate was a single all-embracing entity having both material and spiritual qualities. But if we employ the word "pantheistic" in its ordinary modern acceptation, as connoting the denial of personality, or at least the assumption of impersonality, it may be correctly applied to every system of thought that we have thus far discussed, for no Greek thinker had yet arrived at the philosophic concept of a personal first cause. Greek philosophy had repudiated so thoroughly the petty personal deities of the old religion that it was slow to attribute any personal quality whatever to the ultimate being which it substituted for those deities.

Yet it is interesting to note that more than once in the history of Greek thought the religious conception of personality asserts itself by the side of the philosophic idea of unity and universality. Xenophanes, the earliest of the Eleatics, while denouncing in unmeasured terms the irrationality of the polytheistic divinities, and holding to a single, universal, changeless being, nevertheless ascribed to that being the highest intelligence, power of will, and moral perfection. Socrates, a hundred years later, united in a similar way the cosmic and anthropomorphic conceptions of deity, for he believed firmly on religious and ethical grounds in a single intelligent power, which he called Providence, that pervades and rules the world.

But we must not identify this survival of the ancient religious feeling toward the divine with the modern philosophic conception of

the personality of deity, involving self-consciousness and free volition as essential elements. It is one thing to cherish a vague sentiment of confidence in the wisdom, power, and providential care of the being or force which we call God, and quite another to hold the definite intellectual conviction that that being not only acts rationally and benevolently in accordance with law and with reference to ends, but knows that he so acts and freely wills to act as he does. Orderly, rational, purposive action is quite conceivable wholly apart from conscious volition. Even the lowest forms of plant and animal life exhibit an elementary sort of intelligence, yet we do not credit them with consciousness of their own activity. The higher brutes often show a surprising power of adapting means to ends, yet are apparently without self-consciousness. A large part of the activity of every human being is automatic, i. e., unconscious, yet may involve a high degree of rationality and skill. Such automatic, impersonal, yet intelligent and purposive action was attributed to the elemental principle, whether material or immaterial, by every school of Greek philosophy down to the time of Plato.

Plato's theory of the ultimate being rests upon his well-known doctrine of ideas. The ideas find their unity in the supreme Idea of the Good, which he called God. Is Plato's Idea of the Good identical with the physical universe? He attributes to the ideas the power of realizing themselves—in Pythagorean phrase, "taking form"—in empty space, which he calls non-existence, or "not-being," and thus bringing into existence the phenomenal world. Had Plato looked upon space as the Atomists and Pythagoreans did, as a mere negative condition, or the mere possibility, of the existence of things, his theory would have been purely monistic. The universe would have been a perfect realization of the supreme Idea and hence identical with it. But despite the negative character of space—or "not-being"—he assigned to it a positive influence, antagonizing and in part neutralizing the rational activity of the Idea in its self-realization, with the result that the phenomenal world is imperfect, changeable, and relatively unreal, in contrast with the absolute reality and changeless perfection of the world of ideas. Plato's theory thus becomes dualistic. The divine Idea, which alone possesses real being, is distinct from the imperfect and unreal universe. But the divine Idea exists not only in

the imperfect universe, but also apart from it. In modern phraseology, deity not only is immanent in the universe but also transcends it. Did Plato hold to the personality of the supreme Idea? Like Socrates he often speaks of God, who is identical with the highest Idea, in a personal way, as possessing moral perfection and exercising providential care over men. But we should probably interpret these utterances as the expression of religious sentiment associated with the old anthropomorphic divinities and not as implying the distinct attribution of self-consciousness to the abstract first cause, the one supreme deity. Plato neither asserts nor denies the personality of deity. Probably, as Zeller remarks, "that question is one which Plato never definitely proposed to himself."

Aristotle's theology is based upon his doctrine of "form," which is a modification of the Platonic theory of ideas. Objects are simply formed matter, consisting of immaterial form, or idea, and formless substance, or matter. The sum of all forms—the Perfect Form—is deity. The Perfect Form realizes itself in the universe—as the form-element in things—but the formless, material element resists the molding activity of the Form, as the marble hinders the perfect realization of the sculptor's thought. Hence the imperfection of the actual world. But the highest Form by reason of its perfection exists also as Pure Form apart from the imperfect universe. It is both immanent and transcendent. Aristotle's theory, like Plato's, is dualistic. The Perfect Form is distinct from the imperfect universe. The theology of the two philosophers differs chiefly in the fact that Aristotle grasped more clearly than Plato the idea of the personality of deity. His Pure Form, though essentially an intellectual conception, a purely abstract entity, is at times described in terms that seem to imply self-consciousness. It is the "thought of thought," "thought thinking itself." Certainly Aristotle came nearer the modern conception of a personal God than any Greek thinker before him had done.

With Plato and Aristotle the flight of Greek imagination respecting the nature of the ultimate reached its highest point. The result was unsatisfactory to the Greek mind. A sense of the futility of speculation regarding the origin of the cosmos or the problem of being came to prevail. Even the followers of Plato were at one time dominated

by the general spirit of skepticism. The successors of Aristotle, who in general were faithful defenders and expounders of his views, soon repudiated the doctrine of transcendence, declaring that pure form is just as unthinkable as Plato's "not-being." The most pronounced expression of the anti-idealistic spirit is found in the revival of materialist atomism in the teachings of Epicurus. Like Democritus he explained the universe by the self-caused movement of atoms in space, denying the existence of purpose or plan apart from the atoms, and hence rejected absolutely the theory of a non-material force or being in things. The Epicurean theology then was wholly negative.

It was Stoicism which opposed to the transcendental idealism of the Socratic school a positive dogmatic system. Zeno and Cleanthes and Chrysippus, the founders and formulators of the Stoic doctrine, were so firmly convinced that the universe is one in substance and activity, that they rejected at the outset any and all dualistic theories. They were besides so firmly convinced of the absolute unreality of any alleged spiritual essence existing apart from matter, that they laid it down as a fundamental principle that all real existence is material. Matter is the only reality. But the Stoic conception of matter differed essentially from that of Aristotle. The Stoics rejected the Aristotelian hypothesis of immaterial form and formless substance, and held that matter alone possesses all the qualities and powers which Aristotle assigned to matter and form. But they did not ignore either of the two essentials of the ultimate essence of things—permanence and changeableness. They asserted that matter, which is one in substance, has two inherent qualities or aspects—passivity and activity. By virtue of the former it has permanent being, by virtue of the latter it is continually putting forth energy.

The material universe then possesses real being, as Parmenides had taught. At the same time it is in constant activity, as Heraclitus insisted, and manifests that active energy alike in the physical properties of objects, in vegetable and animal life, and in the mind and soul of man. Moreover, the universe acts rationally, with intelligent adaptation of means to ends. It is self-directive, finding the plan and purpose of its action in itself, not in any being or influence outside of itself. Its activity proceeds in accordance with uniform law, as

Democritus had held, but the Stoics referred its uniform action not to mechanical necessity residing in the individual atoms, but to rational necessity inherent in the very nature of the rational universe. Finally, the action of the universe is ethical; it acts with perfect justice and so secures the highest good of all existences. In short, the material universe was felt to be a living being, unlimited in power, absolute in will, possessing the highest reason, acting with moral purpose. In other words the universe in and of itself is divine. The Stoics rejected the theory of a transcendent deity, such as Plato's Idea or Aristotle's Pure Form. God and the universe are one.

The Stoic doctrine is distinctly monistic, yet there is sometimes an apparent dualism in the statement of it. The nature of man, with the antithesis of body and soul, is employed as a figure for the nature of things. God is described as the soul of the world, while matter is its body. God is the breath of the universe, the reason of the world or its mind. But there is implied in these terms no real denial of the perfect unity of God and the world. God is the divine universe viewed with reference to its activity, while the same divine whole is called matter when viewed with reference to its substantiality. The universe is called matter when it is thought of as visible and tangible, as appealing to the senses; the same universe is called God when its unseen forces, its order, its rationality, its moral purpose are in mind.

Did the Stoics believe in the personality of the universal deity? Certainly no definite statement of such a belief is to be found in the fragments that remain of the writings of the founders of the school. Yet in view of the lofty intellectual and moral qualities which they assign to the world divinity, we might have expected them to adopt and carry forward Aristotle's suggestion of the self-consciousness of deity. But Aristotle's conception of divine personality—the abstract first cause, present in the world yet soaring infinitely above it, the universal thought perpetually thinking itself—was doubtless too purely speculative and idealistic to attract the unimaginative, realistic, practical-minded Stoic. What Zeller says of the Greek thinkers in general applies with special force to the Stoics: "Reason was not seldom apprehended as a universal World Intellect hovering

uncertainly between personal and impersonal existence." But in the Roman period the theology of the school was somewhat modified. The Stoic idea of God, though still cosmological, became more nearly personal. The later view is reflected in the emphasis which Cicero, in his account of the Stoic views, gave to the doctrine of divine Providence.

Of Stoicism as it was molded by Roman modes of thought and influenced Roman society, Seneca is the best representative. Seneca evidently classed himself as a Stoic. The Stoic teachers are referred to as "our party" (*nostri*), even when he is expressly differing with their views. For Seneca, in harmony with the universal eclectic spirit of the Romans in philosophy, felt himself by no means bound by the teachings of any master. He finds much to approve in Plato, in Aristotle, and even in Epicurus with whom on the whole he differed most widely. In fact certain modern critics have gone so far as to deny that Seneca should be called a Stoic at all, declaring on the one hand that his doctrine is a modified Epicureanism, on the other hand asserting that in his doctrine of God at least he is practically a Platonist. A few quotations from Seneca's own words will help us to form an opinion as to his real views.

Seneca's attitude toward the gods of Graeco-Roman polytheism should be noticed at the outset. The Stoic theory of a universal world deity logically left no place for those mythological divinities. Yet the Stoics did not deny their existence, but recognized them as special manifestations of the one all-embracing deity. Seneca too refers to God as "the ruler of earth and heaven, the God of all Gods, on whom depend those individual divinities which we worship."¹ Accordingly we find him using the plural "gods" as the precise equivalent of the singular "God" or "nature" or "the universe."

Seneca identifies God with the universe. "What is God?" he asks. "The universe, visible and invisible."² "The universe in

¹ The following references to Seneca are to Haase's second edition (Leipzig, 1881).

Fragm., 26: . . . "rectoris orbis terrarum caelique et deorum omnium dei, a quo ista numina, quae singula adoramus et colimus, suspensa sunt."

² *Nat. quaest.*, I, prol. 13: "Quid est deus? quod vides totum et quod non vides totum."

which we dwell is one and it is God."³ "You gain nothing, most ungrateful of mortals, if you say that you are indebted not to God but to nature, since neither nature exists without God nor God without nature but the two are identical."⁴ "What else is nature than God and divine reason diffused through the whole world and all its parts?"⁵

Seneca agrees with the Stoics in regarding God as a material entity. He quotes with approval Lucretius' line, "Nothing can touch or be touched except matter,"⁶ implying that in the denial of spirit he is in accord with Epicurean materialism. Nor are we to understand him as thinking here of the passive aspect of the universe, its substantiality alone, but rather of its activity in particular, for both in this connection and elsewhere he uses the formula, "Whatever acts is material."⁷

The material universe not only acts, but acts intelligently. Seneca condemns the view of those "who think that the universe, of which we are also a part, is devoid of reason, acts at haphazard, and knows not what it does."⁸ "Known to the gods is the order of their universe, and the knowledge of all events that through their power are yet to occur is ever before them."⁹ "Nothing is hidden from God; he is present in our minds and enters into our very thoughts."¹⁰

God is unchangeable; the divine universe acts according to uniform law. The conception of the uniformity of the divine action is expressed by Seneca, as by the Greek philosophers and poets, by

³ *Epist.*, 92, 30: "Totum hoc quo continemur et unum est et deus."

⁴ *Ben.*, IV, 8, 2: "Ergo nihil agis, ingratisime moralium, qui te negas deo debere, sed naturae: quia nec natura sine deo est nec deus sine natura, sed idem est utrumque."

⁵ *Ben.*, IV, 7, 1: "Quid enim aliud est natura quam deus et divina ratio toti mundo partibusque eius inserta?"

⁶ *Epist.*, 106, 8: "Numquid est dubium an id quo quid tangi potest corpus sit? Tangere enim et tangi nisi corpus nulla potest res, ut sit Lucretius."

⁷ *Epist.*, 106, 4: "Quod facit corpus est." *Epist.*, 117, 2: "Quicquid facit corpus est."

⁸ *Nat. quaest.*, I, prol. 15: "Sunt qui putent . . . hoc autem universum, in quo nos quoque sumus, expers esse consilii et aut ferri temeritate quadam aut natura neaciente quid faciat."

⁹ *Ben.*, IV, 32, 1: "Nota enim illis est operis sui series omniumque illis rerum suas per manus itururarum scientia in aperto semper est."

¹⁰ *Epist.*, 83, 1: "Nihil deo clusum est. interest animis nostris et cogitationibus mediis intervenit."

the terms "necessity," "destiny," "fate." But to the older thinkers destiny, the fixed order of events, was something oppressive and restrictive, to be endured rather than welcomed. Seneca, however, always represents fate as the beneficent will of a wise and good power. Perhaps no better short statement has ever been made of the principle that the will of a wise and good God must be unchangeable than in these words of Seneca: "His will must be ever the same who can never will aught but that which is best." And, anticipating the objection that if God cannot will otherwise than he does his will is not free, he adds: "Nor is he on that account less free or less powerful, for he is himself the source of his own destiny."¹¹ "Inability to change is the best proof of strength of will."¹² "The great author and ruler of all things wrote the decrees of fate indeed, but he also follows them. He decreed them once for all, he continually obeys them."¹³

The divine universe sustains a peculiarly close relation to man. Its rationality is identical with human reason. "God is near you, he is with you, he is within you." "A sacred spirit dwells within us, the observer of our good and evil deeds." "In every good man God dwells."¹⁴ "An upright, pure and noble soul is nothing else than God sojourning in a human body."¹⁵ "Why should you not believe that in man, who is a part of God, there is something divine?"¹⁶

The benevolence of deity is often referred to by Seneca, usually as an example to men in their relations with one another. "If you imitate the gods, grant favors even to the ungrateful."¹⁷ "God

¹¹ *Nat. quaest.*, I, prol. 3: "Necesse est eadem placere cui nisi optima placere non possunt. nec ob hoc minus liber et potens est; ipse enim est necessitas sua."

¹² *Ben.*, VI, 21. 2: "Immo maximum argumentum est firmae voluntatis ne mutari quidem posse."

¹³ *Prov.*, 5. 8: "Ille ipse omnium conditor et rector scripsit quidem fata, sed sequitur. semper paret, semel iussit."

¹⁴ *Epist.*, 41. 1, 2: "Prope est a te deus, tecum est, intus est. . . . sacer intra nos spiritus sedet, malorum bonorumque nostrorum observator. . . . In unoquoque virorum bonorum . . . habitat deus."

¹⁵ *Epist.*, 31. 11: "Quid hoc est? animus, sed hic rectus, bonus, magnus. quid aliud voces hunc quam deum in corpore humano hospitantem?"

¹⁶ *Epist.*, 92. 30: "Quid est autem cur non existimes in eo divini aliquid exsistere, qui dei pars est?"

¹⁷ *Ben.*, IV, 26. 1: "Si deos, inquit, imitaris, da et ingratis beneficia."

bestows blessings on the whole human race; no one is excluded."¹⁸

It is interesting to note that Seneca cites as proof of the benevolence of deity not only the abundant gifts of nature to man, but the universal impulse of humanity to seek help from the gods. Arguing against the Epicurean theory of the "do-nothing gods," he says: "He who teaches this doctrine does not hear the voices of suppliants who, with hands uplifted to heaven, offer prayers in public and private. Surely all mankind would not agree in appealing to the gods, did we not feel sure that great and timely benefits are granted voluntarily or in answer to our prayers, and great evils warded off by their intervention."¹⁹

God stands in the relation of father toward human beings. In the essay on Providence Seneca argues that suffering and apparent misfortune contribute to the development of character. He says: "There is friendship between good men and the gods. Do I say friendship? nay, rather intimacy and likeness, since a good man is God's pupil, his imitator and true offspring, whom that great father, no mild exactor of virtue, trains rigidly like a stern parent."²⁰ "God has the spirit of a father toward good men and shows his love for them by strict discipline."²¹ "God fondly loves good men."²² "God trains, tests, and disciplines brave men whom he approves and loves."²³

God exercises providential care over his universe with special regard to the moral good of man. This divine watchcare, so far from being an exception to the uniformity of God's action, is but an instance of it.

¹⁸ *Ben.*, IV, 28. 3: "Deus quoque quaedam munera universo humano generi dedit, a quibus excluditur nemo."

¹⁹ *Ben.*, IV, 4. 1: "Hoc qui dicit non exaudit precantium voces et undique sublatis in caelum manibus vota facientium privata ac publica. quod profecto non fieret nec in hunc furorem omnis mortales consensissent adloquendi surda numina et inefficaces deos, nisi nossemus illorum beneficia nunc oblata ultro, nunc orantibus data, magna, tempestiva, ingentes minas interventu suo solventia."

²⁰ *Prov.*, 1. 5: "Inter bonos viros ac deos amicitia est conciliante virtute. amicitiam dico? immo etiam necessitudo et similitudo, quoniam quidem bonus . . . discipulus eius aemulatorque et vera progenies, quam parens ille magnificus, virtutum non lenis exactor, sicut severi patres durius educat."

²¹ *Prov.*, 2. 6: "Patrium deus habet adversus bonos viros animum et illos fortiter amat."

²² *Prov.*, 2. 7: "Deus ille bonorum amantissimus."

²³ *Prov.*, 4. 7: "Hos itaque deus quos probat, quos amat, indurat, recognoscit, exercet."

"If you wish to call him fate, you will not err; for he is the cause of causes, on which all things depend. If you wish to call him providence, you will speak truthfully; for it is he who oversees the world in wisdom, that it may move on unimpeded in its course."²⁴ Ill fortune is only apparent. "That which you call unfortunate is advantageous both to those to whom it happens and to people in general, for whom the gods care more than for individuals. Moreover these things happen to good men through fate—that same universal law through whose working they become good men. Therefore do not pity a good man: he may be called unhappy, he cannot be so."²⁵ Seneca apparently thought, with Cicero, that God's care extends only to the most conspicuous of mankind. Cicero said: "The gods care for great affairs, they disregard small matters."²⁶ Seneca says: "The gods exercise guardianship over the human race, and at times care for individuals."²⁷

Seneca's remarks on the worship of the gods throws light on his conception of deity. "God is to be worshiped, not by sacrifice and much bloodshed—for what pleasure has he in the slaughter of innocent victims?—but by a pure heart, a good and honorable purpose. No lofty temples of stone should be erected to him; he is to be worshiped in each man's own soul."²⁸ "Do you wish to propitiate the gods? Be a good man. He has worshiped the gods who has imitated them."²⁹ Commenting on the folly and selfishness of most

²⁴ *Nat. quaest.*, II, 45: . . . "Vis illum fatum vocare: non errabis, hic est ex quo suspensa sunt omnia, causa causarum. Vis illum providentiam dicere: recte dices. est enim, cuius consilio huic mundo providetur ut inoffensus exeat et actus suos explicet."

²⁵ *Prov.*, 3. 1: "Ista quae tu vocas aspera, quae adversa et abominanda, primum pro ipsis esse quibus accidunt, deinde pro universis, quorum maior dis cura quam singulorum est. . . . His adiciam fato ista sic et recte eadem lege bonis evenire qua sunt boni. . . . Ne unquam boni viri miserearis: potest enim miser dici, non potest esse."

²⁶ *Cic., De nat. deorum*, II, 66, 167: "magna di curant, parva negligunt."

²⁷ *Epist.*, 95. 50: "humani generis tutelam gerunt interdum curiosi singulorum."

²⁸ *Fragm.*, 123: "Vultisne vos deum cogitare . . . non immolationibus et sanguine multo colendum—quae enim extrucidatione inmerentium voluptas est?—sed mente pura, bono honestoque proposito. Non templa illi congestis in altitudinem saxi extruenda sunt; in suo cuique consecrandus est pectore."

²⁹ *Epist.*, 95. 50: "Vis deos propitiare? bonus esto. satis illos coluit quisquis imitatus est."

of our prayers, he says: "If you wish to be happy, ask that none of the things that you pray for may come to pass."³⁰ "Live among men as if God were looking at you; pray to God as if men were listening to you."³¹

Seneca's ethical teachings are closely connected with his theology. The Stoic ideal of conduct—action in harmony with nature—when interpreted in the light of Seneca's conception of nature as the universal divine being, is seen to be nothing else than obedience to God. "It is best to follow God without murmuring."³² "Our philosophy bids us obey God willingly."³³ "He is a noble soul who yields himself to God; he is foolish and weak who resists, and prefers to change the gods rather than himself."³⁴

Seneca's doctrine of immortality is also a part of his theology, since he held that the individual soul, when freed from the body, entered into a closer relation with God, the soul of the universe. "Death interrupts life, it does not take it away."³⁵ "That day which you dread as the last is the birthday of an eternal existence."³⁶ Seneca used this doctrine of reunion with the divine as an incentive to a noble life. "This thought permits no baseness, no impurity, no cruelty to rest within the soul. This thought reminds us that the gods are witnesses of our acts and bids us seek their approval, prepare to dwell with them, and set eternity before the mind."³⁷

In the light of these utterances what judgment are we to form regarding Seneca's idea of God, taken as a whole?

³⁰ *Epist.*, 31. 2: "Si esse vis felix, deos ora ne quid ex his quae optantur eveniat."

³¹ *Epist.*, 10. 5: "Sic vive cum hominibus tanquam deus videat: sic loquere cum deo tanquam homines audiant."

³² *Epist.*, 107. 9: "Optimum est deum, quo auctore cuncta proveniunt, sine murmuratione comitari."

³³ *Epist.*, 16. 5: "Haec (philosophia) adhortabitur ut deo libenter pareamus."

³⁴ *Epist.*, 107. 12: "Hic est magnus animus qui se deo tradidit: at contra ille pusillus et degener qui obluctatur et . . . emendare mavult deos quam se."

³⁵ *Epist.*, 36. 10: "Mors . . . intermittit vitam, non eripit."

³⁶ *Epist.*, 102. 26; "Dies iste quem tanquam extremum reformidas aeterni natalis est."

³⁷ *Epist.*, 102. 29: "Haec cogitatio nihil sordid umanimo subsidere sinit, nihil humile, nihil crudele. Deos rerum omnium esse testes ait. illis nos adprobari, illis in futurum parari iubet et aeternitatem proponere."

It is evident that he maintained firmly the Stoic doctrine of the absolute identity of God and the universe. Seneca's God was neither spirit only nor matter only, but possessed all the attributes of both. On the material side he constitutes the substance of the universe. On the spiritual side he manifests himself in the forces of nature, in plant and animal life, in the thoughts, feelings, and volitions of the human soul. There is no room in Seneca's conception for the notion of transcendence. God is literally the all of existence—the universe, seen and unseen. Seneca agrees both with the Stoic and Socratic schools in holding that God is absolutely self-directive, that he acts with perfect wisdom and consequently with perfect uniformity, that his will is perfectly just and good, and that under his beneficent rule all things work for the good of all.

Did Seneca believe also in the personality of deity? The quotations that have been given justify, I think, the contention that Seneca's idea of God was more positively and distinctly personal than that of Plato or Aristotle or the Stoics or any other Greek or Roman thinker before his time. Indeed it was not until two hundred years after his day that an equally clear conception of a personal God was developed by another Pagan teacher, Plotinus, the founder of Neo-Platonism. It is of course not maintained that Seneca had worked out the concept of personality, either human or divine, with the precision that modern psychology and metaphysics demand. No ancient thinker had done that. Yet in more than one of his utterances already cited, the self-consciousness of deity is unmistakably asserted. God, he says, is not a being "who does not know what he is doing." "The knowledge of events which through his power are to come to pass is ever present before him." "He is present in our minds; he enters into our very thoughts." But apart from direct statement Seneca's ordinary language about God plainly indicates that he conceived the personality of deity quite as definitely as the personality of man. His constant representation of God as the father of men, who knows men's thoughts and observes their acts and is interested in their moral welfare, forbids the belief that he was accustomed to think of him as an unconscious mechanical force or an impersonal intellectual abstraction. Seneca was a monist, for he identified the ultimate being with the universe, but his monism was not pantheistic, but theistic,

for the divine universe in which he believed was not an impersonal entity, but a personal being.

The chief interest of Seneca's idea of God—in fact its uniqueness—lies precisely in this union of apparently contradictory elements. God is an intelligent, free, self-conscious being, yet at the same time identical with the material universe. Can such a conception of deity be regarded as self-consistent? Seneca himself appears to have seen no inconsistency whatever in his view. Nor is this surprising when we recall his fundamental idea of matter. To ascribe both materiality and personality to God involves a contradiction only to one who regards matter and spirit as two distinct essences of contradictory nature. But Seneca, like the Stoics, rejected utterly the antithesis of matter and spirit, which lay at the foundation of Socratic dualism, holding that the hypothesis that pure spirit and inert matter exist independently as separate and opposite entities, is unfounded and unnecessary. In actual experience we never meet either pure spirit or inert matter isolated from each other, but always find spiritual activity connected with a material organism, and material objects exerting force of some kind, as gravity, chemical affinity, life, or thought. Surely then, the Stoics thought, it is a natural hypothesis that the ultimate entity—like every manifestation of it—is one in essence, and possesses both material and spiritual attributes. Seneca therefore conceived of matter, not as the materialistic Atomists had done, as having physical properties only, and as acting mechanically and automatically, but as possessing a rational quality as well, and hence as acting intelligently in accordance with reason. To one holding this conception of matter it would appear not only credible but inevitable that the material universe should possess every conceivable attribute of a spiritual being, including the highest and most comprehensive of all, namely, divinity.

Seneca expresses his sense of the perfect unity of the material and spiritual in the divine being in the parallel which he is fond of drawing between the universe and man. If man, who is composed of living matter, possesses not only physical properties but also intelligence, self-consciousness, and personal will, surely the universe, which consists of living matter, and includes within itself all existences, physical and spiritual, must possess those personal attributes and powers in the highest degree.

Every system of thought comes into conflict sooner or later with the two insoluble problems of philosophy—the problem of evil and the problem of freedom. Seneca met the first, as the Stoics had done, by admitting the imperfection of the world and of human nature, but referring it to the degrading influence of matter. This solution was not essentially different from that of Plato or Aristotle, and was certainly not more successful. To attribute evil to “not-being,” or non-existent matter, as Plato did, or to mere potential matter, the formless element in things, as Aristotle did, is unsatisfactory enough. But to ascribe evil to matter which by definition is identical with the perfect divine universe, is, if not really more unsatisfactory, at least more manifestly so. Seneca dealt with the problem of freedom in a similar way. Like the Stoics, he held that the soul of man is a part of the universal world-soul. Yet he believed firmly in the freedom of the individual. All his ethical teachings rest upon the assumption that man is morally free and responsible. But how the individual soul can be free which forms a part of the soul of the universe whose activity is predetermined by uniform law, he does not attempt to explain.

Seneca's indifference to the difficulties and apparent inconsistencies in his conception of deity, which would appear formidable to a thinker of the strictly systematic type, is explained by the character of his mind and by the spirit of the time. Seneca's mind was not of the systematic type, and he lived in an age of eclecticism. In his time the Greek systems had had their day and ceased to be, and Seneca at least saw that “God is more than they.” Samuel Dill says: “Seneca is far more modern and advanced than even the greatest of the Neo-Platonic school, just because he saw that the old theology was hopelessly effete. He had utterly cast off that heathen anthropomorphism which crossed and disturbed their highest visions of the divine.”³⁸ The method of the old theology was dialectical. Postulates were laid down and carried out in logical or pseudo-logical fashion to their necessary conclusions. But Seneca had no blind faith in abstract logic. His mind was rather of the intuitive order. Truth to him was that which he saw and felt to be true. Yet he was no mystic; his test of truth was practical and ethical. If he were living in the

³⁸ *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, 331.

twentieth century, he would be called a pragmatist. Principles which, taken singly, appealed to him as founded in reason or confirmed by experience or justified by their moral effects—such principles he was content to accept and teach, and live by and die for, even if human wisdom has been unable to establish perfect harmony between them.

Seneca probably viewed the old problems of being and becoming, and the perfection of deity versus the imperfection of the world with the same languid interest that the modern Christian preacher feels in the doctrine of transubstantiation or the procession of the Holy Ghost. For Seneca was in a real sense a preacher of practical morality. Literary critics deprecate a certain oratorical quality in his style, which they feel to be inappropriate to philosophical discussion. Seneca was by nature an orator. However simple or personal his theme, he writes with an audience before his mind—the turbulent, indifferent audience of a Roman basilica, whose attention must be roused by brilliant epigram, striking metaphor, and exaggerated statement. But with all his faults of temperament and style, Seneca was a preacher of righteousness. The writer whom I have already quoted emphasises his “spiritual imagination,” “his profound moral experience,” his “earnestness and conviction,” his “pure enthusiasm for the salvation of souls,” and adds: “The Christianity of the twentieth century might well hail with delight the advent of such a preacher” as the “accession of an immense and fascinating spiritual force.”³⁹ The essentially ethical quality of Seneca’s mind strongly influenced his idea of God. This was inevitable, for every man creates God in his own image. Our conception of the divine character is determined by our own moral standard. The remark that “an honest God is the noblest work of man” is more than a witty parody. Only the man who knows what human justice, benevolence, and purity are, is able to conceive of God as just and loving and holy. Accordingly we find that Seneca’s lofty conception of the moral perfection of deity is the reflex of his own ethical ideal. In his own conscience he discovers the moral attributes of God. What he felt that man ought to be, that he believed that God is.

Seneca’s theology was influenced not by his moral ideals alone,

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 295.

but by his religious sentiments as well. Doubtless theology, religion, and morals ought never to be separated in experience, for religion divorced from morality becomes formalism, and theology divorced from religion becomes scholasticism. But we may distinguish the three as fields of thought; indeed we must do so, if we are to think clearly. Morality has to do with man's relations to his fellow-man; theology deals with man's thought about God—his strictly intellectual, speculative conceptions of deity; while religion has a twofold character—the inward and the outward—on the one hand embracing man's intuitions of God, his emotions regarding God, the state of his will toward God, and on the other hand including all expression of those sentiments in formal worship.

Seneca seems to have felt little interest in religious ceremonial; but if we conceive of religion as chiefly concerned with the personal attitude of the soul toward the divine being, surely no reader of Seneca can doubt that he was a profoundly religious man. The divine was absolutely real to him, not as the product of scientific induction or of metaphysical speculation, but as the direct deliverance of his own consciousness, the object of that spiritual insight through which, we may believe, God always reveals himself to the soul that seeks him in sincerity. Seneca regarded God with reverence and devotion, but without a shadow of superstitious fear. Recognizing him as the very ideal of goodness and holiness, he thought of him with admiration and love. With perfect faith in his wisdom and benevolence he submitted gladly to his will.

Seneca was the spiritual successor of men like Xenophanes and Socrates, who without the support of philosophical speculation had nevertheless on religious grounds alone maintained the old faith in the personal attributes of deity. Seneca reinforced the speculative argument for personality with a religious faith no less vigorous and positive. It is this which renders Seneca's idea of God more vividly personal than Aristotle's. Seneca was no match for that great "master of those who know" in intellectual subtlety, but Aristotle's religious consciousness was relatively undeveloped. His conception therefore of the divine personality—the "thought of thought"—lacks the living reality and spiritual force that impress us in the utterances of Seneca about God. It was Seneca's religious spirit which drew the Fathers of

the Christian church into closer sympathy with him than with other pagan writers whose theology was much nearer to their own. To quote again from Dill: "The church almost claimed Seneca as her son, while it never dreamt of an affinity with Plutarch or Plotinus."⁴⁰

We may then distinguish in Seneca's conception of deity a strictly intellectual element, derived from speculative thought, an ethical element, derived from the observation and experience of life, and a religious element, derived from reflection and reverent meditation. As a philosophic and scientific thinker he ascribed to God oneness with all that exists, eternity and infinity, rationality and supremacy, uniform and purposive activity; his lofty ideals of character and conduct led him to endow God with every moral perfection; while with religious faith he looked up to him as the father of men in devout submission to his wise and perfect will. With mind and heart and spirit he believed in

That God who ever lives and loves,
One God, one law, one element.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 331.

SIMEON AND LEVI: THE PROBLEM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

STANLEY A. COOK, M.A.
Cambridge, England

Most students of the Old Testament are familiar with the problem of Simeon and Levi, sons of Jacob. In Gen., chap. 34, the brothers avenge the violation of their sister Dinah by Shechem the son of Hamor, and Jacob freely expresses his abhorrence and fear. In Gen. 49:5-7 their father curses them for their ferocity, and they are doomed to be scattered and divided. Subsequently the Simeonites actually appear in the midst of Judah (Josh. 19:1, 9), while the Levites are priests dispersed throughout the land. Simeon, however, is not mentioned among the tribes blessed by Moses (Deut., chap. 33), and he finds no place among the south Palestinian peoples in I Sam. (e. g., chaps. 27, 30), or in the history of the monarchy in Samuel and Kings. Recognizing that some ethnological interpretation of Gen., chap. 34, is necessary, most scholars (following Wellhausen) have cleverly adjusted it to the Israelite invasion, which, as internal criticism and Palestinian excavation combine to prove, was not the sweeping conquest related in the Book of Joshua. It is very generally held, therefore, that Simeon and Levi were two tribes or groups which attacked Shechem on behalf of a "sister" group, Dinah; retaliation followed, and the two were broken up. By common consent the episode is associated with the entrance of the Israelite tribes, either as part of the separate movements represented in Judg., chap. 1, or perhaps as part of an earlier settlement by the "sons" of Leah, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah.

The intricate biblical data undoubtedly compel us so to go behind the canonical history, and every critical or semi-critical treatment of early Israelite development, and every theory which professes to support a traditional position, invariably handles some biblical details with great freedom and no less freely rejects others. This is especially true of the reconstructions of Israelite history which reject a quantity

of "unhistorical" material which sooner or later will have to find a place in our conceptions of Israel. How Simeon reappeared in the south and how the refugees of Levi became priests can hardly be conjectured. How Shechem and the Hamorites continued to flourish in the time of Abimelech (Judg., chap. 9) after the catastrophes in Gen. 34:25-29 can scarcely be explained. Why the late Book of Chronicles should often mention Simeon, and that twice among the northern tribes (II Chron. 15:9; 34:6), and why a tribe, whose independent career apparently ceased at the beginning of Israelite national history, should be resurrected in post-exilic and even later literature are questions which have eluded reasonable explanation.¹ A reconsideration of the evidence will perhaps furnish a sounder, though not necessarily complete estimate of the problem, and a clearer idea of the possibilities and limitations of Old Testament research.

The story in Gen., chap. 34, follows upon the entrance of Jacob or Israel into Palestine. This at once brings the problem of the relation between (a) the entrance of Israel and his sons, and (b) that of the children of Israel under Joshua. To deny that there was some immigration at the traditional date of Jacob would be as rash as to reconstruct it from the present narratives without considering their present date and their relation to other traditions.² Gen., chap. 34, is followed by the journey of Israel and his sons to Bethel, and Shechem is the scene of Jacob's religious reform and of Joshua's great religious assembly before the dismissal of the tribes (Gen. 35:1-5; Josh., chap. 24). After Joshua's death the brothers Judah and Simeon are the first to conquer their "lot," and the house of Joseph proceeds, also southward, to Bethel (Judg., chap. 1).³ To these familiar parallels we add Gen., chap. 38, where Judah "at that time"

¹ Is Simeon included among the *ten* tribes, I Kings 11:31, 35? Cf. II Sam. 19:43.

² Few critics would find pre-Mosaic history in Genesis, though still fewer would deny that the material might go back to pre-Israelite ages. A novel modern tendency (on which cf. H. P. Smith, *Am. Jour. Theol.*, 1908, pp. 444-54) is found among writers (viz. Winckler, A. Jeremias, Baentsch, Sellin, Burney) who adhere to the Wellhausen *literary* theory, and do not treat the Pentateuch as history, but arbitrarily utilize certain details for a reconstruction of Mosaic and earlier religious conditions. Their results can hardly be accepted either by consistent conservatism or by strict historical criticism; in fact, they appear to be contrary to actual evidence for early Palestinian religion (see the writer's *Religion of Ancient Palestine*).

³ Cf. the "oak of weeping" near Bethel, where Deborah was buried (Gen. 35:8), and the story of the "weeping" of Israel (Judg. 2:1-5).

went down from his brethren and settled among the Canaanites. Something was evidently known also of Simeon's Canaanite alliance (46:10, P), and the Book of Jubilees actually names a woman of Zephath (34:20; 44:13, ed. R. H. Charles). We can scarcely sever this from the destruction of Zephath (renamed Hormah, Judg. 1:17), since any comparison of Genesis with Jubilees (probably 2d century, B. C.), and later evidence shows that the canonical book has only preserved a portion of the patriarchal traditions. Moreover, literary criticism assigns the above biblical evidence to Deuteronomic, post-Deuteronomic (viz. Judg., chap. 1), and priestly post-exilic *compilers*, who, like the author of Jubilees, obviously use older sources (e. g., JE in Genesis). This alone proves the late popularity and vitality of certain traditions, and from their present form and contents historical criticism must start. Literary compositeness does not necessarily imply different historical frameworks, though subsidiary details may conflict; a literary unit, too, does not exclude the presence of distinct historical situations. A late passage may contain old material relatively pure, or in merely a later dress; it could even preserve a tradition more trustworthy than that in an earlier source.⁴ Consequently we may notice Simeon's forcible occupation of Gedor (LXX preferably Gerar), his raid upon Mt. Seir, and the overthrow of Amalek (I Chron. 4:24-43)—these are details which could not have been invented, whatever their real significance may be.

Simeon having reached its seat in the south of Palestine (Josh. 19:1-9; I Chron. 4:28-32), the names point to the district of Beer-sheba, Gerar, and Kadesh (cf. Gen. 20:1). This district, as many scholars agree, is extremely important for the study of the Exodus and the Invasion.⁵ It forms the starting-point of another series of traditions, since it was from Kadesh that the spies were sent to view the promised land, and the sequel is crucial for the criticism of the invasion, not of the sons of Israel, but of the Israelites. Two

⁴ For an illustration of the latter, see L. W. King, *Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, I, 53.

⁵ To the references in my *Critical Notes on O. T. History*, p. 122, n. 1, add Père Lagrange, *Historical Criticism and the Old Testament*, p. 175, and especially E. Meyer and B. Luther, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* (*passim*). The present paper is much indebted to the elaborate and very suggestive studies of the latter, but takes another view of the bearing of their detailed investigations upon the history.

significant events are recorded: (a) the Amalekites and Canaanites overthrow Israel and pursue them (southward) to Hormah (Num. 14:41-45), and (b) Israel defeated the Canaanites of the district and took their cities, including Arad (21:1-3). The former, connected with Israel's disbelief and the divine command (14:25), leads to the journey to the Gulf of 'Akabah, thence to the east of the Dead Sea, to Shittim, and finally to Joshua's invasion. The latter is isolated, yet Caleb's faith gained him the promise of an inheritance (14:24), and Joshua's defeat of Amalek was presumably in south Palestine and not in the Sinaitic Peninsula (Exod. 17:8 ff.; cf. I Sam. 15:7; 27:8). On these and on other grounds there is a growing conviction that Num. 21:1-3 is a fragment of a tradition of an immediate settlement, which has been mutilated and subordinated to the record of the Exodus and Joshua's conquests.⁶ Its original extent is of course conjectural, some scholars holding that Calebites and Kenites (cf. Judg. 1:16) took advantage of the destruction of the Canaanites, others including also Judah and Simeon. However, it is obvious that the present traditions are absolutely conflicting. Calebites and Kenites hardly reached the south of Judah by the circuitous route which the canonical history represents; nor can the move of Simeon and Judah southward be combined with any attack delivered from the south. Some reconstruction is inevitable, but we must allow that Num. 21:1-3 plainly describes an *Israelite* victory, almost at the gate of the promised land, and like the *Israelite* victory under Joshua (Exod. 17:9 ff.), would really suggest an immediate invasion by *Israel* itself.

Furthermore, Jacob's entrance from Gilead is followed by some settlement at Shechem (Gen. 33:18-35:4), and the district becomes the pasturing-grounds of his sons (37:12, 14). Late stories of his conquests (Jub., chaps. 34 ff.) are scarcely based upon the punning allusion to his capture of Shechem in Gen. 48:22, since this in turn naturally demands some explanation. But the story of Judah in chap. 38 and Simeon's marriage also point to a settlement, and thus

⁶ Wellhausen, G. F. Moore, H. P. Smith, Kent, Steuernagel (see *Crit. Notes* p. 122, n. 2); also Baentsch on Num. 21:1-3; Guthe, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, col. 2223; Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 72 ff.; Benzinger, *Gesch. Isr.*, p. 21; C. F. Burney, *Jour. of Theolog. Studies*, IX, 338 ff.; X, 134.

it is probable that there were traditions which ignored the descent into Egypt and the subsequent Exodus and Invasion.⁷ In fact, those who hold that Israel was composed of indigenous and immigrating elements (cf. Judg. 3:6), that not all the Israelites had gone down into Egypt, or that not all the Israelites of the Exodus correspond to the Israelites, say, of the monarchy, must necessarily recognize that at a certain period the original traditions of the invaders and those of the earlier settlers would be distinct. But we have now to recognize more complicated processes, the adjustment of distinct groups of traditions differing in standpoint, aim, and in attitude to similar events; we have distinct "histories," or historical views, which have been deliberately subordinated by later writers or editors.

The problem of Simeon and Levi does not concern history alone; why should Simeon and the ancestor of the sacred caste be solemnly cursed—one knows the significance of the oriental curse—and their assemblies denounced? The two brothers, who are united in a special sense in Gen. 49:5-7, were clearly the only guilty ones in chap. 34 (see vss. 25 f., 30), although the incident is now part of the history of all the sons (vss. 7, 13, 27-29). The sequel of even this secondary form is lost; the strange gods are put away at Shechem, and the family journey south protected from vengeance (35:1-5). The story in its present form does not reproduce the spirit of Jacob's curse; it seems to be directed against foreign marriages, and the tone is that of the post-exilic age exemplified in the zeal of Phinehas (Num., chap. 25; Wellhausen, *Proleg.*, pp. 356 f.), the programme of Ezra and Nehemiah, and Jewish hostility to Samaria.⁸ The narrative is thus made doubly intricate, by the secondary association of the incident with tribal history, and by the striking changes in the religious attitude. We notice at the outset that the latest writer does not supply a new record; older traditions could not be effaced, they were only reshaped. Next, since Simeon and Levi can now be treated as an independent pair, their relationship probably lies in the association of the Levites

⁷ Cf. Luther and Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 f., 156, 204 f., 227, 414 f., 433; also *Crit. Notes*, p. 144. This makes the parallels between Jacob's entrance and that of the Israelites more significant.

⁸ Later writers extol the brothers' zeal, e. g., Judith 9:2; see Charles, *Jubilees*, p. 179; *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, p. 22. (*Jubilees*, by the way, omits Gen., chap. 49.)

with the south of Palestine where Simeon had his "lot." The names of the Levites are connected with Moses and his family, with sites in south Judah, and with names found elsewhere among southern groups (Simeon, Edom).⁹ Similarly, the traditions of the Levites and of related families point back to the south. In later periods we can observe changes in the application of the term "Levite," the varying major and minor subdivisions, and the inclusion of non-Israelite Korahites and non-Aaronic Zadokites. In earlier periods, we find the Levite of Bethlehem (and later of Dan) who was the grandson of Moses, and the priesthood of Shiloh of equally high ancestry; the importance of the Kenites can be seen in the work of Jethro (Exod., chap. 18), while the allied Rechabites, whose head assisted Jehu in his reforms, evidently upheld a purer form of Yahweh worship (II Kings 10:15 ff.; Jer., chap. 35). The Levites were the ecclesiastics, and the term has had a history, the earlier part of which is quite obscure; it was at one stage a general name for the priests (whether of southern origin or not), and the tradition that Levi proved his choice at Massah and Meribah (Kadesh, Deut. 33:8) unmistakably shows the importance of the south in "Levitical" history.

Kadesh was probably the original scene of the consecration of the Levites when they manifested their adherence to Yahweh and slew their brethren (Exod. 32:26-29). The story gives the Levites' standpoint, and, like the denunciation of Levi's enemies in Deut. 33:11, is in striking contrast to that other standpoint which curses him for cruelty and ferocity. The presence and significance of such changes must be carefully observed. The story becomes the sequel to the account of the Golden Calf which Aaron deliberately made. This episode cannot be severed from the calf-cult ascribed by a Deuteronomic compiler to the first king of the schismatic north.¹⁰ At one time the cult was not regarded as obnoxious, and if Aaron made the Golden Calf and worshiped Yahweh (cf. Exod. 32:5), Jerusalem had a brazen serpent founded by Moses. It is the Deuteronomic writer who records that the pious Hezekiah destroyed the latter

⁹ See *Crit. Notes*, pp. 84 ff.

¹⁰ Cf. Exod. 32:4 with I Kings 12:28, and the names of Nadab and Abijah (or Abihu; see LXX), sons of both Aaron and Jeroboam.

(II Kings 18:4), and according to Deut. 9:20 Aaron's sin almost cost him his life.¹¹ Dan possessed a calf (I Kings 12:29) or an image (Judg. 18:30 f.) explicitly associated with Jeroboam and with Mosaic priests, and the priests of Shiloh (cf. above) drew down the condemnation of writers of the prophetic stamp (I Sam., chaps. 1-4), even as the prophets themselves denounced the northern priests. So too, although the present narratives obscure the offenses of Moses and Aaron at Kadesh (Num. 20:1-13, 24), we cannot ignore the tradition that they failed to "sanctify" (*kaddesh*) Yahweh. Literal history or not, we have good evidence for differing standpoints which should warn us that early Israelite religion cannot be estimated from an uncritical use of existing sources.

When the Levites took up their stand "on the side of Yahweh" (Exod. 32:26), the original conflict was hardly between higher and lower forms of Yahweh-worship, but between Yahweh and rival deity. We may find a parallel in the conflict between Yahweh and Baal in the days of Elijah and Elisha. At Horeb, Elijah received the promise of the faithful who had not turned to Baal, and at Horeb (Exod. 33:6) the selection of Levi is *now* located. An era of the sword was anticipated, but the narratives do not follow the outline in I King 19:15 ff. The account of Jehu's reforms belongs to *local* history, and the prominent figure at Samaria (6 miles northwest of Shechem) is Jehonadab the Rechabite. It would be useless to speculate whether this Kenite founded a new priesthood, or at what other places the reforming sword did its work (cf. Jerusalem, II Kings 11:18), but the assumption that there were fierce religious reforms by those who, from a later point of view, could be regarded as Levites, suggests how it was possible to curse one whose traditions and genealogies associate him with south Palestine. It is natural to suppose that tradition knew more of Jehu's reforms than the present narratives admit. They appear as the sequel to the work of Elijah and Elisha, and the history is more concerned with the iniquity of Ahab and his family, and touches only lightly upon Jehonadab. On the other hand, the Book of Hosea vigorously condemns the bloodshed of

¹¹ There is a distinct tendency in Exod., chap. 32, and Deut., chap. 9, to blame the people.

Jezreel (1:4), and denounces the priests of the Jehu Dynasty—another significant change in attitude.¹²

There are other changes. In II Chron. 29:34; 30:3 there is a certain animus against the Aaronites who had not "sanctified" themselves, as was proper. In Lev., chap. 10, Nadab and Abihu, Aaron's eldest sons, are burned for their transgression and Moses quotes the words of Yahweh: "I will show my sanctity in them that are nigh to me." Num., chaps. 16-18, represent conflicts at Kadesh between Aaronites and other Levites, and between the Levites as a whole and non-Levites; even the oldest fragments deal with disputed prerogatives. Again, Abiathar, the descendant of Eli at Shiloh, is superseded by Zadok, in prophecy (I Sam. 2:27-36) and history (I Kings 2:27, 35), and it is natural to compare Ezekiel's elevation of Zadok (46:6-16; cf. 40:46; 43:19; 48:11) and the compromise which allows Abiathar one-third of the priestly families (I Chron., chap. 24).¹³ All these changes are due partly to religious development in the course of history, and partly to different standpoints which could be contemporaneous. They have influenced the earlier traditions, which have been reshaped but not replaced, and though the evidence is more distinct for the later periods, the earlier vicissitudes of the ecclesiastics must be sought in the fragments and hints which have survived. Thus, in Cain and Jehonadab we have some light upon Kenites and Rechabites which cannot be separated from the blessing or the cursing of Levi, or from those internal jealousies which take us into the heart of Old Testament theology—and the growth of the Old Testament literature.

The obscuring of the offenses of Moses and Aaron at Kadesh and the partial condonation of Simeon and Levi illustrate a characteristic trait in the development of certain Old Testament traditions. There was a body of inveterate and authoritative material which could not be replaced, but, in accordance with a typical custom in religious

¹² See on this the late Professor Harper's *Amos and Hosea* ("Internat. Crit. Comm."), Introd., pp. xlvii ff., and the present writer, *Jew. Quart. Rev.*, 1908, April, p. 627. Here may be noticed the popular story of Cain and Abel which (amid other motives) shows how Yahweh preferred the sacrifice of Abel, and how the eponym of the Kenites was cursed for his murderous conduct, but preserved from vengeance (see E. W. Altwater, *Biblical World*, 1908, pp. 277 ff.).

¹³ The passages are from Deuteronomic and later sources.

history, it could be reinterpreted and reclothed, so that the old could be presented in a new form (cf. *Crit. Notes*, p. 62). Similarly P represents the older religion, not of course in its earlier form, but leavened with the teaching of the prophets.¹⁴ The latest redaction of Genesis, too, is markedly conservative, and freely retains stories contrary to the prophetic religion. One of the most necessary though complicated of tasks is the comparative study of the treatment of closely related traditions and all that they involve; it is as important as the study of conflicting standpoints in regard to Israelite history and religion. The variations and resemblances belong to the development both of history and of history writing, and when we have understood their true significance the problem of Simeon and Levi will be simplified; for these features are found throughout biblical history, and the problem of Simeon and Levi as stated in the title of this paper is no other than the problem of the Old Testament itself.

A few general preliminary points may be noticed. In the first place, our historical sources are three: the Deuteronomic and the Priestly compilations, and the separate work, Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah. The first, introduced by Deuteronomy, extends from Joshua to Kings; the second includes other works and knits the first six books of the Old Testament into a whole, not without disorganizing part of the earlier compilation (e. g., Joshua). Both Deuteronomy and the priestly legislation betray many signs of composite origin, and the complexities of the Deuteronomic redaction suggest a distinct two-fold process. This compilation has also received post-Deuteronomic additions with "priestly" revision, whether light (Judg., chap. 1) or heavy (*ibid.*, chaps. 20, 21). The work of redaction by Deuteronomic and "priestly" writers continued to a very late date, as is shown by Exodus (chaps. 35-40), Joshua (especially chap. 20), and Kings; consequently these compilations tend to overlap with the third source which is also composite. The "chronicler" (to use a convenient term) has reshaped the religious history of the monarchy and has given effect to some singularly arbitrary historical views. He has made little use of material in our canonical books for the early part of the sixth century, and he passes at once from the fall of Jerusalem

¹⁴ Cf. Marti, *The Religion of the Old Testament*, chap. iv (see pp. 30, 215 ff., 231).

to the return in the reign of Cyrus. From the criticism of Ezra, chaps. 1-6, it is questionable whether we gain firm ground until the time of Artaxerxes I, when there was a return which does not seem to be described (Ezra 4:12), and when the literary material becomes more extensive.¹⁵ Hence, in viewing Old Testament history we have to take up relatively late positions and must start from the form in which the material is *now* preserved. Thus, from the results of literary criticism, one must work back to prior stages when Exod., chaps. 32-34, and Num. 10:29-36; chaps. 11 ff., were contiguous, so that related passages could find their way into both Exod., chap. 33, and Num., chap. 11; we must also go behind post-Deuteronomic insertions (e. g., Judg., chaps. 1-2:5; II Sam., chaps. 9-20), and investigate the Deuteronomic rather than earlier and extremely more remote forms. In general, the minuteness of past literary criticism is found to be amply justified by the intricacy of the material details; whether the phenomena have been correctly correlated is quite another question which depends upon the discovery of controlling clues. Some of these clues have been noticed. We have seen the Shechemite version of the story of Simeon and Levi adapted to the history of Jacob and his sons; the entrance and settlement of Jacob supplemented by some move from Shechem to the south; and, finally, some movement from Kadesh northward subordinated to the Exodus and Invasion. At the same time there are fundamental variations in religious standpoint which have sometimes influenced the shaping of earlier tradition. We cannot presume that such redaction and readjustment have not been effected in those records where the historical foundation seems firm; historical criticism must test the foundations, and it is obvious that upon the evidence for the development of internal history the criticism of the prophetic writings depends.

The entrance of Jacob "the Aramaean" (Deut. 26:5) and his journey southward find a parallel in Abram, whose Aramaean relations shape the history of Jacob, the favorite son of the Aramaean Rebekah. The three acts of separation: Jacob from Esau or Edom, Abram

¹⁵ There is much for the view that Ezra 4:7-23 refers to the time when Nehemiah had returned to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem (see C. F. Kent, *Israel's Hist. and Biog. Narratives*, pp. 358 f.). The objections to this overlook the present difficulties in Neh., chaps. 1-6, and the *two* disasters implied in Ezra 4:12 and Neh. 1: .

from Lot (cf. Edomite Lotan and Gen. 13:5 with 36:6 f.), and Isaac from Hagar and Ishmael, are scarcely three distinct events in the pre-Mosaic history of certain non-Israelite groups whom the genealogical details closely connect. Jacob's separation is twofold (on his flight from Beersheba and after his entrance into Palestine); the name Israel is twice given, and there is a double theophany at Bethel (chap. 28 and 35:9; cf. Hos. 12:4). His move is twofold: a northward journey from Beersheba in the district of Gerar (Gen. 26:17, 33; 28:10), and the entrance to Shechem, a motive which recurs in the story of Abram. In this latter respect Jacob is anticipated by Abram, and this may explain the absence of traditions of his conquest of central Palestine. Moreover, the seizure of this district is not recorded in the case of the great Ephraimite conqueror Joshua, although it is presupposed in the account of the altar on Mt. Ebal, the prelude to his campaigns south and north (Josh. 8:30 ff.). Similarly in Judg., chap. 1, the unconquered cities lie south and north, and there is no hint that Shechem and Shiloh were partly non-Israelite (Judg., chaps. 9, 21). Although Deut. 27:1-8 may suggest that Mt. Ebal was reached on the day the Jordan was crossed, Joshua's campaigns are now preceded by attacks upon Jericho and Ai, after the passage from Shittim to Gilgal, the proper sequel to the Exodus and the journey from the Gulf of Akabah. Further, the object of Judg. 2:1-5 is to show that the movements in chap. 1 were from Gilgal (cf. Josh. 10:7; 14:6), and the "angel of Yahweh," who had accompanied Israel (Exod. 14:19; 23:20; 32:34), only now departs from Gilgal to Bochim (near Bethel). The complicated redaction ends with the prominence of the Exodus tradition.¹⁶

That traditions ignorant of the Exodus long persisted is evident from the tribal genealogies in I Chron., chaps. 2-8, and especially from the disastrous raids of the Ephraimites upon Gath which grieved their "father" Ephraim (I Chron. 7:21-24; cf. vs. 14 and 8:13). Kittel has pointed out "die naive Individualisierung im Ton der Vatersage," and, indeed, as the Book of Jubilees proves, such primi-

¹⁶ Judg. 2:1-5 is editorial; the scene in Josh., chaps. 23 f., and Judg., is Shechem. For Bochim, see Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 272 ff. There is similar complication in Genesis when the narratives imply that Jacob left Laban, not to go to Schechem, but to return direct to his father. Is there some hint of this in his interview with Esau (chap. 32; 33: 1-16; cf. 36:6-8, with 13:6)?

tive lore continued to be current in popular circles.¹⁷ It is here, too, in I Chron. 2 and 4, that there is a predominating interest in the south, a feature of importance in view of the prominence of the southern tradition in the Old Testament. Traditions of an entrance from the east into Palestine would not be restricted to one locality; north Palestine must have had its share of tribal and local lore, and its stories of relations between Phoenicia and Israel. Yet, although the older traditions in Judges are non-Judaeen—Judah lying outside northern interests (Judg., chap. 5)—the late Deuteronomic compiler of the history of the “judges” has prefixed the victory of Othniel, the Kenizzite, the brother of Caleb. Again, in Judg., chap. 1, the incidents relate to Bethel and the south, and in Genesis the interest extends from Shechem (and Dothan) southward, and there is a predilection for sagas which are neither Israelite nor exclusively Judaeen, but representative of wider south Palestinian relations (Myer, pp. 386, 443).

Some of the intricate phenomena in the Old Testament arise from the actual transmission of literature from one circle to another, with revision and adjustment and with the incorporation of other literature which had had an independent growth. Part of Deuteronomy, at least, probably originated in north Israel, and there are independent grounds for the belief that there was a Deuteronomic history wider in its outlook than a later redaction which was Judaeen and anti-Israelite (i. e., anti-Samaritan).¹⁸ The extant northern traditions obviously

¹⁷ This alone, independently of universal experience, weakens the common assumption that “primitive” features are necessarily older than those more refined and elevated (Jubilees and later traditional material often allows us to check the value of arguments affecting Genesis). Moreover, just as Jubilees utilizes older material but does not permit us to reconstruct the form in which it appeared centuries earlier (viz., in Genesis), so there is a difference between JE and P, and it is impossible to recover with any confidence the traditions a few centuries previous to the date of JE. The gap between Genesis and Jubilees is not immeasurable, and it is relatively inconsiderable when one observes underlying Genesis traditions which differ profoundly from the present narratives as regards contents and thought (e. g., 6:1-4; 18:2, 16; 28:18, 22, etc.).

¹⁸ For the latter see *Jew. Quart. Rev.*, 1907, October, pp. 160 ff., and for the former, Luther and Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 543 ff. (p. 550: the law-giving at Shechem earlier than the Mosaic), also R. H. Kennett, *Journal of Theol. Studies*, 1906, July, pp. 486 ff., 498.

reach us through Judaeen hands, and while one later compiler has placed the Kenizzite Othniel at the head of the Israelite "judges," the traditions of north Israelite kings have been more or less drastically worked over by Judaeen sympathizers. An example of this is the deliberate subordination of the founder of the (north) kingdom to that of the Judaeen dynasty.¹⁹ When this transmission is recognized, it becomes significant that in Josh., chap. 24 (before the dismissal of the Israelites), Shechem is the center of a great religious covenant, whereas in Gen., chap. 35, Israel's sons leave the heathen gods behind them before they proceed to the holy site of Bethel—the former we owe to a post-Deuteronomic insertion, the latter has been incorporated by P. Now, the character of the "southern" element in Genesis has been admirably shown by Meyer and Luther in their extremely suggestive essays. The south has influenced the development of tradition (p. 305), and there is a semi-nomadic treatment of older material (pp. 159 f., 305). The stories reflect a close connection between the district of Kadesh and south Palestinian groups. Abram and Isaac are intimately linked with Hebron and Beersheba, and Hebron was notably Calebite (p. 263). Kenite tradition may also be recognized, and that probably in Gen. 4:26.²⁰ The conception of the origin of the worship of Yahweh in this passage would obviously affect the group of traditions to which it belonged and from the fragments of the journey from Kadesh it is natural to infer a distinctive organic body of tradition with its own representation of events.

Thus we recognize a considerable "southern" stock of tradition relating to movements from Kadesh into Palestine or to southerners famous for religious and legislative reforms. There are southerners who ultimately appear in Palestine and there are traditions which could arise only in the south; there is a specific southern standpoint and a treatment of tradition (written or oral) from the southern point of view. Whatever historical criticism may think of Othniel's victory (Judg. 3:7-11), literary-historical criticism will note that a late compiler has access to and a singular interest in a Kenizzite (an

¹⁹ *Crit. Notes*, pp. 128 ff. (cf. the treatment of the rejection of Saul in I Sam. 13:13 f.; 24:20 f.; 28:16-19; and Jonathan's covenant with David, 20:14-16, 31; 23:17.)

²⁰ See also A. R. Gordon, *Early Traditions of Genesis*, pp. 74, 168, 188, 211.

Edomite name, Gen. 36:11). No less instructive is the estimate of Yahweh's servant Caleb in Num. 14:11-24, a relatively late passage (cf. Deut. 1:36). In P. (Num. 13:6; 34:19) Caleb is still the representative of Judah, and although Joshua now finds a place in the story of the spies (Num. 14:6, 30; 32:12, P; cf. the insertion, Deut. 1:37 f.), Caleb's subordination to Joshua and to the tribe of Judah is only the final stage in his history.²¹ Religious history exalted Joshua, the successor of Moses, and (from another standpoint) Eleazar the son of Aaron; political history incorporated Caleb in Judah and ultimately gave him a Judaeon ancestry. Simeon is likewise subordinated; his cities are "in the midst of the inheritance of the children of Judah" (Josh. 19:1-9), and rightly, if we compare the Judaeon list in Josh. 15:20 ff.²² On the other hand, Simeon's cities in I Chron. 4:28 ff. are not said to be in Judah, and chaps. 2 and 4 give quite another and novel description of the constitution of Judah, the interest in the southern elements being singularly conspicuous. Judah is made up of Caleb and Jerahmeel, sons of Hezron, who is also connected with Gilead,²³ and in chap. 4 we have the interesting vow of Jabez, and references to Caleb, Rechab (vs. 12 for Recah), Othniel ben Kenez, Jether (cf. Jethro), Miriam, and Hur—we move in the Kadesh-group of tradition, as the Targum itself suggests. But the material has been revised and adapted to another standpoint by tracing Hezron back to Judah through Perez (cf. I Chron. 2:4 f.), and by insisting upon Judah's superiority over Simeon (4:27).

When the Simeonite cities date to David's reign (I Chron. 4:31*b*, editorial), it is meant that Judaeon pre-eminence over the southern groups was due to the founder of the Judaeon dynasty, which agrees with the critical view of his history. On the other hand, although certain portions of chap. 2 (vss. 24-49) agree with conditions in David's time, when Caleb dwelt in south Judah (I Sam. 25:3;

²¹ See Judg. 1:8-15; Josh. 15:13-19 (see vs. 13), and *ibid.* 14:6-15 (where Joshua is independent of the Aaronite Eleazar and there are signs of an earlier non-P source).

²² But this list has been expanded, perhaps by the addition of Simeonite cities (see H. W. Hogg, *Ency. Biblica*, art. "Simeon," §10).

²³ For the view that this is parallel to Jacob's move from the south, see *Crit. Notes*, pp. 91 f., 145.

30:14), the southern groups seem to have been still independent after the fall of Jerusalem (Meyer, pp. 399, 407, 409). Chap. 2, which gives the seats of Caleb, first in south Judah and then farther north (vss. 50 ff.), either extends over half a millennium or must be viewed from its present exilic or post-exilic standpoint. Moreover, we have to observe that Saul, the founder of the (north) Israelite kingdom, clearly ruled over Judah, even as the Ephraimite Joshua in turn had previously conquered the district (Josh., chap. 10).²⁴ Although this conflicts with the view of many critics, the entrance of the ark into Jerusalem is connected with a tradition which ignores its sojourn at Shiloh (II Sam. 7:7; cf. I Chron. 23:26). That Abiathar (cf. the name Jether) bore the ark (I Kings 2:26) certainly conflicts with other evidence, but it recalls the journey of the kin of Moses and the ark (Num. 10:29-36) and the appearance of Kenites in south Judah (Judg. chap. 1), although these naturally conflict with the journey of the ark from Shittim to Gilgal and its presence at Shiloh (I Sam., chap. 1) or Bethel (Judg. 20:27 f.).

There are traditions of David's fights against figures who remind us of the primitive inhabitants of Hebron (see *Crit. Notes*, pp. 133 ff.). These are quite distinct from the popular narratives of the relations between David and Saul, and both obscure the history of one whom (north) Israel had reason to respect (cf. the lament, II Sam. 1:19 ff.). The northern standpoint has been obscured also in Genesis, but it still appears in the superiority of Rachel over Leah, of Joseph over his brethren, and in the inclusion of Judah among the sons of Israel. The southern standpoint now prevails, and it is interesting to notice the growing prominence of Hebron (*a*) as the home, not only of Abraham, but also of Isaac (35:27; contrast 28:10), and Jacob (cf. 37:14; 46:1), and (*b*) as the burial place of the ancestral figures, including Jacob (50:12 f., contrast vss. 1-11), and, in later tradition, all his sons except Joseph (Joseph *Antiq.* ii, 8, 2; *Test. of XII Patriarchs*).

²⁴ Saul's successful wars (I Sam. 14:47 f.) conflict with popular accounts of his relations to David, but agree with the old poem in II Sam., chap. 1. They imply the possession of Judah, which is also supported by his defeat of Amalek (chap. 15), the presence of the priesthood at Nob, a few miles north of Jerusalem, the allusion to Jerusalem (17:54), his suzerainty over the south (implied in 27:10, 12), and by the possible reference to the men of Judah who took part in his last fight (II Sam. 1:12, LXX). See also *Crit. Notes*, pp. 128 ff.

Nevertheless, it is no longer a Calebite Hebron; the traditions have become Israelite even as Caleb became a Judaeon through Perez.²⁵

Everywhere where we can trace the *specifically* southern cycle of tradition it belongs to a late but not to the latest stage. Cain the founder of civilization has been placed in an unfavorable light (Gen. 4:1-15); the Kenizzite Othniel of the Deut. of Judges has become an Israelite; and the southern traditions of a movement northward from Kadesh, of Caleb against the Anakim of Hebron, or of David's conflicts further north, have been subordinated and adjusted to other representations. Yet, the half-suppressed southern treatment of the rise of Judah is really not very widely separated from the theory that David knit together Caleb, Jerahmeel, Kenites, etc., and inaugurated the Levitical families (I Chron., chap. 23; note the Mosaites, vss. 13 f.); so, also, his relations to Israel in the Books of Samuel are merely enhanced in I Chron. 10:13 f.; chaps. 11, 12, etc. Since literary criticism has shown that the *present* form of I and II Sam. is post-Deuteronomic, the southern treatment of biblical history may be correlated with the predominance of the southern element in Genesis before the date of P. This places us in a period where two clear historical situations can be recognized: the northward movement of southern groups after the fall of Jerusalem, and the subsequent reorganization of the Judaeon community. Meyer long ago noticed the suggestiveness of the *names* of the families of Hur and Rechab in Neh. 3:9, 14, and it is not improbable that the curious constitution of Judah in I Chron., chaps. 2 and 4, represents conditions in the course of the reorganization of the tribe.²⁶ It is at least noteworthy that names of a southern type recur in the late genealogies of both Benjamin and Judah (*Crit. Notes*, p. 58), and since many

²⁵ The present object of Gen., chap. 38, is to elevate Perez over Zerah. The latter family claimed the sages of Solomon's day (I Chron. 2:6; I Kings 4:31), while the former had a Mahalalel (Neh. 11:4; in Gen. 5:12, son of Kenan or Cain) and claimed the entire Davidic dynasty (Ruth 4:12, 18 ff.). These data belong to post-exilic tradition and history-writing, and are suggestive for the circles through which the records have passed. By the side of the prominence of the Kenizzite Othniel in Judg. 3, may be placed the local interest in Zerah, Eshtaol, Kirjath-jearim (*ibid.*, 13 ff.), with which cf. I Chron. 2:52 ff., and *Crit. Notes*, pp. 40, 88; in the story where P comes to the front, Bethel and Benjamin are prominent (*ibid.*, 20 f.).

²⁶ Meyer, *Entstehung des Judentums* (1896), p. 119; *Israeliten*, p. 430 (cf. his hint, p. 300, near foot of page).

scholars freely admit the presence of southerners, some time after the fall of Jerusalem,²⁷ it is natural to ask whether they or the "families of scribes" (I Chron. 2:55) are to be associated with extant historical traditions previous to P. In the nature of the case literary material earlier than P must be associated, in its present form, with internal conditions in Judah immediately before P's time.

The historical vicissitudes still remain obscure, yet in the same period we have another equally important change, when Judaeon hostility to Samaria took the place of relations which were less unfriendly. The latter is a question of careful inference (R. H. Kennett, J. A. Montgomery). To assume that the survivors of the old Judaeon monarchy or the people of north Israel were at all deficient in religious culture begs the question and eludes argument. On the other hand, the fall of Judah may explain the fragmentary character of its monarchical history, and the presence of popular and local tradition. By the sixth century conditions in the north had no doubt become settled after the fall of Samaria, and we may assume a not inconsiderable literary activity—and even a relatively unbiased treatment of Judaeon history (II Kings 14:8–15). A case may be made for dating the present Deuteronomy not earlier than the sixth century, and since the Deuteronomic redactions admittedly extend over several decades, their contemporaneity with the changing historical situations is not improbable. But the historical data, as we have seen in the chronicler's work, are extremely scanty, although we can perceive that Judah who is enrolled among the "sons" of Israel ultimately becomes a rival of Israel as centuries earlier under the divided monarchy.²⁸

²⁷ See generally Meyer, *Entstehung*, pp. 114–19; Cheyne, *Introd. to Isaiah*, pp. 210 f.; Guthe, *Ency. Biblica*, art. "Israel," §45; C. C. Torrey, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XVII, 1898, pp. 16–20; N. Schmidt, *Hibbert Journal*, January, 1908, p. 332. The evidence tends in the direction of the "Jerahmeelite theory," but see the present writer, *Jour. of Theol. Studies*, 1907, p. 120.

²⁸ On general conditions, see Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, pp. 47, 53, 57, 59, 61; and the present writer, *Jew. Quart. Rev.*, July, 1907, p. 817, n.; October, pp. 158 ff. For the date of Deuteronomy, *ibid.*, pp. 162, 164; E. Day, *Jour. of Bibl. Lit.*, 1902, pp. 202 f.; Kennett, *Jour. of Theol. Studies*, July, 1906, pp. 481 ff. For the Deuteronomic redactions of history, G. F. Moore's article, "Historical Literature" (§7), in the *Ency. Biblica*, should be especially noticed. It is probable that the enthusiasm aroused by the re-establishment of the Judaeon monarchy (cf. Hag. and Zech.) left its mark

That the Deuteronomic age (broadly speaking) marks a turning-point will be admitted by most scholars; Israelite religion, ethics, and legislation take their distinctive shape and sever themselves more clearly from the related forms in neighboring lands. The age grew out of profound political and social movements, the result of changes probably unique in Palestinian history. The Assyrian conquests had dissolved the whole structure of ancient society and had destroyed the old national and local ties. In the latter part of the eighth century north Palestine and Samaria lost numbers of its inhabitants, and new peoples were introduced, including tribes of the Syrian desert. Judah, too, suffered an almost crushing blow from Sennacherib, though the outcome is not clear. In the seventh century, apart from fresh settlements in Samaria (cf. Ezra 4:9), we find an extensive movement east of the Jordan from Edom to Hauran, at a time when the Assyrian empire was rapidly decaying.²⁹ Finally, in the sixth century comes the fall of Jerusalem with a subsequent pressure from the south. In less than two centuries, the north and the south underwent vital vicissitudes. New societies sprang up, and our conceptions of the Israelite conquest and its results may be applied to these movements in and after the Assyrian age. The assimilation of the immigrants to the soil and to the traditions of their new home may naturally be inferred (cf. also Jer. 41:5; II Kings 17:32 f., 41; Ezra 4:2), and since our *first* continuous historical compilation, like Deuteronomy itself, is posterior to the changes in Samaritan society, the questions of the preservation of older history and of the internal characteristics of extant material must obviously be considered in the light of the catastrophes which began in the north and ended in the south.

Our survey of the problem of Simeon and Levi has brought to light a remarkable intricacy both as regards history and religious development, an intricacy which may appear hypercritical, and which involves hypotheses apparently too complicated to be reasonable. Yet upon the treatment of the Davidic dynasty (Kennett, *op. cit.*, 1905, p. 181, n. 1), and that the separation from Samaria influenced the description of the earlier schism (cf. the part taken by Shemaiah, Neh. 6:10, and I Kings 12:22-24, and LXX, vs. 240).

²⁹ L. B. Paton, *Syria and Palestine*, pp. 269 f.; Winckler, *KAT*³, p. 151. (The Assyrian records of the close of the eighth century are very instructive for the close relationship among south Palestinian peoples.)

this intricacy prevails throughout the historical sources which, on literary critical grounds, tend to be nearly contemporaneous. It is certain that the evidence, whether internal or external, represents important historical vicissitudes which bear directly upon literary history and must inevitably be considered from the standpoint of literary and historical criticism. The old historians had access to some historical outlines (cf. Amraphel, Shishak, etc.), but their history is not that which external sources give us. National written history stands quite apart from external evidence, and so far as the present writer is acquainted with the latter as regards historical or religious conditions, it compels a reconsideration of the problems of the Old Testament. To the theologian criticism has brought the solution of *his* difficulties and a more profound manifestation of the working of Providence in history. But the technical and scientific study of the Old Testament is quite independent of the form in which religious teaching has been placed, and it demands the most thorough and consistent employment of modern knowledge and methods.³⁰

³⁰ The method adopted by the present writer here and elsewhere is not the recovery of history, but the comparison of historical views preserved in highly composite sources which, on the literary-critical view tend to be nearly contemporary. It involves the use of some material which is commonly rejected, sometimes not without contempt (e. g., P and Chronicles), and it recognizes that what was thought of the past is often more important than the actual facts of the past. By treating the sources objectively the risk of error is not so great perhaps as when attempts are made to reconstruct true history, and this method does more justice to the possibility that different groups in exilic and post-exilic Palestine could really look back upon a different past. The result is to find a very considerable extent of mutilation and adjustment of tradition, oral and written, and to suggest that this is due partly to intelligible historical vicissitudes and partly to rivalries among priestly families (so the "Levitical" evidence) through whose hands the writings seem to have ultimately passed. Some light is thus thrown upon the presence of specifically *local* narratives and of restricted family interests (e. g., Perez). The whole leads to the conclusion that even the earlier sources (non-D, non-P) belong, in their present form, to a date not far removed from the last compilers. This is not refuted by their language, because even II Sam., chaps. 9-20, is generally regarded as a post-Deuteronomic insertion (after Budde), or by their thought, because there is not evidence that the mentality of the prophets or of D and P was that of the people as a whole, or by their relation to the history of Israel, because this, as the present article may perhaps show, stands in need of independent critical examination.

CREEDAL STATEMENT AND THE MODERN SPIRIT

REV. SAMUEL H. BISHOP
New York City

There are many men today who by reason of material circumstance on the one hand and intellectual sympathy on the other find themselves related to two worlds—the world of action, of social and material interest, of struggle for the new democracy and for better economic conditions, and the world of religious and theological thinking. And to such men it perchance often seems that these two worlds, coexisting in time, are little related, indeed totally unrelated, or, if related, somewhat hostile. Though the unity of modern life seems to be its dominant fact, yet in actual experience a man may find himself at one time or another in environments which seem to be almost unrelated one to the other. If one have the sympathy of the scholar or of the churchman he may feel how intense and concentrated are the interests and the thoughts of those about him upon the problems of history, philosophy, and theology, or upon the sentiments inspired by a religious meeting or by an ecclesiastical convention. While he stays in this environment the ideas and forces which inspire and constitute it seem all important and all imperious; he may perhaps dimly hear the clang and clamor of the other world's machinery, the passion of the struggle for existence, the insistent and seemingly warranted demands for action which is practical and dictated by the exigencies of the present; he may feel the impatience of that outer world with the ideas and sympathies which for the time control him: but he feels himself in good company; he knows that he stands with a body of men whose thoughts are all the more likely to be true because they are not "practical," because they do not terminate in the immediate and unrelated activities of the present. The aristocracy of unselfish scholarship satisfies him; the intellectual grandeur of the men with whom he is for the time being associated inspires him; or that no less insidious and positive aristocracy of religious sympathy makes him content to be with the minority, if it be a minority. The spacious emotions of

scholarly or religious association are all imperious, and they come with full force to those to whom they come at all. The satisfactions of an accepted minority, or of martyrdom if need be, are ultimate in their appealing power to many men. But if one be not confined either to the realm of scholarship or of the church, because he is not a scholar or because he is compelled by the bread-and-butter necessity to live a part of his life in the outer world, the world of present men and things, the world of passion and struggle, he then feels how remote from the compelling necessities of his life are those other things which he would probably choose to be the all-controlling, as they would be the all-satisfying, forces of his life, if he could.

To state all this more baldly, the situation exists in the world today, that a body of theological scholars and thinkers, and a larger body of adherents to the church of Jesus Christ, are actuated by intellectual considerations, feel emotions, and take positions which have almost no influence upon that great public mind and interest which control modern life in America. A wise and accurate observer said to the writer recently that the church, her thought, and her attitude are of no real interest today to the public mind; that apart from a very small contingent of readers, theological and religious books have no commercial value. The same man, be it said further, went on to express the opinion that if the church were really to be united in the taking of a positive attitude upon any great question she would exercise an overwhelming influence upon the public mind. The former opinion above quoted is in the judgment of the writer altogether too strong; but it still remains true that theological and religious ideas and interests, particularly those formulated in the creeds, are apart from the common and main interests of human life, and have very little effect upon the thoughts and activities of the public mind and will. Notwithstanding the fact that there has been within a few years a renaissance of sympathies and activities which careful observers believe to have a religious inspiration, they are still largely unrelated to the church, and many of them deliberately exclude both the church and all forms of confessional religion. The successful forms of philanthropic and social activity today deliberately eliminate the church as church, and confessional religion as confessional religion from their administrative work. Instead of religion being the great principle

and force for unity as we should suppose it ought to be, men find larger and more inclusive unities in other things. The Charity-Organization Society, for example, would go on to the rocks if it admitted the finest point of the wedge of ecclesiastical determination into its activities; so would the great settlements and the various societies for the promotion of the gospel of humanized and moralized economics. The very church herself, when she becomes institutional and seeks the material, economic, and social betterment of mankind as a whole, keeps her own confessional religion out of her institutional activities. In other words, there is a chasm like the chasm between the races in the south between creedal religion and those practical, social, and moral activities which so largely make up modern life, and even between creedal religion and many of those social and moral activities which are supposed to and do issue from the religious spirit.

This chasm is due to a number of causes, but perhaps the primary cause is the estrangement between science and corporate life, the great motive forces by which corporate life is governed and upheld, being in flux. The fact is that religious creeds are scientific in their character and that even religious emotions, when formulated, become scientific. Science is essentially an *ex post-facto* result. It consists in a formalized statement of deduction from events, forces, or motives which have already happened or have worked themselves out into the existence of the world or the life of mankind. The main content of science is the intellectual statement of that which has been, and it is only the specialist who has either the time or the interest to study what has been and to formulate the laws and principles deduced from the actual processes under observation. Theology or the science of religion does not differ either in its make-up or in its limitations from other forms of science. There is and can be no religious experience without formulation of the methods and principles by which it is apprehended and of the knowledge of self, God, and the world which results from it; but that formulation is subsequent in consciousness to the experience of which it is the science. The creeds in their present form are the formulation of the principles and laws of past religious experience.

Another cause, involved in the foregoing, is the specialization of function rendered necessary by the immense complexity and manifold-

ness of life in the modern world. He who is doing the world's actual work today under the stress of its infinitely intricate and multitudinous compulsions has little time for the acquiring of any knowledge of the past which does not come to him incidentally and implicitly in the necessities of the present; and if it be possible that a great scholar could devote his whole life to the study of the Greek particle *ἀν*, surely the man who attempts to know the history of Christian thought and the deductions from Christian experience in the past must be a specialist. If a scholar have a peculiar order of mind, his knowledge of the past will involve, just as the knowledge of any science involves, certain implications as to its present and its future; and one of his functions must be to make clear to the man of action and the man of present experience what are those principles and deductions from past life which have probable pertinence for the guidance of the present and the future. But most scholars, like most practical workers, tend to limit both their knowledge and their interests to that with which they are primarily concerned. Consequently there are an arbitrary specialization of function, a vicious antithesis between the present and the past, and an over-weening impatience characteristic of the present time with the deductions from previous history and experience. Indeed, this impatience, though not peculiar to this age, is nevertheless greatly accentuated by our consciousness of an unexampled advance in knowledge and ideas. It is natural for the men of any generation and in any department of life to feel that the exigencies of present life are supreme and self-illuminating; but this feeling is especially strong today in all departments of life. One of the faults of current politics is that the men actively engaged in conducting the political affairs of men are either uninformed or impatient of those fundamental laws of human life and activity according to which the affairs of men have thus far evolved. The present seems to most men so infinitely more important than the past or the future that they are impatient at the introductions of comparisons which seem to reflect upon their present judgment and knowledge, or at anticipations which would check their immediate procedure. They forget that every step of the world has been taken in accordance with a living urgent imperative lying at the very heart of human nature and from which human nature can at no

time separate itself. But though this tendency exists in civic and political administration it exists to a vastly greater degree in the religious thinking and acting of men. There are a self-sufficiency and self-centeredness in the popular religious thinking of this age, a belief that this is the only real scene in the world's great drama of religious life, which cut the bond of connection with the past more nearly completely than in any other department of life or of activity. Since we have discovered that past ages of religious thinking have been held by slavish subserviency to a past further back, and by the supposition that God has not spoken since the first century of the Christian era, we have reacted from that slavish subserviency and supposition to the extreme opposite supposition that God has never spoken until now, and that the compelling spiritual dictates of the age in which we live are the first and only voice of the Living God.

Still another cause, lying deeper than the others, may be said to be psychological. Various ages of the world have been governed, not by the working of the human spirit as a compound whole, but by the working of one or another function of the human spirit. This seems to have been a law of human progress. The only exception to it as a general historical law is the operation of the Greek spirit, which was characterized by a compoundness, a proportion, and balanced interplay of human faculties such as the world has never elsewhere seen. That was possible because of the rather defined limits within which the Greek spirit operated. The Greeks had a definite ideal of perfection as evidenced in their architecture, in the plastic arts, and in their cultivation of a perfect physical manhood; and to the realization of that ideal of perfection they applied the three faculties of the human spirit, thinking, feeling, and willing. Their literature, their art, their politics, and their ethics are correlated with a beautiful proportion such as was possible in view of their limited conception of perfection. Furthermore, they were under no necessity for bringing the human democracy up to their ideal. Their democracy was a rigidly selected aristocracy and did not involve the realization of the ideal by humanity but only by a few. With the introduction by Christianity of the new ideal of humanity, and with the later introduction of the Gothic philosophy of necessary imperfection, the Greek ideal of harmony became impossible. We can never again have

on this earth a comprehensive philosophy of life, or even of art or literature, such as the Greeks had, because the idea of an infinite God must always mean evolution and hence mean imperfection for humanity. By this deeper specialization of function human thinking and progress have been characterized since the advent of Christianity and the Goths into civilization. Subsequent ages have been dominated by one or another faculty of the human spirit. Whereas in the city states of Greece, and in the earlier days of Rome, religion, morals, culture, and political duty were linked in a gracious unity and harmony; in the later days of Rome, from the time of Seneca on, corporate life underwent a momentous change. Morals were separated from art and from politics; and henceforth the great problem of life, was how to make character self-sufficing and independent, how to find the beatitude of man in the autonomous will. The individual was thrown upon himself for the realization of his own destiny, and that destiny was projected upon the battlefield of the world, his own destiny, yet a part of that of a common humanity.¹ The Italian Renaissance, accompanied by a development of conditions which absorbed the whole life of the people within small compass, was naturally a reign of feeling: and it was a wonderful civilization, that of the free cities; because in it first, through the feelings induced or stimulated by near and tense associations, by corporate national consciousness, by the evolution of the popular language, and by comparative peace and wealth, the resurrection of the free spirit of humanity came to pass. The revival of learning; the discoveries of Copernicus and Galileo, of Vesalius and Harvey; and the advent of the great theologians, Augustine, Anselm, and Calvin, resulted in the dominance of the intellect.

We are now again in an age of the will, when men see not the future, neither reason concerning it, but live under the necessity of action. The Master seems to have recognized, or illustrated, the limitation of human power and the necessity of differentiation of function, which have so clearly characterized human history, when He said "he that doeth truth cometh to the light." There are times in the lives of men and the lives of races when they must act without knowledge or without feeling, when they must depend upon the result of their

¹ Cf. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*.

acting for the intellectual illumining and emotional inspiring of possible further acting. The time in which we are living seems to be peculiarly such a time. The very intricacy and manifoldness of the motives and forces which impel men, render action of some sort necessary when neither foresight nor the illumination of intellectual inference is possible.

Perhaps it would be more nearly accurate to say of our time, and particularly of our country, that the feeling and the will are the master faculties in operation; for many of the great problems of modern life result from the blind and unconscious passions and the partially reasoned desires of men. But that the intellect is in a measure in abeyance, clear and far-sighted reason largely impossible, is almost beyond question. Let us look for a moment at the complex and turbulent condition of the affairs of men in our modern world. Business and commercial life has developed, by reason of the master passion for gain and as a result of fertility of invention, itself partly the result of the passion for gain, into such a maze of intricacies and with such violent rapidity, that the slower-footed intellect has had no time either to analyze the condition of that life or formulate the ethical principles by which it should be regulated and guided. It would be well, by the way, for students of business ethics, especially for those who sit in the seats of scornful judgment and would destroy the whole economic system which the centuries have developed, to remember that the ethical consciousness of mankind rather follows in the wake of activity than precedes it. The function of that consciousness is to judge what is, rather than to determine what shall be. And when action is forced and vehement as it is today, the wisdom which determines its ethical values is likely to be far behind. The hypothesis of ignorance as the cause of many modern evils, instead of malicious wickedness, is not only much the more charitable hypothesis, but much the truer to human psychology and to fact. And look again at the number and variety of new adjustments men have been obliged to make by reason of the reduction in the size of the earth and the consequent new and violent juxtaposition of races widely divergent in sympathies and ideas, which science and invention have involved. A vast flood of new aspirations, new motives, new forces and capacities has been let loose into life as science has tapped both the spirit

of man and the pent-up wealth of the earth; and we are in a battle of will with the social forces of centuries as well as with the newly discovered energies, the vehement aspirations, and the confused ideas of a new epoch. We have again something of that feeling men had in France during the Revolution, that they had only to will the freedom and happiness of the world, and all nature and society would be plastic to daring and vigorous action. Notwithstanding the historical tendencies of scholarship, the popular feeling and will of our day are animated by the same kind of passion with which Byron's hero was animated—that for the unconditioned life, a life uninformed by the long chronicle of the manifold experiences of humanity and without that sane social and spiritual faith which issues from the consciousness of slow evolution of character and of condition.

If we are right in this analysis of the disposition of the times we must conclude that the attitude of the modern spirit toward creedal religion involves no real question of the truth of the creeds, certainly no proof of their untruth, but only at most of their immediate relevance to the practical issues of modern life. The present situation is the result of fault on both sides. The church has arrogantly held not only to ancient formularies but to ancient and temporary interpretations, declining to reinterpret her formularies either into their universal (so far as that might be possible) significance or into the immediate and intelligible significances of present-day life; and the modern spirit has with equal arrogance assumed universal and eternal truthfulness for both its mode of apprehending life and the immediate issues of the age. The ideals of scholarship and organized religion lack penetrating and infusive power, and the modern-time spirit and the resultant economic and social organism lack translucence and permeability. An illustration of the lack of sociability and sympathy of which we are speaking may be found in the failure of the popular mind to apprehend the extraordinary change which has come to pass in the attitude of scientific men toward the ideals of religion. Twenty years ago there was hardly one among the leaders of science who gave any positive sympathy to the forces of historic and organized religion. The line of intellectual attack upon church and organized religion was strong and active. Today the situation is entirely different: not because the church did mighty and truthful battle, and so broke

the line, but because it broke itself and fell away. As against the almost uniform attitude of the great scientists of twenty years ago many of the most eminent scientists are today giving positive sympathy and help to the forces of religion. And yet popular indifference and scepticism are not lessened but seem rather to be increasing, or at least to be more pronounced now than twenty years ago. In other words the strictly intellectual movements of our time, as they terminate upon or affect theological issues, have not been apprehended by the popular mind, and have had no appreciable influence upon the popular judgment. It is only the spectacular and emotional results of science which reach the time-spirit and determine its feeling and acting. The imperious needs of our day are sympathy and sociability for our ideas and the intellectualizing of our feeling and willing processes.

It is a "large contract" and possibly smacking of the pedantry of old attempts to reconcile science and religion, as well as promising the same fruitlessness, to venture an attempt at relating the creeds to the modern spirit; but perhaps such a venture may be considered less presumptuous and safer by reason of the fact that it has not to deal with conflicts of science and theological dogma or with disputed questions of scholarship. Indeed it is not intended to deal with intellectual issues at all; for the antagonism, if antagonism it be, between creedal religion and the modern spirit, the skepticism of our day, is not intellectual but moral, having its roots neither in science nor reason but in the passions and the wills of men. It is one of the evidences of that estrangement between science and corporate life of which we have been speaking. We have declared it to be a *moral* skepticism which holds the popular mind aloof from the church and organized religion, by which is meant a skepticism inspired by the popular philosophy of pragmatism. Pragmatism, though it now has the support of many of the most eminent philosophic minds of our time is not and never has been a generic product of the schools. It is the simple and largely unreasoned philosophy of an energetic will, and is natural to an age laying pre-eminent stress upon a definitely willed activity which results in fruits, consequences, and facts. It may be refined or exalted into humanism and treated with the subtle acumen of Schiller or with the logical accuracy of Dewey, or again, under its

own name, with the "conceptual short cuts"—the brilliant appositeness and beautiful lucidity of James; but it is primarily the philosophy of the practical man. Of course in the treatment of the school philosophers, it gets a wider and deeper meaning, and becomes, as James says, "a theory of truth;" but it is originally and generically a theory of practice, or rather a canon of result. It is a kind of combination pocketknife with which knots are cut, bottles uncorked, and all sorts of jobs are done. Yet it is not an ignoble system of thought, and it is vastly to the credit of an unphilosophical age that it has, and believes so profoundly as does our age in, such a philosophy. It is empiricist in its attitudes and has a strong tinge of the utilitarian in its make-up; but it is profoundly moral as well as practical and finds its highest and finest uses and its noblest results in ethics. It is no mere criterion of commerce or industrial efficiency, but is the natural philosophy of a mighty conscience and of a profound religious insight. It lay deep in the soul of Jesus and sprang from his lips in such a saying as, "By their fruits ye shall know them." That philosophy as a moral passion and as a canon of religious efficiency is at the root of modern skepticism as to church and creedal religion, not the demand for a new theology or the scientific and intellectual disproof of the creeds. And contrary to a widespread impression it is not primarily intellectual difficulty which keeps young men of the better sort out of the ministry today, but the conviction that the possibilities of highest social and moral efficiency lie in other fields of service. Whatever the faults, and they are many, of the time-spirit, its skepticism has a root of eternal good, in that it insists that organized religion shall have great vital convictions respecting the social and economic conditions which affect and largely determine character, that it be self-critical and self-revisionary, and, more than all, that it find and give eternal significance to those ideals and motive forces which are the urgent imperatives in the heart and activities of the modern world. The very ground and sources of honest skepticism are the utterances of that mysterious voice of the present in whose wind-swept strains we hear the deep-toned yearnings of a spirit which is not modern for a vaster and richer life for the whole great family of man. In other words modern skepticism has in it the virtue of vigorous reaction from that ignoble and pliant optimism and lazy patience which accepts meticulous intention

in lieu of an efficiency and achievement proportionate to opportunity.

There is indeed a skepticism obtaining today which is not noble, but is the ingeniously reticulated pretense of a bare and groveling selfishness; the willed faithlessness of a smart society supported by private and public gambling, the level of whose intellectual attainments rarely rises above bridge-whist, whose aesthetic inspirations culminate in flowers and fruits out of season, and whose whole conception of pleasure is the incessant ministration to its own erotic sensibilities. But this skepticism is not serious to any but its holders, and will disappear as soon as the rising democracy shall have flung the parasites generated by a vicious economic system from its neck. And there is still another skepticism, nobler than that just mentioned, yet not fundamental either in origin or effect. It arises from mistaken and partial economic theories, or from passionate bitterness and unreasoning impatience that the church does not do the impossible. It forgets that the catholicity which is the most precious ideal of organized religion is as surely forfeited if it becomes the unrighteous or untruthful partizan of the impassioned ignorance and unreasoned demands of the poor as when it becomes the exponent of the vested interests of the rich. Religion being neither science nor art, but life, must not commit itself to partial and unproven theories of life; it must adhere to the great fact that the exercise of life precedes the knowledge of life. The church may well afford to be patient with this skepticism because it is one which time and the increase of knowledge will outgrow; but it is nevertheless important that those forces which have assumed charge of organized religion should be distinctly and vividly conscious of life. It is because the church seems careless of life and identified with that economic system which bases wealth and demands profit upon material capital rather than upon the human life involved that any skepticism is serious. The passionate revolt of the new democracy against the existing social order, including the church, is because of the subordination of the human interests—life, health, character, and pleasure—to profits upon machinery, government privilege, unearned land, and the money value assigned to stocks and bonds. It is not and cannot be the business of organized religion to propound economic theories, but it is its business to emphasize human life and its essential interests as the basic wealth of the

world, and the securing of those interests as the primal condition of income for the less important forms of wealth. Mr. E. M. Shepard, in a remarkably lucid paper, has advocated a plan of capitalization in which the shares shall not have arbitrarily assigned money value, but shall simply be units whose value shall be determined by profits. He thinks such a plan would do away with much of the temptation to which managers succumb to realize profits upon previously assigned values. That is a step in the right direction, but one surely cannot be mistaken in the belief that real and essential religion dictates an economic system whose fixed and all-conditioning canon of valuation and profit shall be the human life which is involved therein.

We have however turned a little aside from our immediate problem, the creeds and the modern spirit; and in coming back to it we may perhaps rejoice that we have to deal with the original creeds rather than with current custom. Christian practice, or rather the practice of the church, has, as have all human developments, varied from the strict method and process of evolution from germinal principles. In the development of human institutions accretion as well as evolution plays a part, and the church and theology have not been exempt from the accretive process. There is much in the practice and thought of the modern church and in the accepted theology which is neither implied in nor evolved from the creeds, indeed much which nullifies creedal principles; and the very skepticism of the modern spirit, instead of contravening the germinal principles of religion, derives a large part of its force for the popular mind from its appeal to those principles. Whatever else the "modern spirit" may mean, it certainly means a deep-breathed and imperious demand for the democratization of the goods of life, including religion. In other words it demands that life and its interests be the primary concern of religion and church. Hence the canon of creedal appeal must be the canon of democratized life. Our intellectual problem, and our moral problem as well, is to get back to first principles and ascertain what they are. A steady head and calm courage are the needs of the hour if we are not to forfeit much of the beneficent heritage of history.

Let us therefore consider a few of the great affirmations of the creeds and see what social significance they have; or, rather, let us consider some of the fundamental moments in the modern spirit and

see whether the great affirmation of the creeds have a moral and spiritual relevance which should entitle them to the attention of those earnest men outside the church who are contributing so much of the social idealism in modern life. And the first of those moments, the fundamental principle and inspiration of our new social idealism, is the brotherhood of man. To it the creeds apply the more fundamental and the conditioning doctrine of the fatherhood of God. We need not enter here into the question as to whether or not the theological doctrine is not historically causal to the social doctrine. For the sake of a generous courtesy, which theology can well afford, we need only to take the social doctrine as if it were an independent and modern product of evolution; but logically and *per essentiam* the brotherhood of man is and must be conditioned upon and derived from the fatherhood of God. Human society, to be sure, is coming rapidly to the consciousness that altruism is a scientific necessity, that individual health depends upon the health of the community, and that the individual's power and success are realized only through beneficent social relationships; but that spiritual fraternity of mankind, which is both deeper and higher in the ranges of its feeling and activity than enlightened self-interest can ever sound or realize, is just as logically and just as essentially derived from the consciousness of the paternity of God as is the fraternity of children in a single family from the consciousness of a common father and mother. The natural fraternity of man without the consciousness of God as father would be no more powerful and no surer in its inclusive application and effect than would be the fraternity of orphans, suggested by the walls surrounding them all or by the superintendent to whom they owed a common obedience. It would be at best the chance fraternity of an *esprit de corps* or of a common convenience, and would be as definitely characterized by its exclusions as by its preferences. Man's common descent from God is the basis and the vitalizing force of brotherhood in himself.

That is so simple and so profoundly pragmatic a proposition that it needs no further argument; and we may accordingly proceed to the next moment in the modern spirit, the demand for the service of love as the true life of the individual. The creeds respond with the declaration that God holds himself also subject to that law, and

that to fulfil his obedience to it he gave himself in Jesus Christ to a life of deathless love and infinite service. At its best and deepest the life of Jesus Christ means that the very divinity of God is wrought in the service of a love which knows no limit of sacrifice. Say what we will of the mystery surrounding his life and character, whether we think that mystery original and coming with him to earth or exhaled like a mist from men's subsequent theorizing about him, the cardinal and elemental significance of Jesus Christ is that he is conscious of revealing the person and character of God. It is as if he would say with life what Browning said with words:

What lacks, then, of perfection fit for God
But just the instance which this tale supplies
Of love without a limit? So is strength,
So is intelligence; let love be so
Unlimited in its self-sacrifice,
Then is the tale true and God shows complete.

In the Synoptists, as clearly as in John, Jesus claims a unique knowledge of God, which knowledge he endeavors to give to men; and the God whom he reveals is one whose love is not and could not be confined to the Jews, but is universal both as a sentiment and as an activity. And furthermore Jesus derives from this thought of God his own sense of communion and the criterion of his value to the life of men. The will of God is love, righteousness, service; he must do that will; it is his meat and drink; hence he must serve, and that service must end in his giving his very life as a ransom for many. But it was not only a part, though the main part, of Christ's conception of his mission that he revealed God; he also conceives of himself as revealing man, the common element in both revelations being love. Rather love in man is a derivation or reproduction of love in God. Because God's life consists in loving, so man's life consists in loving; and man's ideal is to be perfect as God is, i. e., to love as God loves. The modern ideal of social service is not merely responded to in the creeds, but it is infinitely deepened, given a deathless value, and grounded in the nature of God who is the Father of man.

And that brings us to another moment in the modern spirit. The true ideal of social service which gives a driving enthusiasm to our best life is not one merely of concrete activity; it is a matter of life

as well as action. Society is more than a family with family sentiments and reciprocal duties, it is an organism, with a social consciousness and feeling as well as social obligations. It has the essential qualities of a vital organism. To that conception the creeds respond with the doctrine of the Trinity. And here we enter a province of definition and thinking wherein we may easily lose touch with the mental and even with the emotional interests of modern life. Yet what is the doctrine of the Trinity but a socializing of the being of God, a declaration that social differentiation and social interests do not have to be acquired or theoretically cognized by God, but are inherent in him? The doctrine of the Trinity is the profoundest religious expression of the social idea. It preserves the religious value of polytheism and pantheism, both of which are social symbols for God; but keeps the unity and single nature of monotheism. It predicates an internally differentiated unity in God, internal satisfaction and pleasures, and joy in his own company. If the creeds could interpret themselves they would say that society is more than a family because God is more than a father; it is an organism because he is an organism. He can love men naturally and be to them more than an adoptive or artificial father because he loves and is a father in himself.

The creedal doctrines of the Ascension and of the Holy Spirit are the great religious expressions of the democracy of God, the first instances of the socialization and universalization of personal power and spiritual force. The creedal doctrine of eternal life is the corollary, or rather the primal expression, of the modern emphasis upon the value of life as life, not as condition or circumstance. Our modern thought of eternalness of life as one of value, not of time or condition, is not new. It is the very essence of Jesus' thought and of the creedal doctrine; and it was lost to the church for so many years only because to the majority of the early Christians, and indeed to humble Christians for generations, the world did not offer life but only existence. Therefore, when they thought of life and believed in the promise of life they referred both their thought and their belief to the future. To be sure they did not fully realize what Jesus meant and they did not perhaps apply themselves with such intelligent will and energy to the task of transforming existence into life as they might have done;

but the meaning of Jesus' teaching as to life is for us clear and explicit, as is also that thought of it which lies at the basis of the Catholic creeds. Even the doctrine of punishment which is not creedal, and the arbitrary and exaggerated statements of which have caused so radical a revolt in this humaner day, is only theological phrase for that eternal law upon which the modern spirit places new emphasis, that character is destiny, that that which has been can never be as if it had not been, that what a man does or fails to do of good or of evil registers itself indelibly and permanently in his character and life.

Enough has been said to indicate what is in mind, without further details or arguments; and if enough has been said to stimulate increased caution and larger consideration and appreciation in both churchmen and modernists, and also to show a possible *modus cogitandi et vivendi* through which may be realized in our imperious and urgent modern life what Bossuet so finely calls "the sequence of the counsels of God" as the order of progress the writer will gladly leave to wiser men the fuller preparation for that

far-off divine event

To which the whole creation moves.

THE THEOLOGY OF THE NEW RATIONALISM

PROFESSOR FRANK HUGH FOSTER, PH.D.

Olivet, Mich.

As the new century has come in there has arisen in the Protestant churches of nearly all the civilized world a movement toward what Sabatier calls "the religion of the spirit." It has met with much opposition and has been stigmatized as "rationalism." This term, as the designation of certain historical movements, and particularly that which arose in Germany about the year 1750, may perhaps be not without its implications of just reproach. That movement was shallow and intellectualistic, did not participate in the great stream of Christian experience which has constituted the life of the church, was unhistorical, without profound conviction or deep emotion, and religiously sterile. The new movement is none of these. To apply to it the old term in the old sense is unjustifiable. But a good term ought not to be given up because it has had bad implications. Rationalism ought to mean a movement governed by reason. Reason is that faculty of man by which he determines truth. It is not divorced from conscience, will, the power of careful observation, or the intuitions. It is the whole man bent upon attaining truth, seeking it, determining it. In this sense, its proper sense, rationalism is a noble term; and the writer proposes to employ it in the present paper because it is the best designation of a movement which in all its forms seeks rational truth. The name, while inviting a brief unpopularity in certain quarters, would powerfully attract to it all more mature and elevated minds. And it might be a powerful influence as a rallying cry for younger men, who have little interest in former theological epochs, and little acquaintance with them, and who most eagerly desire a rational faith.

Rationalism is the antithesis of all systems which depend upon authority as the source of truth. This new rationalism of which I write may be defined, for the sake of absolute clearness in this discussion, as *that form of theology which seeks to perform the theological task of our day—the readjustment of Christian thinking to the demands*

of modern thought—by rational processes alone. It is the product of a large variety of influences, of the prevalence of historical criticism in modern investigation, of the universality of the doctrine of evolution, of the changed view of the universe brought in by the discoveries of science, particularly astronomy; but above all it has arisen from the demand for *truth* which is characteristic of our age, which resolves itself into a demand for *proof* of doctrinal statements. Modern canons of proof are far more rigid than ancient, and this fact would of itself produce a difference in the modern theology from the old. But, very largely, the older theology did not seek proof. There is many a system of theology which announces its task as the setting forth, in dogmatic form, of the contents of the Scriptures, and never raises the question as to the foundation upon which the authority of the Scriptures rests. Such systems give no proof. Many other systems are unconsciously permeated with fallacy because they have regarded their task too easy. They have regarded the system of Christian truth as *given*, once for all, by revelation; and they have understood their task simply as the unfolding and justifying of this system. Many a suggestion has passed muster as a sound argument which could never sustain the test of such an examination as modern thought gives to its premises. Hence men have been driven to a new approach to the subject. In seeking to build up a solid structure of proof from the beginning they have come to the subject of the miraculous, as to which the investigation of nature's laws has given modern thought a much more serious conception than the ancient theology ever had. To the childlike view of former ages a miracle was a very easy matter: to the mature conception of the present day it is a very difficult matter. Modern thinkers see no reason for rejecting miracles today, as claimed, for example, at Lourdes, and accepting the ancient miracles recorded in the Bible. They reject the strictly miraculous everywhere, and with it the whole idea of God's supernatural interference in the course of the world, in favor of the idea of the uniformity of providence as well as of nature. Hence they reject the *authority* of the Scriptures, though not therefore casting the Bible away as of no value. They seek theological facts by the same processes which they employ in any search for facts, and they treat them, when found, by the universal canons of reasoning. Thus

they have arrived at results differing somewhat everywhere, and at some points very widely, from the Christianity of the early creeds. There has arisen thus within the evangelical church a new interpretation of its characteristic life, made by its own sons, who are not conscious of lacking loyalty to it as an organization, or sympathy with its great aims. This is the "rationalism" of which this article treats. It will seek to answer the question what the theology of such a movement, thus arisen, will be.

It should perhaps be noted at greater length, before passing to the direct answer to this question, that the historic forms of rationalism are, many of them, unfavorable to the task of obtaining an estimate of what rationalism really is. Comte, for instance, erected in his *Positive Philosophy* a system of purely rational thought, but not one now thought to be successful. It was a system which had little place for religion. Spencer's great system of *Synthetic Philosophy* was prevailingly materialistic, with the background of an "Unknowable" who was scarcely the object of anything which could be called worship. But the new time is more modern than this. A new recognition of spiritual realities, of psychological facts, partly the fruit of the labors of precisely this Herbert Spencer, has come in. Kidd, who was not a Christian, helped, by his emphasis of the fact that Christianity was "an element of the evolution" of modern society, to give religious facts a new standing before the court of reason. The new rationalism proceeds, therefore, from a different starting-point, and with different materials, to a different result from that reached by earlier rationalists; and therefore it enters at the beginning a *caveat* against confusion of the new with the old.

What, then, is the theology of the new rationalism?

1. The doctrines which precede, in the order of logical development, the doctrine of the Scriptures, will meet with no modification which can be charged to rationalism as such. This portion of theology is, of course, entirely rational in every true system. Does God exist? Is he an infinite person? These questions are the first questions which confront every theologian; and if any theologian can construct a solid argument, fitted to carry the consent of modern thinkers, proving that a personal God exists, he is here a perfect rationalist, and may count on carrying the rationalists with him if he

can carry anybody. The same is true with the doctrine of God's moral attributes, particularly his benevolence, which must be proved before an argument for the Scriptures can be developed, as well as the questions of theodicy and of immortality, of divine casuality and human freedom. Rationalism does not influence the discussion unfavorably here, because, strictly taken, it does not influence it at all. But in another sense, it may be said to be favorable to the proof of the existence of God. It rests upon the idea that the world is investigable, that it will be found to be pervaded by law, that it is all orderly and thus good. It thus replaces a mischievous idea which will be found to permeate many a system of theology, that God is an incalculable quantity, to be greatly dreaded, because likely at any moment to smite with terrific power because offended in some unanticipated way. This is a heathen conception, but one above which many theologians have not risen. And, because it indirectly gives greater dignity to the human nature which it so implicitly trusts, rationalism favors the argument for human freedom. But these remarks are incidental. The main point now is that *all* theology, till the divine character and authority of the Scriptures have been proved, is rationalistic.

2. Even the question of the Scriptures, although decided unfavorably by rationalism, is not affected, considered as an argument, by the rationalistic position of any reasoner. The rationalist rejects miracles and special revelation because he does not find a sufficient reason for their introduction into human history. If miracle is necessary to attest, or to convey, a revelation to the original receiver, prophet or evangelist, it is equally necessary to attest it to every other person who receives it. And, then, if truth does not shine by its own light, so as to need no other attestation, it cannot be received, even if attested by miracle; for a man can accept nothing but that which he *sees*. Again, the phenomena of the Bible are unfavorable to the idea that there was a special, miraculous revelation as a matter of fact. Such are the considerations which have led to the rationalistic position; and they are all purely rational arguments, which may be removed by counter considerations open to the acceptor of the Scriptures as possessing divine authority equally with any reasoner. The rationalist differs from his evangelical brother simply in denying the mirac-

ulous origin, infallibility, and binding authority of the Bible. He believes still in its value as the chiefest chapter in the religious history of the race, he recognizes the inspiration of its great teachers as specially taught by God, and especially he recognizes the unique position of Jesus Christ as the founder of the church and the establisher among men of a new relation to God. He will accept the rest of the old doctrine of the Bible as soon as the reasons upon which it is sustained seem to him to be sound. That is the total effect of his rationalism at this point.

3. What may be called the psychological doctrines of Christianity are not essentially affected by rationalism. By "psychological" are here designated the doctrines which deal with matters of immediate consciousness, viz., the doctrines of sin, salvation, and the new life—the "anthropological" doctrines. They are in their main outlines, even in the Scriptures, matters of the transcription of human experience, as for example in the seventh chapter of Romans; and human experience is the same to the modern thinker as to the mediaeval.

It is sometimes said by controversialists that rationalism "has no doctrine of sin." By this is generally meant that the reality, the guilt, and the punishment of sin are neglected if not denied by them. This has doubtless been true of the older rationalism, but it is not of the new. James Martineau preached sin and punishment with dramatic vividness; and R. H. Hutton said of him, "there are passages in his writings which have filled me in moments of temptation and trial with a dread which hardly any living writer could have produced." R. J. Campbell, because, it may be, he has favored the word "blunder" as a description of sin (is not that the meaning of the New Testament *ἀμαρτία* ?), has been accused of belittling sin; but those who hear him preach and thus get his doctrine from his own lips have no such impression of his teaching. Sin as transgression of law, as disobedience to conscience, as a multiplying evil, as inevitably punished according to its nature, are matters of immediate consciousness or of direct observation and can be avoided by the rationalist no more than by the theologian of authority. It may be true that certain forms of the doctrine of sin, such as the artificialities of imputation, will be rejected by the rationalist; it might be true that he would pay little attention to a doctrine of original sin founded upon a single verse in an epistle

of Paul; but the solidarity of the human race and the fact of heredity will be found to be more orthodox than most orthodoxy in their implications and consequences for the doctrine of sin. The increasing variety which self-indulgence is assuming in these days, its recklessness, and its growing turpitude, encourage no surmises that rationalism, as a theology founded upon facts, will have a weak doctrine of sin.

As to salvation, the new rationalism is exclusively ethical. It will not recognize salvation as a *state* into which one is brought by the act of a Savior, in consequence of some other transcendental act performed by him, apart from the consciousness of the Christian. It is not something which a man must *believe* that he has, without any evidence but that belief. All this, which belongs to the distortion of evangelical theology, is artificial, external, and unethical. Salvation is communion with God, the "knowledge" of God, as Jesus himself put it (John 17:3). Hence the condition of salvation will remain "repentance," which, in typical cases where a full and permanent communion with the Father is to be established, will become a complete surrender of the whole man to God by sovereign act of his will, which is the conversion or regeneration of which the church speaks. If some psychologists doubt whether any distinct epochal act of surrender to God, or conventional conversion, is necessary to a religious life, none would deny the obvious ethical truth that communion between personalities depends upon mutual sympathy, and that it can take place only so far as sympathy has been established. The personal relation to Jesus Christ, as supreme Teacher and Example, the new rationalism is in no danger of abandoning, since the purest of our historical religious life is that which has kept closest to him, and our ethical ideals have not yet been lifted above him, or even to his level.

Nor is the doctrine of forgiveness, so far as this is a doctrine of consciousness, liable to undergo any essential modification. Forgiveness, as a conscious experience, is harmony of soul, peace of conscience, unhindered communion with God. It is redintegration of friendship with God. Thus great light is shed upon the nature of true human forgiveness, by which the shallowness of most current conceptions of what it is to forgive an offender against ourselves is clearly revealed. You have not forgiven a man till you have made him your friend, and

a better man than he was before. But here is nothing peculiar to rationalism, unless we are to note its escape from subjection to the bondage of what it must regard as some rather unfortunate phraseology of the Bible. Forgiveness does not mean "remission" of penalty.

Nor is the conception of the new life modified by rationalism as such. It still remains "new," for "old things have passed away." It still consists in the steady application to life of the principle of unselfish love. The surrender of the idea of biblical authority may open the way to the criticism of the details of New Testament ethics, as for example, the conception which Paul had of the relations of the sexes (I Cor. 7:5, 9). It will also make the thinker freer in his adjustment of ethical ideals to the exigencies of present-day society. But here no great modification has yet made itself manifest.

4. The eschatological doctrines will undergo less modification than might be expected. The hope of heaven will seem rational still, and the conception of the next life, as one of greater sensitiveness to spiritual realities. With Martineau there was no falling into a denial of future punishment of sin, nor lapse into gross and crude universalism. But, doubtless, something of the apparent clearness of the Christian anticipations of the eternal state may be lost. "Apparent," but perhaps not real, for the biblical views are less clear when subjected to critical scrutiny than they are popularly supposed to be. Most of our ideas are, in fact, the result of our reasoning upon the one general premise of the love of God and the consequent identity of each personality in earth and in heaven. This premise remains still as the basis of reasoning to the rationalist.

5. But what *is* changed is what may be called the scaffolding of the Christian system, the conception of the method by which God and man arrive at the fundamental ethical truths and relations, the Nicene theology, as it is called.

Of this theology, the doctrine of the incarnation is the center. The new rationalism rejects this because, first, it is totally unintelligible, no theologian having yet succeeded in putting any intelligible meaning into the proposition that in Christ are found "two natures, divine and human, each perfect, unmodified, and entire, in the unity of one person;" and, second, if it were intelligible, as a fact to be accepted,

it would rest solely upon the authority of the biblical writers, particularly Paul and John. But neither Paul nor John, while sustaining the general position they do in regard to the miraculous, is a competent witness either to the miraculous in general or to the incarnation in particular. However anyone may support the incarnation by conjecture or supposition, of cogent support in premises capable of giving it anything approaching the nature of a proof, it has none, in the view of modern thought.

Here the greatest shock to Christian sentiment and to Christian practices will be felt. Christian feeling has so gathered about the person of the divine Redeemer with loyal affection, that to adopt any other view of his person will seem to many to be an act of treason. But if it is an act of return to Jesus' conception of himself, and to the truth, it is no treason. Nor is it disloyalty to the truth to demand that it shall be supported by proofs. With the incarnation will also disappear the doctrines of the Trinity and the atonement. The rationalists have often to hear themselves called "unitarians" because they reject the doctrine of the Trinity; but they are not. They regard the unitarian affirmation of the entire simplicity of the nature of God as no less out of place than the trinitarian affirmation of its tri-plexity. What can finite man know of the inner nature of the infinite? They would prefer to be called by some such name as "infinitarians," because they believe in the infiniteness of God's nature, which opens up the possibility of an infinite number of ways by which he is "qualified for distinct personal action." The atonement, as an eternal divine transaction wrought out upon this planet and having relation to the whole problem of evil in the entire universe, becomes incredible when once the relation of this world to the existing universe is understood, and is to be accepted, if accepted at all, only upon an authority which does not, in the thought of the rationalist, exist. But what if these doctrines are lost? Rationalism has here only carried farther the Protestant correction of Romanism, for it has removed all mediators between the soul and God and given it immediate access to the Father, and has given a truly unmodified and infinite reality to the doctrine of the love of God, which has no concealed remainders of wrath calling for propitiation. Here is change, and radical change made by rationalism; but is it truly destructive? Have we really lost anything?

Is the center of the gospel truly in the crucifixion of Christ as an act or in his perfect communion and moral unity with the Father as the establishment of a new spiritual relation? It is the former if Paul and John spoke with infallible authority; and this is true if their words were attested by miracles; and this is true if miracles are a part of the order of the universe, and are wrought today, say at Lourdes! It is the latter if the new idea of the reign of law is true, if the system of the world is wisely established and needs no mending from time to time, if miracles are now unknown, if men truly learn of God as they learn of the Nature which is his work, by thought, by experience, by slow growth of conception and slower growth of obedient action, in all ages and in all lands, till at last they arrive at the stature of perfect men.

Modern rationalism, however it may differ from "historic" Christianity, is Christian as building its life and its theology upon the fact and idea of communion with God first taught and realized in perfection by Jesus Christ, and as following this unique teacher as its Master and Example. Whatever changes it may have made, or may still make, it believes them all demanded by the call for *proof*, which is the call for *truth* in theology and for *reality* in life.

WHAT HAS THE CHURCH A RIGHT TO DEMAND IN THEOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION?

ALLAN HOBEN
The University of Chicago

In the opinion of many, a marked epoch in theological reconstruction is now overdue. Moreover, it is felt that the undertaking need not await all the detailed results of biblical criticism nor all the conceivable implications of evolutionary thought. In a large and indubitable way the materials and method for this important task are now at hand, and already a literature begins to appear which is bound to show a rapid increase in vigor and extent. The work done so far, however, is from the point of view of the critical Bible student or of the psychologist or of the technical scientist. It is evident that due attention may not be given to the important fact that the church is the organized medium for the propagation of theology.

Let it be granted that theological reconstruction is properly the task of the trained expert. Nevertheless, a reconstruction that leaves out of account the practical needs of contemporary life is destined only to a sterile and inconsequential course within the narrow groove of the specialist. To be effective, any formulation of new theology must be more than an academic exercise; for, while those who are skilled in theological discipline are few, they who have need of the results of such discipline are many and are, indeed, not without their rights. The demand which the church has a right to make springs ultimately from her significance for human welfare and is to be answered, not according to any unfortunate prejudice or inability which the church may have, but in the light of those fundamental human needs whose adequate supply is the sole justification of the church. What, then, may the church rightly demand of the modern theologian, and what is he obligated to supply?

Before offering any answer to this question it must be conceded that the perennial attitude of the church is that of theological conservatism, and that little or nothing by way of deliberate change is

to be expected of her as distinct from the disinterested and professional theologian. The whole army cannot reconnoiter; and it so happens that the church is often found bravely holding positions, which, being no longer strategic or even necessary, unfortunately withhold her forces from participation in the vast and confident advance of modern thought. With the church, reconstruction is a last resort; and she not infrequently is found in our midst like the squatter whom twenty years of western city growth has surrounded with urban conditions making the water from the old well in his yard even dangerous and his flickering lantern quite unnecessary. Water from the Great Lakes and light from the humming dynamos are to be received even at some cost to laudable sentiment.

This conservatism of the church is, in the nature of the case, largely necessary, and to that extent unblameworthy. She holds a trusteeship for humanity which, by every law of justice and every prompting of wisdom, forbids whatever seems a doubtful investment. Hence every important change in her cultus must be by the self-sacrificial leadership of the few; and this will be the case hardly less in an ecclesiastical democracy, which is apt to determine truth by a majority vote, than in an ecclesiastical monarchy, where truth is created or abolished by fiat. Because of the difficulty of his task the theologian is tempted to one or the other of two opposite and equally unfortunate extremes: that of weak concession, on the one hand, or of scholastic unconcern, on the other. An empirical theology must reckon with the church as being neither a tyrant nor yet an idiot, but as a mighty factor, past and present, in man's religion. It is in this catholic sense and with some consciousness of that perplexed yet potent host standing rank upon rank beyond the church that the following suggestions are offered. For now and again, although muttering, they turn a wistful glance churchward, which is, indeed, a prayer for leadership and a confession that life is incomplete without religion, and religion in its organized forms. It is less than human not to need sanctuary.

The first just demand to be made upon any new theological system, or section of a system, is that it shall possess religious vitality. Any proffered restatement which lacks ground for propagandism, enthusiasm, loyalty, and heroic service is to be suspected. Liberal thought

must measure itself against this requirement. It must satisfy the noble consciousness of the church that she should be a great crusading, redeeming, and indispensable power in the world. She must convey that which is of the utmost value for mankind. She covets the strength of positive conviction, she aspires ever to real spiritual leadership, and the heart of the church is always disappointed with whatever would make of her a mere connoisseur of opinions or a club whose aesthetic and intellectual luxuries are for the select.

The church rightly demands that any new theology shall guarantee militant and heroic qualities on a par at least with those which have prevailed under the inspiration of the old beliefs. Both for her proper self-respect and the free release of her powers she aspires to a unique religion that is needed by the whole world; and she will not willingly be shorn of a dignity with which an unparalleled obligation to all humanity has endowed her. For this reason the church awaits a reconstruction that is vital, imperial, and irresistibly dynamic; while she stands stubbornly aloof from all restatements that are concession only. To be sure, scientific scholarship must determine whether the facts permit the satisfaction of such a demand, but the church will persist in demanding that any proffered reconstruction shall possess the utmost vitality; and whenever that vitality is conclusively demonstrated by the champions of advanced views the church will take cognizance of it and will—with painful deliberation, to be sure—lay hold of whatever means added effectiveness in her task of promoting the kingdom of God in the earth.

A second demand, closely allied with the foregoing, is that for a series of theological symbols consonant with modern culture. From the church's point of view reconstruction is ineffective until it produces a set of theological maxims and liturgical aids sufficient to attract and control the less reflective masses. Catchwords, mental passports, tokens are needed, whereby the average man—who deeply believes in his theological powers—shall be assured that he is hearing the truth. Suggestion and symbol are great factors in social control and in all mass movement; so that any reconstruction worthy of the name cannot remain abstract and esoteric but must set up popular standards about which the people may rally. The keywords of the new theology must be upon people's lips; no matter if there are divisions, debates

over insoluble questions, opposing camps, and all that. To break up the present heavy and widespread lethargy would be no small blessing; for many of the old thought symbols have lost their appeal, having become meaningless, disgusting, or impossible. Hence the church rightly demands of the new theology that it shall quicken the intellect, heart, and imagination of the crowd. It must hit upon the psychological moment with a pat statement of its significance, a terse interpretation which should be at once the essence of the scholar's conclusion and the intuition and longing of the popular heart.

Here the Lord delays his coming, as always. The new symbolism must be a growth. But many are watching eagerly for the seedling to break the ground and in due time to afford such shelter for the souls of men as has always been the ultimate result of any real spring-time in religious thought. It is clear that the reconstruction, whether imperceptibly gradual or strikingly epochal, must so far invade the emotional life as to get itself symbolized in good hymns and tunes. These always mark the high tide of conviction and devotion; and the new theology must by some just means create an emotional high tide that will bring in a flood of new religious poetry and at the same time bear away much of what is now stranded riffraff from the former periodic spring tides of Christianity.

There must be also the crystallization of confessions of faith which shall free the modern worshiper from the danger of stultification and mental reserve. That is to say, the reconstruction must correspond with a thought level of some permanency. Growth, of course, will continue, but there will be such a summary of the results and meaning of modern thought, as affecting Christianity, that no considerable alteration of statement will be needed for some time. To the church, stability of this kind is indispensable, and it is favored in no small degree by the flexibility of standard terms which, when once established, can, for a reasonable period, be refilled and altered as to content. And, human nature being what it is, one may be sure that the sacred term will never be altogether abandoned except through dire necessity. In point of tenacity and elasticity the religious term is without a peer. Hence many difficulties for the theological diagnostician, sufficient area for peaceful fellowship as well as endless debate, and the pathetic picture of the Christian church crooning over an occa-

sional empty garment which once, indeed, adorned her living treasure.

These rightful and practical demands of the church will prove a benefit to the Christian theologian whose greatest achievement will not be the statement of the final truth about anything but rather the timely interpretation of man's religion in terms of Christianity and in such a way that it will be *en rapport* with the current culture and so function to humanity's highest good. This is not the prostitution of scholarship to popular demand, but its enlistment as a servant of human life. In this sense the reconstructed theology which the church will demand will be practical theology—energized nuclei about which shall be integrated the less-trained intellect, the ready sentiment, the worship and work activities of organized Christianity.

In the third place the church has the right to demand an adequate social message, a religious sanction or imperative which shall compel her to take a more intentional and significant part in the now conscious struggle of the masses for more just conditions of life. The new theology must adduce and apply mighty religious sanctions which will inspire and control the profound demand for justice and the humanitarian sentiments of the great middle and sub-middle classes of society. For these are bound to force their way up and lay hold of their inheritance. It is open to the new theology to determine whether this whole movement shall remain merely economic. The theologian alone can establish an irresistible affinity between those who have the words of Amos, Isaiah, and Jesus, and the infinitely potential but unorganized public.

The church must be given something which will cause her to cry out and spare not, and as God's appointed umpire pronounce upon social righteousness. Her attempt to do this at present is too often judiciously postponed. But just as the Puritan movement was the church interpreting religious convictions in the field of politics, so that movement which is trembling at the heart of our half-disappointed democracy, that over-due reaction against a preposterous individualism, that finer realization of brotherhood in all the economic and cultural values of life—that is waiting for the leadership of the church when, with a ringing social message and self-sacrificing love she emerges from her present humiliating probation. The social move-

ment will be the making of the church, and the church will be the making of the social movement. She will illumine, temper, correct, sanction, and exalt; it will create the very issues for lack of which the church is sinking into indolent obscurity.

But at this point a serious difficulty arises from the fact that the church will not demand the striking social message which for the good of all concerned she must have. It is her right because of what she may do for society, it is a demand that is made urgent by her present situation, and yet those who venture to supply this demand may meet with no small measure of apathy, opposition, and even persecution. For the pillars of the church are usually those who stand for the conservation of the present order and are likely to prefer philanthropy to social justice. The strictly ethical note which must be sounded in the social message will be unwelcome alike to the devotees of traditional theology and to the wealthy classes. The former prefer individual salvation by magic, the latter non-interference with conditions which make for gain. Yet the emphasis must return to where the prophets placed it, and we must hear again the keen analysis of Jesus as to the real composition of the platter. If the reconstruction will but supply the church with a real message on social ethics, although there may be disturbance and the loss of some who thought to own the church, there is bound to be the emergence of a church that is true to Jesus Christ and indispensable to human welfare.

Not to attempt an exhaustive list of the rightful demands of the church in theological reconstruction, it seems that, in the nature of the case, she is entitled to a theology that is unquestionably vital, that interprets the Christian religion in modern terms and acceptable symbols and that imparts at the same time the religious sanction to the upward reach of the masses and the ethical test to all economic and social relations.

AN EVOLUTIONAL ARGUMENT FOR THE VALIDITY OF RELIGIOUS FAITH

PROFESSOR T. W. GALLOWAY
James Millikin University, Decatur, Ill.

1. Under an evolutionary assumption and interpretation of nature, there are three sets of elements which must be considered: the environment, the individual, and the responses which the individual makes to its surroundings. The stimulating environment acts upon organisms, and forces both the nature of the organism and its responses into harmony (adaptation) with itself. The responses, in order to be of value to the organism, must be in accordance with the nature of the environment; these also spring from the nature of the organism and must be, equally, an expression and a measure of the nature of the individual. The structure and essential nature of the individual, if evolved, must come, through the molding effect of the environment, to be in harmony with all those factors of the environment which have a selective power over life, and only with such. Features in the environment, no matter how real or pervasive, can produce no qualities in organisms adjusting the organism to them unless these features have power to influence life for good or ill.

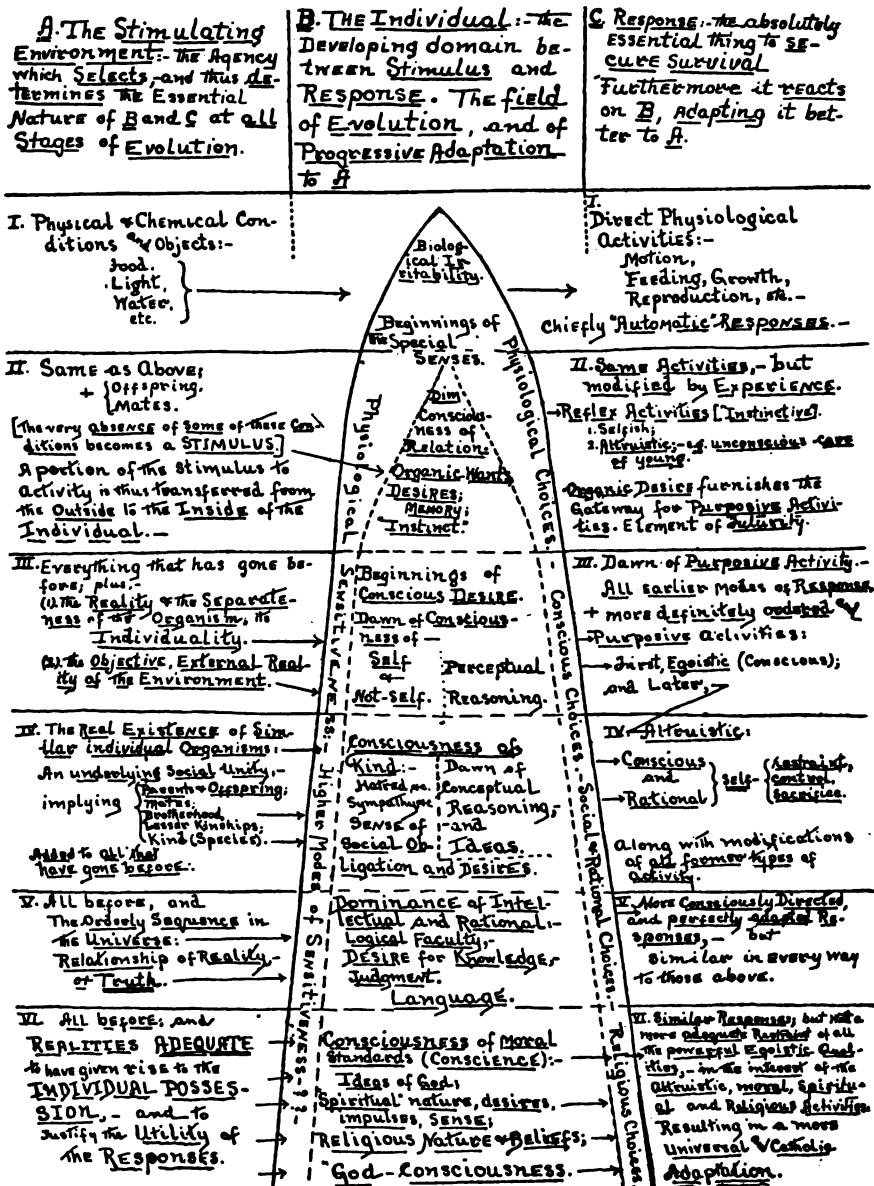
2. Every organic quality, which is definitely persistent and subject to evolution and increase, must have some real and adequate environmental factor, fundamentally important to life, which gives the biological utility to the quality and insures its survival and increase. The evolutionist cannot consistently allow this in respect to the lower physical and physiological characteristics of organisms and deny it in the case of the higher qualities of human personality. These higher qualities are unquestionably persistent and general possessions; they are subject to evolutionary increase; and are useful in adjusting the individual to the vital realities of his environment, as is shown by the evolutionary success of the organisms possessing them. If they are the products of evolution and are derived, as the evolutionist believes, from the lower organic qualities, they are just as close to

reality as were their lower progenitors. This must be true because the lower possessions were successful in their relations, and could never have been displaced, in an evolutionary dispensation, by non-adaptive or false qualities—qualities with no power of adjusting the organism to fundamental reality. Every step, therefore, in the evolutionary series (from unconscious sensitiveness in protoplasm to God-consciousness) equally represents adaptation to something in the environment—something real and adequate to produce and utilize the new quality.

3. The "harmony" which philosophers have always seen between organic, and particularly human, possessions on the one hand, and the environment on the other, is not arbitrary nor "pre-established," nor mere evidence of supernatural design. This harmony is itself an evolutionary product, a growth-adaptation of the plastic organism to the potent elements in the environment. The special organic qualities, as adaptive results, are always a measure and the best available measure, of the reality and of the nature of the factors in the environment which are capable of producing and sustaining them. The eye as an evolved organ is an organic incarnation of the existence and the nature of light. Furthermore, the eye itself, as a structure, is a better proof of the existence of light and a better index of its nature than is any single sensation which it makes possible. Our most dependable picture of that which is outside the organism is the structure and nature of the organism itself. This of course is true only of those environmental elements which are sufficiently potent in life to stamp themselves on life and thus become mirrored in organic structure.

4. In the accompanying diagram is displayed a parallel of stimuli and responses as they are related to individuality at its various levels. The central part of the diagram represents the increasing complexity of the individual as we pass from the lower to the higher types of life. It is not intended to indicate that the environmental series (*A*) is an evolutionary series. It shows progressively merely because it is apprehended progressively. The central shaft of personality (*B*) is assumed to be a single evolutionary series—from the automatic sensitiveness of protoplasm to conscience and God-consciousness. Responses (*C*) are, on the whole, progressive from apparently direct and unconscious

and egoistic activities toward conscious and altruistic, or social behavior.



5. In respect to the lower organisms we can measure the stimuli (*A*) which are able to influence them, and the response (*C*) which they make. Concerning their individuality (*B*) we can know little except the physical structure. The processes of their personality are practically unknown to us. In the higher stages and in the more complex types of individuals, on the contrary, we believe that we get, through the various aspects of consciousness, a better knowledge of what occurs within "*B*," in addition to our knowledge of the stimuli and responses. If this evolved means of self-appraisal is not reliable at this level and in relation to the self, it is equally unreliable in the estimate of the conditions which surround personality, in the lower levels; and therefore the science which questions either the fact of consciousness or its reliability is itself as futile as any speculation possible to us.

The consistent evolutionist must accept the data of consciousness for two reasons: first, consciousness is the evolutionary outcome of more primitive conditions which clearly suit the organism to its stimuli; and, second, it tends, because of its greater utility in effecting adjustment, to replace these more direct and automatic unconscious modes of response found in the lower organisms. The environment is the relatively fixed and determinative fact. Survival depends absolutely on the suitedness (adaptation) of response (*C*) to stimulus (*A*). The individual (*B*) is perfect and successful in proportion as its nature enables it to react to "*A*" in such a way as to secure right response. The basal physiological sensitiveness which all organisms possess, because of its very directness, is a very successful device to secure adaptive response, if there is any truth in our biological conclusions. We believe that all the later types of sensitiveness, desire, memory, consciousness (of self, not-self, kind, standards, God), reasoning, etc., are derived from it in one great evolutionary series. They are tremendously complex (and are the field of personality), but unless they made the response (*C*) to the real total effective environment more accurate and more successful, they could never have replaced the lower, more direct physiological adjustment. This is the great biological justification of the validity of consciousness, whether of physical external reality, or of the self, or of God.

6. In some of the higher qualities, particularly, we cannot measure

directly the environmental factors which could have produced them. For example we cannot directly measure truth or the moral order, and yet there are human attitudes and activities of practical evolutionary moment which are profoundly influenced by these, and there are other human qualities which purport to adjust the organism to the realities for which these ideas stand. In the absence of the ability to measure directly the environmental factors, we are at liberty to use, in their interpretation, all persistent and useful organic possessions (structures, instincts, desires, intellectual and spiritual qualities) as throwing light upon the nature of the basal reality of the historic environment which has produced them. We may measure the otherwise unmeasurable environment, indirectly, because of the very existence of certain human qualities, if not directly by them. And just as the possession of the sense of thirst is a better index of the existence and nature of water than we can get by any physical measurements, or by any sensuous experience with water, so the very existence of faculties by which we conceive and perceive truth and right is a better index of the existence and evolutionary value of these realities than we can gain from any other possible source.

7. Not only must there be real environmental causes to account for organic possessions, but environmental realities must be adequate to account for the supposed qualities. For example, light may adequately explain the phenomena of vision and the eye, but physical contacts could not do so. Light-stimuli, however potent in their own realm, could not possibly account for the sexual impulse and organs. Physical and chemical relations could not explain the social impulses and qualities of the individual. Nothing short of actual associations of similar individuals could do so. Reality, and other relations of an intellectual level, are necessary, as a stimulus, to account for reasoning. Something more than physical contacts is necessary in an environment to give rise to sympathy, as an organic adaptation. As a mere physical domain could not serve, unaided, to give rise to the chemical sense; and as real light-vibrations must be had to develop and maintain a light-vibration-perceiving apparatus; so nothing but a spiritual domain could be adequate environmental cause, making spiritual qualities of survival value, in organic evolution. Only God in the environment of man

could furnish the groundwork of reality which would make the idea of God of such utility as to secure its persistence and advancement in the evolution of man.

8. Evolution, then, since the first emergence of the most primitive organic individual from the background of its environment, and since the primal institution of the distinction between individual and environment, has been a continuous acting of the total available environment upon the series of individuals, producing a continuous and progressive revelation of the environment (including the immanent God) to progressing individuals; and a growing incarnation of the really powerful elements of the environment (including God) into the warp and woof of advancing and increasingly appreciative personality. This is why there is harmony. This is the ground for the messianic hope that we shall see Him as He is and be like Him.

9. Under an evolutionary dispensation, then,

All personal qualities and activities : Total environmental stimuli :: Effect : Major cause.

The statement of this ratio is the present result of our scientific work; the final evaluation of the ratio is the future work of science. To it we are gradually making approximations.

The detailed analogy (under uniform evolutionary adaptation) may be put thus:

I		II	
<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>
AS EFFECTS	REAL CAUSES	EFFECTS	REAL (?) CAUSES
The eye and sense of sight	Light	Consciousness of self	Human personality
Taste and hunger	Food	Consciousness of not-self	External objective reality
Desire for water	Water	Consciousness of standards (conscience)	Real right; a moral order in universe
Sexual impulse	Mates and mating	Religious nature	Real obligation to the Casual Agent of universe
Instinct of parental care	Offspring	Religious impulses	
Consciousness of kind	Real kindred	Religious beliefs	
Sense of obligation to fellows	Actual social contact and organization	'Spiritual' qualities	Spiritual reality
Logical sense	Orderly sequence in nature	Ideas of God	
Desire for knowledge	Real truth	God-consciousness	God
Altruism and the social emotions	A genuine social order	Sense of obligation to God	

But for "*b*," "*a*" could not have existed in an evolutionary régime. Could *A* persist and increase without *B* to have caused it?

In group I, of causes and effects, we think, as realists (and evolutionists must be realists), we can measure both the cause and effect in terms which science respects; we can in a way measure both the

strength of the internal quality and the environmental factor which produces it. Therefore it is from this group that we derive our generalization that the organism must in the end, no matter what its original nature, come into harmony, so far as its qualities are concerned, with such of its environing conditions as are vitally important to life and evolution, or disappear. Here we derive whatever science we have. Here is where we make our experimental evaluation of our ratio. In exact proportion as reliance is to be put in this evaluation, there is ground to carry our principle into the whole realm of life.

Group II of the supposed environmental causes holds the great philosophical and religious questions of all time. In this group we personally recognize our possession of individual qualities (*A*)—mostly states of consciousness, which no philosophy can escape or deny. We are just as conscious of them as we are of the personal possessions in group I, *a*. The question is whether there is anything in the environment to correspond to these personal qualities. If the evolutionary assumption is true we are not at liberty to doubt that there must be some reality which could have produced them. What realities could have been responsible for them? There is no direct way to measure the environmental agent, as in the former group. We are compelled to use our analogy and estimate the environmental reality from the nature of the organic possession which is supposed to mirror it. The principle of evolutionary adaptation is the only one we are able to apply which will take us back of the theory of an arbitrarily “pre-established harmony” and the “ontological” argument.

No organic quality can continually stand, and persist in developing, in arbitrary or false relation to the environment. Every higher quality is, by the hypothesis, the derivative of lower qualities which were themselves in successful relation to reality, and of survival value; unless the new quality were also in agreement with the vital realities—indeed in better agreement than that which it replaced—it would never have replaced its predecessor.

We have seen that the truth of even the first group of causes and effects—indeed of all science—is dependent upon the truthfulness of the consciousness of the self and the not-self. If these are not reliable, no science and no philosophy are possible.

It becomes doubly true then that the validity of the physiological sensations, that belief in self, belief in the real objective environment, and belief in God and spiritual reality are, from the evolutionary point of view, on exactly the same level. And since all science rests on the belief in the real existence of the external world, substantially as it appears to us, the evidence for the existence of God, and for the essential validity of the broadly accepted and persistent religious and philosophical conclusions of the race is as strong as the evidence for any conclusion whatsoever.

10. There is a disposition on the part of thinkers to feel that the human desire to find these higher realities true really weakens any argument for their existence, by giving a personal bias to our conclusions concerning them. The desire for continued life and for the fuller development of virtues which are not wholly unhindered here is held to have given birth to the belief in immortality and in continued moral and spiritual growth. As a mere individual conclusion this would be true. On the other hand, these desires and beliefs must be accounted for just as really as the desire for water which we call the sense of thirst. In accordance with our principle, these desires are themselves the surest measure of the reality for which they seem to stand. They are general and persistent human possessions; they are evolutionary products; they are efficient agencies in producing human evolution; they have utility in a survival way. Are not the existence and evolutionary efficiency of these higher desires and beliefs just as valid organic proof of the existence and vital power of the realities for which they stand, as hunger is for the existence of food and its controlling rôle in life?

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

CRITICAL STUDIES OF OLD TESTAMENT PROBLEMS

Dr. Geden's valuable introduction to the Hebrew Bible¹ discusses in successive chapters the language, the text, the canon, later Hebrew literature, the versions, and the Pentateuch. One wonders what connection there is between the last chapter and its predecessors. The fourteen facsimiles of manuscripts, title-pages, etc., are well selected and beautifully executed.

The aim of the book is not to make any contribution to the existing knowledge about the subject, but rather to place within easy reach of all students the main facts and principles. It may safely be said to constitute the best existing English handbook in this field. It makes it easy for the student to obtain a general view of this whole discipline and to place its various subdivisions in their proper relations and proportions. The clearness and simplicity of the style, together with the elimination of the overwhelming mass of details connected with the subject, contribute to the efficiency of the work as a textbook. The discretion and sanity evinced by the author in his judgments upon many disputed and difficult questions not only commend the book, but also show his familiarity with all phases of these problems and his grasp of the central and vital issues. The good working bibliographies added in connection with every important topic add greatly to the value of the book. In general the volume may be regarded as destined to hold a position as authority and guide in its own sphere corresponding to that unanimously granted to Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* in its sphere.

It can but be regretted, however, that instead of the loosely appended chapter on the "Pentateuch" Dr. Geden did not see fit to give us a chapter on "Principles and Methods of the Textual Criticism of the Old Testament." This would have constituted a natural climax to his book and a valuable addition to the working equipment of every student. There is no subject upon which sane guidance is more needed at the present time. With leaders of Old Testament science indulging in the wildest sorts of textual vagaries, it can scarcely be expected that tyros should keep their heads.

Outlines of Introduction to the Hebrew Bible. By A. S. Geden. Edinburgh: Clark, 1909. Imported by Scribner. xv + 367 pages. \$3.50.

The hundred pages devoted to the Pentateuch give a résumé of the matters usually discussed in this connection, viz., authorship, date, analysis of sources, history of the literary criticism, characteristics of the sources, and analogies of literary growth. These questions have been discussed again and again and hardly needed setting forth once more, especially as Dr. Geden, for the most part, heartily accepts the conclusions of his predecessors. The only variation of any significance is his contention that Deuteronomy, though found in Josiah's day, was written in the days of David or Solomon and a copy of it placed under the cornerstone of the new temple. Consequently J and E must be put back prior to the days of the Judges, if indeed they do not in part come from the hand of Moses himself. No serious effort is made to substantiate this position, though the author must have known that it would at once be challenged on all hands. The burden of proof rests upon him to show that the social and religious situation in Israel during the pre-Solomonic age was such as to make possible the production of such literature and legislation as are found in J, E, and Deuteronomy.

The first seventy-five pages of Rothstein's volume, dealing with Hebrew poetry,* contain a concise statement of the elements of Hebrew rhythm as the author conceives them; the next thirty pages contain the text of thirty-seven selected psalms, and the Song of Songs, printed so as to show the rhythmic and strophic arrangement; while the rest of the book is devoted to the critical commentary on these texts. The commentary concerns itself chiefly with the justification of the poetic arrangement of the materials printed in the foregoing pages. Much of the commentary is in small type; hence the great bulk of the contents of the book is commentary.

It is the first section of the book, however, that constitutes its *raison d'être*; the remainder is but illustration, exposition, and defense of the propositions there laid down.

Professor Rothstein himself regards his book as marking a distinct advance in the understanding of Hebrew poetics. He is thoroughly familiar with and appreciative of all that has gone before, building his own work upon it as a foundation. Ley, Duhm, and Sievers are for him the great names in this branch of Old Testament science. But even Sievers, notwithstanding the greatness of his contribution to the science of rhythm "has not yet spoken the last word for the solution of the problem." Of his own work, however, Rothstein is not afraid to say:

* *Grundzüge des Hebräischen Rhythmus und seiner Formenbildung nebst lyrischen Texten mit kritischem Kommentar.* By J. W. Rothstein. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909. viii + 398 pages. M. 12.40.

I may be pardoned if I conclude these introductory sentences with the expression of the firmest conviction that the question as to the nature of Hebrew rhythm and the laws controlling its formal structure is now no longer a problem; it is resolved into positive knowledge, which in details may be widened and deepened, perhaps even corrected; but in its essential content, I believe I may look upon it as indestructibly solid.

These are brave words, especially with reference to a question which has been notoriously debatable up to the present.

The more important "principles" formulated by Rothstein are the following: (1) The basis of rhythm is furnished by the number of accented syllables in the verse; (2) not more than three unaccented syllables may intervene between two tone-syllables; (3) every verse must begin with one or more unaccented syllables; (4) all the verses in a poem must have the same kind of initial measure; i. e., the same number of unaccented syllables before the first tone-syllable; (5) every verse must end with a tone-syllable or a tone-syllable plus an unaccented enclitic; (6) every verse must be a logical as well as a formal unit; (7) the same rhythm will prevail throughout a poem. In order to secure conformity to these laws it is permissible (1) to drop the conjunction ׀ and other connectives such as ׀, when necessary; (2) to eliminate the article in so far as the necessities of the rhythm may require; (3) to make segholates oxytone; (4) to treat constructs as accented or unaccented in accordance with the exigencies of rhythm; and (5) to indulge in the most daring kinds of textual emendation.

It is apparent at a glance that Rothstein agrees with Sievers to a great extent. Realizing this, he undertakes to explain that though this is true, yet he had worked out for himself most of his conclusions before Sievers had published his *Metrische Studien*. Both defend the accentuating principle of rhythm with which the name of Ley is inseparably connected. Both agree that the Hebrew measure is a rising one, i. e., is essentially anapestic. Both limit the length of a measure to four syllables. Rothstein, however, is less flexible than Sievers; he applies his system without let or hindrance; everything must yield to it. For example, while Sievers recognizes variations in the meter of a poem, Rothstein reduces them to uniformity by emendation or elision. In the same way, Sievers permits initial measures consisting only of one tone-syllable, while Rothstein treats all such cases as needing some correction of the text. However, Rothstein does not indulge so freely as Sievers in the exercise of giving common Hebrew forms, such as the pronominal suffixes, a new vocalization. Rothstein's array of possible rhythms is less extensive than that of Sievers, but this is due in part, at least, to the fact that thus far he has confined

himself to strictly lyrical poetry whereas Sievers has organized prophecy and even historical prose into poetic forms.

The careful student will not accept Rothstein's scheme hastily. The many difficulties that Rothstein himself encounters in his efforts to apply his principles to the biblical materials will force a pause. For example, in Ps. 1, the first illustration of the new rhythmical method that is offered us, it appears necessary to eliminate vss. 2, 4 as glosses, to delete פלגי, אשר, the conjunction ו (first time), and כל from vs. 3, and על כן and דרך (first time) from vs. 5. The only reasons urged for the dropping of vs. 2 are first that it offers a 4+4 movement in place of the 3+3 found elsewhere in the psalm; second, that it disturbs the strophical arrangement; and third, that it is in its contents superfluous. Yet the author goes on to say that "it forms an essentially suitable supplement to the content of the first strophe;" while no previous interpreter of the psalm, or even student of its poetic form (Duhm, Sievers, Briggs), has found the verse objectionable. The same holds true of vs. 4. Furthermore, even after all these adjustments have been made, in order to secure three tones in עלה לא יביל it becomes necessary to accent the relatively insignificant word לא, notwithstanding the fact that two strong accents are thus brought into immediate juxtaposition. Or again, if Ps. 5 be scrutinized, it will be seen that only vss. 2, 8a, 10, and 11b fit Rothstein's scheme in their received form; from the remainder of the poem forty-two words must be removed to enable the "original" form to reappear. Similar procedure is followed in the case of the large majority of the remaining examples offered by Rothstein. In fact, not a single poem escapes without more or less change on the ground of rhythmical necessity; and for the most part, the change is exceedingly radical. Pss. 8, 14, 15, 111, and 112 suffer the least.

To the present writer, the science of Hebrew rhythm is not even yet upon a firm enough basis to warrant textual criticism of this kind. It is undoubtedly true that consideration of poetic form constitutes a great aid to the work of a careful and thorough student of the text. But reliance may be placed upon it only in so far as it furnishes supplementary evidence for the emendation of texts which are rendered suspicious by other converging lines of evidence. It is a relatively rare case where poetic form alone points indisputably to the elimination or improvement of a passage. Meantime, little progress can be made by setting up any system of rhythm as a Procrustean bed. This has been the rock upon which every attempt thus far made to subject the Hebrew poetry to the requirements of a carefully wrought-out system has gone to pieces. Never-

theless, Rothstein has contributed many a helpful suggestion toward the interpretation of the poetic materials which he has handled and no Old Testament student dares ignore his work. It is by labors of this sort that progress is made toward perfection.

Westphal has not given a study of the Yahweh shrines for their own sake as was the case with von Gall's *Alt-israelitische Kultstätten*, but has rather endeavored to discover what ideas about God are reflected by and associated with the various places of worship.³ Since these sanctuaries are taken up in the order in which they came into the life of Israel the study becomes practically a history of the development of the God-idea in Israel. The six chapters of the book show the historical facts as furnishing the logical divisions of the subject: (1) "Yahweh and Mount Sinai;" (2) "Yahweh on Mount Sinai and Israel in Canaan;" (3) "Yahweh and the Land of Canaan;" (4) "Yahweh's Dwelling at the Old Israelitish Sanctuaries;" (5) "The Temple at Jerusalem as Yahweh's Dwelling;" (6) "Yahweh in Heaven." Chap. v constitutes one-third of the book.

Among the less common views defended by the author is the contention that the ark was originally the shrine of a god other than Yahweh and that it was taken over by the people as a whole and subordinated to the Yahweh idea after the conquest of Canaan, thus becoming an intermediary between the distant Sinai and the land of Canaan in which it helped to localize Yahweh. The temple is shown to have been modeled upon Egyptian patterns introduced into Israel through the mediation of Phoenicia. The thought of Yahweh as dwelling in the temple is declared to have been a foreign importation which took root slowly on Israelitish soil. Burnt-offerings are likewise claimed as an institution originally foreign to the Israelites and adopted by them from Baalism. The view of Stade, Kautzsch, and others that the idea of Yahweh as dwelling in the heavens was a relatively late development in Israel's thought of God is shown to be mistaken and the existence of the idea at least as early as the time of the formation of the J tradition is clearly demonstrated. These and many other evidences of independent judgment make the study well worth while. Furthermore the author has successfully resisted the pan-Babylonian temptation and has worked out his conception of Israel's religion along the lines of investigation that have thus far commanded the assent of sane scholars. It is a source of regret that use was not made of the results revealed by recent excavations in Palestine regarding the

³ *Yahwes Wohnstätten nach den Anschauungen der alten Hebräer*. Eine alttestamentliche Untersuchung. Von G. Westphal. [Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, XV.] Giessen: Töpelmann, 1908. xvi + 278 pages. M. 11.

Canaanitish high-places and sanctuaries on the one hand; and on the other, that the existence of the Assuan temple was not reckoned with in connection with the chapter on the temple at Jerusalem as Yahweh's dwelling.

The seven chapters of Torge's book furnish a clear and concise summary of the ideas of the Old Testament regarding the soul and immortality.⁴ On the whole the discussion impresses one as the most satisfactory treatment of this theme extant. No novel views are here presented; on the contrary, the author's positions for the most part are those held by the body of Old Testament scholars. This is what makes the work of value, especially for younger students seeking orientation for this problem.

Starting with the origin and character of the belief in the soul as a separate entity apart from the body, the book takes up in turn the Hebrew ideas regarding death, Sheol, the grave, mourning customs, the relation of Yahweh to the spirits of the departed, and the hope of immortality. The chapter on mourning customs will fail to carry conviction with reference to its contention that these were in large part the result of the desire to give expression to feelings of sympathy and affection for the departed in such a way that these manifestations might be seen and appreciated by the spirit of the deceased. It is difficult to subsume under this explanation such usages as the cutting of one's flesh, the shaving of the head, and the veiling of the mouth and beard. For the sake of completeness the author should have included the idea of resurrection as it finds expression, e. g., in Dan. 12:2, and should likewise have taken up the question of Persian influence upon the Hebrew ideas of immortality and resurrection. The importance of the doctrine of individualism as furnishing a basis for the idea of personal immortality is recognized and rightly emphasized. It is highly characteristic of the Old Testament religion that its conviction of immortality and resurrection should have arisen not out of philosophical and speculative reasoning as among the Greeks, but out of an ethical necessity. It is at this point that the religion of the Hebrews always excelled, and the formulation of man's highest hope grew out of this ethical pre-eminence. The later history of Israel was one continual succession of disasters. The pious Jews were the victims of the triumphant and godless gentiles. Reversal of existing conditions on earth seemed beyond hope. But the justice of God could not be satisfied with anything less than a full vindication of the righteous. Hence the Hebrew mind pushed forward into the unseen world of the future, posited the continued existence and

⁴ *Seelenglaube und Unsterblichkeitshoffnung im Alten Testament*. Von Paul Torge. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909. viii + 256 pages. M. 5.

fellowship of the souls of the righteous with God after death, and looked for a general balancing of accounts at the day of judgment. The climax of Hebrew thought upon immortality is presented in the Wisdom of Solomon; but Dr. Torge ends his study with the close of the Protestant Canon.

JOHN M. P. SMITH

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

BARTON'S COMMENTARY ON ECCLESIASTES

The reputation of the "International Critical Commentary Series" for a high grade of scholarship is such, that an announcement of the publication of a new volume is a matter of deep interest in Biblical circles. This interest is naturally intensified when the particular book presents problems of especial difficulty, such as Ecclesiastes, and the author is one from whom a thoroughgoing and judicious treatment of those problems may be expected. It is with pleasure, therefore, that to the number of excellent works on this puzzling book of the Old Testament already published in English—introductions, expositions and critical commentaries—by such scholars as McNeile, Wright, Plumptre, Genung, etc., this new volume by Professor Barton¹ is welcomed as one which sustains the high reputation of this admirable series.

Of the 212 pages of this commentary, 65 are devoted to introductory material; the remainder to the critical exposition of the text. The following are the topics treated in the introductory part of the book: the name; place in the Hebrew Canon; the versions; history of the interpretation; the relation of Ecclesiastes to Greek thought; the integrity of the book; the outline of the thought; its literary form; its linguistic characteristics; its relation to Ben-Sira (Ecclesiasticus); the attitude of the Book of Wisdom to Ecclesiastes; the date and authorship. As the most interesting questions, and those debatable in the book, come under discussion in these introductory topics this review will be occupied especially with the author's treatment of them and his conclusions.

In reference to canonicity Professor Barton agrees with Ryle² that it is unlikely that any new book would be introduced into the Hebrew Canon after the first century B. C. Hence Ecclesiastes, though one of the "Antilegomena" must have begun to gain a foothold in some influential quarter before that date (p. 6).

¹ *The Book of Ecclesiastes*. By Professor George Aaron Barton, Ph.D., Professor of Biblical Literature and Semitic Languages, Bryn Mawr College. "International Critical Commentary." New York: Scribners, 1908. 212 pages. \$2.25.

² Cf. his *Canon of the Old Testament*, 2d ed., p. 185.

As regards the LXX version of the book he adopts McNeile's view³ that it was not made till the end of the first century A. D., and that it was done by Aquila, a native of Pontus, who was first a convert to Christianity and then to Judaism.

The reasons for this view are that the version of Qoheleth, in the LXX, exhibits many of the most marked peculiarities of the style of Aquila's version as preserved by Origen in his famous Hexapla—peculiarities which occur to the same extent in the Septuagint version of no other Old Testament book (p. 9).

In the section on the history of interpretation an excellent summary and criticism is given of the views of leading scholars from the time of Luther to the present. The various interpretations may be conveniently grouped into two classes—one that the book is not a unity in its present form, the text being either disorganized (Bickell), or interpolated; the other that it is a unity, expressing in the contradictory statements (or expressions which at least do not harmonize with the main thought of the book), the varying moods of the writer (p. 22).

In criticizing Bickell's view, based on the assumption that the manuscript of Ecclesiastes existed in book form, the pages of which being accidentally dislocated, the present confused order of the text resulted, the author points out the fact that the roll form of manuscript continued in use till about 300 A. D. Thus from the archaeological standpoint the fundamental assumption of Bickell's theory is disproved (pp. 26 f.).

Between the two opposing views of interpolations and unity of authorship (e. g., Cornill and Genung), Professor Barton decides in favor of the former, though far from taking such extreme positions as those of Haupt and Siegfried—the latter for instance holding that there were five different hands at work in producing the present book, besides several others of an editorial character (p. 28). Professor Barton concludes that the original Ecclesiastes has passed through the hands of two editors. The first was an adherent of Wisdom literature, who added such Wisdom glosses as 4:5; 5:3, 7a (vss. 2, 6a, Hebr.); 7:1a, 3, 5, 6-9, 11, 12, 19; 8:1; 9:17, 18; 10:1-3, 8-14a, 15, 18, 19. The second editor inserted verses from the Chasid or Pharasaic standpoint to harmonize the thought of the book with the orthodox doctrine of his time. To this editor belong the title (1:1), the expressions, "saith Qoheleth" (1:2; 7:27, and 12:8), because the writer of the book generally speaks of himself in the first person (cf. 1:12; 2:1, etc.), and because these words interrupt the rhythm in 1:2 and 12:8, while in 7:27 they actually interrupt the discourse in the first person; also the verses 12:9-12, 13a (to the word "heard"). The follow-

³ Cf. his *Introduction to Ecclesiastes*, pp. 115-34.

ing verses are also from the same hand because they are contrary to the main thought of the book: (2:26; 3:17; 7:18b, 26b, 29; 8:2b, 3a, 5, 6a, 11-13; 11:9b; 12:1a, 13 (from the words, "fear God"), 14. Whether this classification of editorial additions commends itself to all scholars or not, it seems to the reviewer that Professor Barton's position, between the extremes of opinion, viz., unity of authorship and multiplicity of authors, is nearer the facts of the case. As he points out, the additions by these editors make "but a small part of the material in the book" (p. 46). Some scholars today (e. g., Cornill and Genung) would not admit even so limited a revision as this as compared with the positions of Haupt and Siegfried, but the *possibility* of editorial hands at work in Ecclesiastes cannot be denied when at present so many scholars believe that most of the prophetic writings, for instance, have passed through editorial revision; and especially when an adequate motive can be suggested for the insertion of harmonizing additions, as in the view adopted by Professor Barton.

The relation of Ecclesiastes to Greek thought is one of the interesting questions of the book. Here again the opinion of scholars differs as to whether there are traces of Stoic and Epicurean thought or not.

Professor Barton concludes with Renan and McNeile

that everything in Qoheleth can be accounted for as a development of Semitic thought, and that the expressions which have been seized upon to prove that its writer came under the influence of Greek schools of philosophy only prove at most that Qoheleth was a Jew who had in him the making of a Greek philosopher (p. 34).

Thus in 3:1-9, which Tyler for instance considers to reflect Stoic doctrine, especially that of inexorable fate, the author thinks that there is found simply a conception common to all writers of the period of Ecclesiastes (pp. 34 f.). Again he considers without adequate foundation the theory of Epicurean thought in 3:18-22 and 5:18-20, which Tyler advocates, the former passage according to this writer teaching the doctrine of the mortality of the soul and the latter the "doctrine of pleasure or tranquillity as the essential principle of life." As opposed to this view Professor Barton maintains that we have in the first the expression of a passing doubt, not a dogmatic statement; the second is a Semitic point of view older than Epicurus by several centuries (p. 38).

Contrary to the recent views of Zapletal and Haupt, who independently of each other came to the conclusion that the original form of Ecclesiastes was metrical, the author concludes with the great majority of scholars that it is a prose book. The metrical theory involves an entirely too drastic treatment of the text (pp. 50 f.).

As related to other writings he agrees with Wright, McNeile, etc., that the authors of Ecclesiasticus and the Book of Wisdom, both made use of Ecclesiastes—the former approving of its teachings, the latter disapproving of them. A full list of parallel passages between the writings is given showing the grounds on which this conclusion is reached (pp. 53-58).

With all modern scholars Professor Barton accepts the late date of Ecclesiastes. It will be needless to cite the arguments for this conclusion as they are well known. Between the Persian and Greek periods he decides in favor of the latter. More specifically he dates it about 198 B. C., in agreement with Hitzig, Tyler, Cornill, and Genung. This conclusion he reaches from 4:13-16, in which he refers the "old and foolish king" (vs. 13) to Ptolemy IV (Philopator), who died in 205 B. C. The "poor and wise youth" (vs. 13) is Ptolemy V (Epiphanes), who was only five years of age when he succeeded to the throne. The "second youth" (vs. 15, if the word "second" is genuine), is Antiochus III of Syria, who, within seven years after the succession of Ptolemy V, was welcomed as sovereign of Judea. These inferences he thinks are confirmed by 10:16, 17; vs. 16 referring to Ptolemy V and vs. 17 reflecting probably the author's welcome of the strong rule of Antiochus III. These inferences may be correct but it seems to the reviewer that they are uncertain. It was the view of the late Professor A. B. Davidson that all attempts at identification in the book are conjectural.⁴ But that the date of the book may be placed from 250 to 200 B. C. seems very probable.

It should be noted that an excellent outline of the thought of the book is given (pp. 46-50) which adds much to the value of the volume.

It remains to add that the commentary portion of the book is marked by thoroughness and judiciousness in the treatment of the text and exposition, and ranks with the best volumes of this series. This volume can be heartily commended to those desiring the latest and best commentary in English on this book.

HARLAN CREELMAN

AUBURN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
AUBURN, N. Y.

A HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS

For the very exacting task of writing a handbook on the history of the Ancient Egyptians¹ it would be hard to conceive finer or more complete

⁴ Cf. *Encyclopedia Biblica*, II, 1162.

¹ *A History of the Ancient Egyptians*. By James Henry Breasted, Ph.D., in the Historical Series for Bible Students, edited by Charles F. Kent, Ph.D., and Frank K. Sanders, Ph.D., Vol. V. New York: Scribners, 1908. xiv+469 pages. \$1.25.

preparation than has been made by Dr. Breasted. He has in the fullest sense mastered the native sources, not merely as published texts but for the most part *in situ*, and not cursorily but in the careful and thorough method demanded by his translation of the same in his notable *Ancient Records of Egypt*.² He has also, on the basis of that direct knowledge of sources, written a larger *History of Egypt*³ by which in the handling of material he has gained valuable experience that is utilized in the smaller work under consideration. Moreover, one has not to read farther than the preface and the list of works in the valuable bibliography (pp. 444-52), saying nothing of the text itself, to assure himself that the author has fully realized how the history of no country or people is an isolated unit possessing no connections with other countries and peoples. Dr. Breasted knows that in the ancient world the currents of influence upon life in its varied phases of commerce, art, literature, and religion were many, diverse, and potent. The Mediterranean seaboard and the interior of Hither Asia were ebullient for millenniums before Christ with interests that overflowed their sources and mingled in the intricate complex of international relations. Such an equipment is not a common possession of those who write on such subjects as that to which this volume is devoted. When to these qualifications are added ability to speak in intelligible, untechnical language, to get away from the laboratory, to popularize yet not to dilute, to choose in the selection of material the facts which are significant and not to becloud and befog the readers with details that obscure the trend of history, the public is to be congratulated—as it is in this case.

The plan of the volume is chronological, in eight divisions: dealing with (1) Introduction—the land, chronology, earliest Egypt; (2) the Old Kingdom, 2980-2160; (3) the Middle Kingdom, 2160-1788; (4) the Hyksos, 1788-1580; (5-6) the Empire, first and second periods, 1580-1150; (7) decadence, 1156-660; and (8) the restoration, 660-525, after which Persian control was established. In this disposition of material many noteworthy facts are registered: predynastic kingdoms are recognized as existing as early as 4500 B. C.; the earliest established date of history, according to Dr. Breasted, is the introduction of the calendar year of 365 days in 4241 B. C. (p. 35); the accession of Menes is dated *ca.* 3400 B. C. (p. 23); Manetho's explanation of Hyksos as "ruler of shepherds" is rejected for the more probable and significant "ruler of countries" (pp. 177, 178); and the Habiri (Khabiri) of the Amarna letters are regarded as "desert Semites" or "Bedouin mercenaries" (pp. 263, 284, 285), while some

² 5 vols., Chicago, 1906-07.

³ New York, 1905.

connection of them with the Hebrews is inferred. The general scope of the work involves regard for the two interests now dominant in the writing of history—the psychological and the economic. The narrative deals primarily not with the rulers but with the people and the conditions of their daily life.

In but one respect, perhaps, is the volume open to criticism. The author's command of the sources and his knowledge of the subject are so complete that his conclusions in some matters still open to debate are stated with a confident finality which somewhat stuns the reader. To be sure, Dr. Breasted almost disarms this criticism, while he gives point to it, by his delightfully frank confession (p. 439, n. 1) that his "reconstruction was in several places premature and based on too little evidence." All the more does dogmatism on (for example) two points seem discounted—on the chronology of ancient Egypt (especially for dark periods like that of the Hyksos, who "left little behind them," p. 174), and on that of Babylonia. On the latter question two schools of "Assyriologists" are still debating, with a thousand years between them. It is therefore unduly arbitrary without qualification to place Sargon and Naram-Sin below 2566 B. C. On the former question, the divergence, e. g., between Breasted and Petrie, the latter of whom worked no less "from the monuments" than the former, would seem to suggest larger caution.

In spite of this somewhat dogmatic attitude, there is no book except the author's larger work to compare with this in dependability, in richness, readableness, and general excellence. It adorns the series in which it appears.

GEO. W. GILMORE

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

THE RELIGION AND WORSHIP OF THE SYNAGOGUE FROM A CHRISTIAN POINT OF VIEW

No one can write today a good book on the synagogue without being indebted to the rich storehouse of knowledge presented in Schürer's *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, the enlarged fourth edition of which is in course of publication. On one point, however, English scholarship is superior to the German, and that is its spirit of fairness which lifts it above the racial and religious prejudice under which, with few exceptions, the German writers labor. Let one compare on this point the writings of Robertson Smith with Wellhausen's or the whole Oxford and Cambridge school of Bible critics with such men as Lagarde, Reuss, Stade, and Paul Haupt. Neither Bousset nor Schürer—not to speak of Weber who wrote his *System der alt-synagogalen Palaestinishen Theologie* under the influence of the zealous Lutheran conversionist, Pro-

fessor Franz Delitzsch—is free from anti-Jewish bias; they construct the doctrine of the synagogue after the testimony of St. Paul, its arch-enemy. This fact was clearly brought to light by Professor S. Schechter, Claude Montefiore, and Israel Abrahams of London, after Emanuel Deutsch of the British Museum had in 1867 by his famous article on "The Talmud" called the attention of Christian scholars in England to the importance of the study of rabbinical literature for the understanding of the New Testament. As the first fruit of the new acquaintance of Christian scholarship in England with rabbinical literature must be mentioned Charles Taylor's *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, a translation of the Mishnah Aboth, with very valuable notes and excursuses (Cambridge; 2d ed., 1897) in which much new light is thrown upon New Testament passages, and their decidedly rabbinical origin is lucidly demonstrated. It is the work of a true scholar, free from all bias and thoroughly fair.

The joint authors of the work before us¹ certainly deserve the highest commendation for their persistent effort at perfect fairness toward Judaism manifested throughout, whatever the shortcomings of their compilation may otherwise have been. They desire to present Judaism "as a living whole, as a vital organism with a soul and a genius of its own," and "as one of the great living religions of the world today." Unlike such men as Harnack, Dörner, and Delitzsch, they unreservedly acknowledge what they owe mentally or spiritually to Jewish scholarship, expressing their conviction that "as Judaism and Christianity are mutually essential to each other, so the advocates of each can only be true to their respective faiths by extending the right hand of fellowship to each other." All the more it is to be regretted that, owing obviously to their unfamiliarity with the history and literature of modern Judaism, our authors failed to obtain a true insight into the working forces of Reform Judaism so ably described by Dr. David Philipson in *The Reform Movement in Judaism* (Macmillan, 1907). Consequently what they write on the Reform Jews (p. 130-34, and elsewhere) shows that they have not the least conception of the essential positions of either progressive Judaism in Germany and America, or the more conservative Breslau School. A careful study of the history of Reform Judaism as first set forth by Abraham Geiger would have made it quite plain to them that the principle of historical development, which created for each age the doctrine and the form of worship befitting its own stage of growth, demands that Judaism "as a vital organism" ever

¹ *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*. An Introduction to the Study of Judaism from the New Testament Period. By W. O. E. Oesterley, B.D., and G. W. Boz, M.A. New York: Scribners, 1907. xv+443 pages. \$3.

assimilate new ideals and assume reforms of practice and belief—a fact noted elsewhere in the book (see p. 151). The fact is that with the best of intentions a lack of historical knowledge leads our authors to fail to present an accurate picture of the synagogal institutions. Relying on second- or third-hand sources, they are often misled by statements of unreliable writers., e. g., M. Friedländer's "epoch-making book," *Die religiösen Bewegungen innerhalb des Judenthums im Zeitalter Jesu*, quoted on p. 17 and elsewhere. We have thus the product of a rather unsystematic eclecticism with both good and valuable information and also erroneous and misleading observations.

Of the introductory part (pp. 1-134) which deals in six chapters with the religious and racial character of the Jew, the literature of Judaism, and finally the Jewish sects, the last chapter is certainly the weakest; the authors have, notwithstanding their reference to the *Jewish Encyclopedia* articles, no clear comprehension of what either the Sadducees or the Pharisees and least of all of what the Essenes, "the pious ones" who "waited for the consolation of Israel" (p. 7, note 4), were, or stood for. On the other hand their description of the rabbinic and apocalyptic literature is helpful (*saboraim* is not "explainers," p. 64, but Halakkic voters or decisors).

The chief merit of the work lies in the second part (pp. 135-264) which deals with doctrinal (not "dogmatic") Judaism. Here the authors have come under the influence of the writings of Professor Schechter, Claude Montefiore, and Israel Abrahams, and accordingly have taken a far more sympathetic attitude than is customary in Christian theologians. In the chapter on "The Law" full justice is done to the claim of universality and spirituality of the Torah as the inheritance of Israel, the priest-people of mankind, against St. Paul's antinomianism. Christ represents for the authors, "the twofold attitude toward the law." Especial emphasis is laid in the chapter on "The Jewish Conception of God" on the antitrinitarian character of the monotheism of the synagogue as pointed out occasionally by the Haggadists, on its universalism and especially on the close relationship of God to man and Israel, notwithstanding his transcendentalism. In the chapter on the "Intermediate Agencies between God and Man," the Memra-Logos, the Holy Spirit, and the Shekinah are dealt with in their relation to the Christian dogma, but altogether too large a space is given to the more cabbalistic figure Metatron who, all opinions to the contrary notwithstanding, is none else than the Persian heavenly charioteer Mithras, probably Grecized in Metathronos (see art. "Merkaba" in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*). In the chapters on the "Messiah" and "Eschatology," good use has been made of the respective articles in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, per-

haps even to a larger extent than the title of the book justifies, since the apocalyptic literature quoted never received the sanction of the synagogue. In the chapter on "The Jewish Doctrine of Sin" our authors make a fair attempt at pointing out the main differences between the Jewish and the Christian conception of sin, but commit the great mistake of relying too much on Weber, Bousset, and other Christian writers. For Judaism sin is a power within the control of man, a propensity to sin to which he may and does actually succumb, but not a compelling power inherent in the flesh. Accordingly the fallen sinner obtains by sincere repentance the power to rise again and receive the divine grace of forgiveness. Hence the means of atonement, such as sacrifice, fasting, and prayer, serve to restore the original state of man which is purity and childlike guiltlessness. Whether the fourth book of Ezra is influenced by Pauline teachings or vice versa, whether St. Paul was familiar with the Jewish doctrines voiced there as well as by the pessimistic school of Shammai in opposition to that of the optimistic school of Hillel, is a question not so easily answered as churchmen think (see F. Rosenthal, *Vier apocryphische Buecher*). Altogether false are statements made by our authors regarding repentance. So, for instance, when it is said that "Repentance is in a large measure restricted to Israel and the Gentiles are rarely mentioned in this connection."

The third part of the book (pp. 265-426), which treats of Judaism as a practical religion, is no doubt of greatest interest and value to the Christian reader, as it describes in detail the entire ritual of Judaism and the synagogue, but it also betrays all the weakness of the dilettante who had to collect his material at haphazard from the sources at his command without regard to their reliable and scientific character. The chief fault of this compilation is a lack of perspective. Alongside of the important institutions and ceremonies there are noted the strangest mediaeval superstitions, as if both were equally essential. Practices at funerals, weddings, and births which have been borrowed are explained as if they contained important religious doctrines. Prayers, such as Kol Nidré, on the eve of Atonement (p. 401), which the leading Jewish authorities condemned, and customs like Kappara Schlagen (p. 476), the shroud "arganas" worn on New Years' and Atonement Day and by the bridegroom (pp. 287, 305, 403), the "Peyoth" (p. 417), and the "Swaying of the Body" during prayer, and similar abuses are dwelt upon as characteristic features of the synagogue and both the origin of the rite and the etymology of the terms incorrectly stated. The whole presentation reflects the impression which an English High Churchman receives from observing the quaint orientalism of the Ghetto Jew. The whole is an apotheosis of orthodoxy with its picturesqueness which appeals

to the romanticist. The historical school is ignored or (what seems more probable) unknown to the writers. Nevertheless they deserve credit for having brought to the purview of the English public the spirituality, the religious earnestness, the piety and domestic virtue of the mediaeval Jew, even though they have taken no account of the religious cravings and yearnings of the progressive modern Jew who insists on the recognition of the claims of the occidental civilization, of historical research, of woman's share in religion and education: in one word, of the aspirations, the conceptions, and the ideals of the age in which he lives.

K. KOHLER

CINCINNATI, OHIO

THE NON-CHRISTIAN BACKGROUND OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY

The inclusion of Wendland's sketch of Graeco-Roman civilization in Lietzmann's *Handbuch*,¹ is a significant acknowledgment of the new importance attached by students of the New Testament to that long-neglected subject. Wendland has treated it mainly from the point of view of the history of philosophy, as was perhaps inevitable. We have in consequence a sketch of great value and undoubted pertinence, but of a certain degree of abstruseness that may interfere with any very wide usefulness such as Lietzmann seems to have in mind for his *Handbuch* as a whole. It is in its nature no holiday task, however, and it must be admitted to have been most faithfully performed. To depict the non-Jewish world of ideas into which Paul and the first Christian evangelists carried the gospel is clearly an all-important service to the New Testament interpreter or historian. This Wendland has done in these few pages in the most comprehensive way. From its roots in the work of the great Athenians, he traces its development through the Hellenistic movement, to its broad cosmopolitan maturity in imperial times. The tangled threads of Greek and Roman and oriental religion are patiently separated, and the relation of the philosophical schools to Christian belief and morals carefully explored. Special topics like emperor-worship and the Mithra cult are illuminatingly touched upon, and ample bibliographies at every point open the way for more particular studies. A series of illustrative plates, fully described, conclude the work. Not a few will regret that this compact and able sketch has not been provided

¹ *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zu Judentum und Christentum*. [Lietzmann's *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*, 1, 2.] Von Paul Wendland. Mit 5 Abbildungen im Text und 12 Tafeln. Tübingen: Mohr, 1907, 1908. 190 pages.

with an independent index, so varied are its contents and so difficult is it to find one's way through its crowded pages. Neglect like this too often practically robs us of what might be a useful book of reference.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The apologetic literature is a product of Alexandrian Judaism. Coming into contact with a population superior by its classic culture and yet far inferior in its religious views and practices, the Jews were prompted to make propaganda for their monotheistic faith by assailing and ridiculing the follies of paganism and extolling the loftiness and humanitarian broadness of their religion. In this undertaking they unconsciously interpreted the holy Scriptures so as to make them expound the highest philosophical ideas, and in order to do it systematically, they applied to the Bible the same methods of allegory which the Stoic philosophers and others used for their interpretation of Homer and other mythological and poetic literature. Recent investigations by Wendland, Krueger, Geffcken, and others have elucidated the fact that even the arguments used by these apologetes, such as Philo, Josephus, and their predecessors, were borrowed from the various philosophical schools of the Greeks which in their attacks upon the popular beliefs resorted to certain methods of exposing the absurdity of polytheism which became fixed and stereotyped. The Church Fathers who succeeded the Jewish apologetes adopted in every detail their methods while defending the Christian faith against the heathen, the gnostic, and the Jew, and it is interesting to observe that for centuries the same arguments are reiterated in regard to the Bible, the Deity, creation, theodicy, immortality, and the like. The Jews of Palestine had no such models to follow, and had no special cause or opportunity for systematic apologetic writings. All the more interesting it is to notice that the Palestinian rabbis in their controversies meet their antagonists on the same ground and with almost the same methods of argument. This has been successfully shown by Dr. Bergmann, rabbi in Frankfurt am Main in the scholarly little work of 168 pages before us.² While he obviously has a poor opinion of the Hellenistic literature and especially of the apocalyptic writings of which he has but a very superficial knowledge—for which reason he underestimates the value of the pre-Talmudic literature—he deserves credit for having collected the Talmudic material referring to the disputations which the Palestinian rabbis of the first Christian centuries had with the *Minim* or heretics, that

² *Jüdische Apologetik im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*. Von Dr. J. Bergmann. Berlin: Reimer, 1908. 168 pages. M. 3.50.

is the gnostics and the Christians, concerning the Bible, the Deity, the law, immortality, the Jewish people and their historic claims, and particularly for having made a comparative study of the patristic literature so as to be able to point out the striking resemblances between the rabbinical and Christian methods of argument. Much has been done in this direction by Rahmer, Ginsburg, Ziegler, and others, as the *Jewish Encyclopedia* articles, "Church Fathers," "Disputations," and "Jerome," sufficiently show. But our author has with especial advantage utilized the writings of Tertullian (see Index, s. v. "Tertullian") and other Church Fathers and thereby succeeded in casting new light upon obscure and less familiar passages in rabbinical and patristic writings. The artificial and misleading representation of Jewish belief in such a work as Justin's *Dialogue* is corrected by Talmudic records of such disputations which bear, as the author shows in many instances, the intrinsic testimony of actual occurrence and are often confirmed by occasional patristic coincidences, even though the names of the disputants may be legendary. At times it is difficult to say whether the *Min* or heretic who starts the controversy is a gnostic or a Christian; in most cases it can be easily surmised from the contents. The mediaeval censor of the Talmud sometimes changed the offensive term *Min* into *Kuthi* (Samaritan), or *Zeduki* (Sadducean). As a rule our author follows the safe guidance of Bacher, *Die Aggada der Tannaim und Amoräer*. The attitude taken by the rabbis toward the heathen and the gnostic heresies, and toward pagan practices is almost identical with that of the Church Fathers.

Down to the second century the social relations between Christians and Jews were for the most part friendly. With the Hadrianic war strife and hatred began, and it is this spirit which is reflected in the Fourth Gospel and the later insertions of the other gospels. Of course the Jews on their part spoke with derision of Jesus the Magician, and of the witchcraft practiced in their cures by his followers. The trinitarian dogma of the church is never alluded to in the Talmudic polemics. It was on the one hand the sexual abuses of the gnostics that offended the rabbis of Palestine, and on the other the dogma of the divinity of Christ.

In regard to the Resurrection the rabbis of the Talmud and the Fathers of the church use the same arguments and illustrations (p. 120-30). In defending the ceremonial laws against Pauline antinomianism the rabbis occasionally reiterate the pleadings of Philo, accentuating the ethical basis which is universal, and admitting even the pedagogical character of the sacrificial cult, but rejecting the allegorizations of the Mosaic law to which the Church Fathers resorted while assuming its divine origin.

Quite valuable also for the modern Jew is the chapter dealing with the question, whether, as both heathen and Christians claim, God in destroying temple and state has therewith forsaken Israel. It points out that the unparalleled Jewish loyalty and martyrdom are the best proofs that God is with his chosen ones whose optimism is pledge of their future triumph. Also the last chapter on "Israel's History and Religion" furnishes valuable material against the charges of anti-Semitism. In contrast to Friedländer who, through a one-sided study of Hellenism, has become a fierce antagonist of Pharisaic Judaism, our author sees in Hellenism an antagonist of the Jewish faith, whereas as a matter of fact without the Hellenistic elements in Talmud and Midrash, Judaism would have become fossilized legalism. The philosophy of Hellas broadened the teaching of the synagogue without leading to church dogmatism.

K. KOHLER

CINCINNATI, OHIO

NEW LITERATURE ON THE SEPTUAGINT¹

The study of the Septuagint has at no time stood still; but a new stimulus has been given to it by the undertakings of the Cambridge University Press. After Swete's smaller edition and introduction we have now received the first part of the larger edition. The painstaking labor of the editors and printers cannot be too highly praised; and the price is extremely cheap for so toilsome an undertaking. But its scope must be always kept in mind. It is no critical edition of the text, not even an attempt at its reconstruction, but is in the main—a very few readings excepted—a repetition of the text of the smaller edition, which gave, up to 47:28, the text of the Codex Alexandrinus, and then that of the Vaticanus. My own *Septuagintastudien* V (1907) gave a few results of a fresh collation of the Alexandrinus. Thus we have now firm ground under our feet here.²

And the apparatus, too, is very rich and accurate. All uncial manuscripts known at the time of the publication, a good selection of the cursives, the versions, and the most important writers have been used. Few readers will fully recognize the amount of labor bestowed on this apparatus. A

¹ *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Text of Codex Vaticanus*. Supplemented from Other Uncial Manuscripts, with a Critical Apparatus, Containing the Variants of the Chief Ancient Authorities for the Text of the Septuagint. Edited by Alan England Brooke and Norman McLean. Vol. I, The Octateuch; Part I, "Genesis." Cambridge: The University Press, 1906. viii + 155 pages. \$2.50.

² Except the division into sections and punctuation; see *Septuagintastudien* V, pp. 6 ff., and note as a curious example 8:21, 22, where A Chrys and the Aldine and Sixtine editions connect *πᾶσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς γῆς* with *καθὼς ἐποίησα*. This has been overlooked or neglected even by de Lagarde in his *Genesis Graece*.

symbol, for instance, as "Eus $\frac{1}{16}$ Chr $\frac{1}{16}$ Or-gr $\frac{1}{16}$ " at 1:26, fills little space, but it tells us that fifteen quotations from Eusebius, thirty-three from Chrysostom, and eleven in the Greek parts of Origen have been verified for the passage. A closer scrutiny will, of course, detect some lacunae. No mention is made of the fact that Josephus, one of the most important witnesses, placed the birth of Arpachshad in the twelfth, not in the second, year after the Flood (11:10). The important chronologist Julius Africanus is completely neglected. In 4:26 he has *πρῶτος* as does Origen (and Philo), but after *θεοῦ*. For 6:2 he suggests *ἄγγελοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, stating that in some manuscripts he found *οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ*. In 11:12, 13 he omits all mention of Cainan, and in 25:2 the sixth son of Keturah; stating expressly that Abraham had from her *υἱὸς πέντε*. By the way, attention may be called to the fact that most writers on the chronology of Genesis still give 2242 for the Septuagint number of years from Adam to the Flood (Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, I, 197; *Encyclopedia Biblica*, 776 (GB); *Protestantische Real-Encyclopädie*, 21, 645). This rests on the reading of the Sixtine edition and Origen (see V), giving in 5:25 "167," instead of "187," the latter being attested by Demetrius, Josephus, Julius Africanus, and the corrector of the Codex Alexandrinus. But that 167 is wrong (in my *Septuagintastudien*, V, p. 1, I took another view), probably resting on a combination of the 187 in M and 67 in the Samaritan, is proved by the fact that the better manuscripts which have it, nevertheless kept the number 782 to make up the 969 years of Methuselah, while only later was it changed into 802 (see text and margin of V). In this case the first hand of the Codex Alexandrinus apparently had the wrong readings, the corrector, and therefore also the text of Brooke and McLean, the right ones. But in many places the right readings must be determined from the apparatus, and in such cases it would be a great boon for the less experienced reader if the editors were to mark such readings as they consider right with some sign. The desire to save cost has relegated important notes to the foot of the pages, where, as experience shows, they are frequently overlooked.

This edition will stand worthily with the edition of Holmes-Parsons. The latter, however, will retain its value for the specialist, as will Lagarde's *Genesis Graece*. Still less is Field's edition of the Hexapla superseded by the fragments gathered by Brooke and McLean from their manuscripts. One way in which the new edition must be used has been shown by Johannes Dahse in two "Textkritische Studien," published in the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1908, 18 ff., 161-73. The manuscripts must be classified so as to ascertain the origins of the texts. Their most important use is their help in the restoration of the Hebrew text.

At present grammatical studies on the later Greek are in vogue. Helbing's *Grammar*³ has been hailed, like that of Mayser on the papyri, with much praise; dare I say with too much praise? From the standpoint of the classical linguist Wackernagel pointed out several weak points in the book of Helbing (see *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1908, 23). But the Greek Bible is an "east-western" book, and demands for its understanding a knowledge of the eastern languages. How can one treat of Egyptian Greek without any reference to Coptic, and of the Septuagint without Aramaic? For example: Helbing speaks of the assimilation of *ἐν* in composition (p. 16); in Coptic we find the *ν* preserved, as in NKAKON, and changed into *γ* as in *ἐγκρατής*. Other instances are the discussions on p. 22 on the preservation of *μ* in *ἐλήμφθην* (cf. Coptic *nimphin*—*νήφην*); on the aspiration of words like *ἐλπίς*, *ἴσος* (cf. Coptic *helpis*, *hisos*), and the transliteration in Latin and Syriac). That Moses is called *Μωϋσῆς* and *Μωϋσῆς* has its full parallel in the name of the Egyptian God Thot, spell *Θωυθ* and *Θωθ*, the latter form used according to Eusebius (*Præp. Ev.*, i. 9, 24) by the Alexandrians; (see *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 27, 112). Whether the infinitive of the contract verbs in *-όν* ends in *-όν* is not considered; in Coptic we find *μαστιγγόν*.

Turning to the chapter on the transliteration of Hebrew proper names, we find facts stated but not explained; e. g., Baal, and in compositions mostly Beel-; the latter form is Aramaic; *ἀδωναί*, but *Σινᾶ*; the latter is Arabic. As to aspiration, Helbing recommends the adoption of the rule of Westcott-Hort: "We, therefore, put for *℣* and *℞* the spiritus-lenis; for *Ⲁ*, *Ⲑ* and *ⲑ*, the asper;" as if it were not the first duty of a grammarian to gather the facts of tradition, and then to see whether they may be brought under certain rules.

But apart from this lack of reference to the oriental languages, not even the Greek materials are sufficiently attended to. One cannot write on the Septuagint without Holmes-Parsons; but there is no use of these volumes. In the Book of Judges we have two totally different translations in A and B; they are treated as a unity (cf. p. 54 on *ἀγαθώτερος*, p. 97 on *ἐγένετο*, *ἐγενήθη*). A uses *ἐγενήθη* fifteen times where B has *ἐγένετο*, against five cases vice versa. For the forms in *-σαν*, p. 67, *ἐπεδράμοσαν* and *ἐτίλλοσαν* are quoted from the Psalms of Solomon. There might have been added *ἐφύγοσαν* from 11:5. But we find no word on the attestation of the manuscripts for these forms; as a matter of fact, they are found only in the manuscripts V and C.

³ *Grammatik der Septuaginta*. Laut- und Wortlehre. Von Robert Helbing. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1907. 149 pages. M. 6.

On p. 51 $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ = $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$ is called a singularity of codex B. Compare, however, $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\alpha$, $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu \sigma\phi\acute{o}\nu$, in the Psalms of Solomon, 3:10; 8:23; but again only in the manuscript V. Helbing is inclined to consider this $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ as original; but it is quite premature to treat the orthographical and grammatical phenomena of these manuscripts as those of the authors, instead of the copyists. The very fact that they occur likewise in the Old and in the New Testament makes against this treatment. It is a pity that von Soden treated these questions almost without reference to the Old Testament, and now Helbing vice versa, without referring to the New. Again it is not safe to treat the Septuagint or even a single book of it as a unity. Thackeray has shown that we must distinguish different hands in the version of the Prophets; but he must be supplemented now by Köhler's investigations published under the modest name of *Beobachtungen*⁴ on Jer. 1-9. He has taken the formula יהוה יי דינא , so frequent in Jeremiah. He has found it rendered by $\epsilon\lambda\pi\epsilon\nu \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, and $\phi\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$. He finds $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ before Jer. 30:1, sixty-nine times; after it, four times; $\epsilon\lambda\pi\epsilon\nu \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ or $\phi\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ before Jer. 30:1, once; after it, twenty-seven times. Certainly this cannot be accidental. Thackeray had already fixed the change of hands at 28:69, a little too early according to Köhler, whose observation proves that the different order of the contents in Jeremiah is not due to the Greek translations, but existed in their Hebrew original.

Space forbids to enter more fully into these questions: or to dwell upon the merits of the investigations of Psichari⁵ and Sterenberg.⁶ The book of Helbing is valuable as a collection of materials, especially from the papyri; but it is not exact enough (many of the quotations are disfigured through misprints). I am glad to learn, as I write, that R. Meister has published a much-needed *Prolegomena to a Grammar of the Septuagint*.⁷ I have not seen the work as yet, but I gather from the subtitle that he treats (1) of the textual question; (2) of the influence of the Hebrew original; (3) of the linguistic differences in the several books. This seems to be exactly what we want. We need a minute comparison, for instance, of the two versions

⁴ *Beobachtungen am hebräischen und griechischen Text von Jeremia, Kap. 1-9*. I. Inauguraldissertation. Von Ludwig Koehler. Leipzig: Drugulin, 1908. 40 pages.

⁵ *Essai sur le Grec de la Septante*. Par Jean Psichari. Paris: Klincksieck, 1908.

⁶ *The Use of Conditional Sentences in the Alexandrian Version of the Pentateuch*. Inaugural Dissertation. By James Sterenberg. Munich: Straub, 1908. 69 pages.

⁷ *Prolegomena zu einer Grammatik der Septuaginta*. Von R. Meister (Wiener Studien XXIX, 27.)

of Judges and of Ezra, a minute comparison of the fragments of Aquila and Symmachus—Helbing has references to them, but no systematic comparison; then we may push our way backward to the original Septuagint.

EBERHARD NESTLE

MAULBRONN, GERMANY

THE ESCHATOLOGICAL TEACHINGS OF JESUS

Dr. Sharman has furnished a noteworthy contribution to the study of one of the most complex problems presented by the Synoptic Gospels.¹ Important work upon the eschatological conceptions of Jesus had already been done by competent scholars, work, by the way, which finds no mention at all in Dr. Sharman's pages. But certainly the conclusions reached were vague and hesitating. That cannot be said of the present investigation. Its tone, indeed, is anything but dogmatic. Its processes are carried out, for the most part, with caution and restraint. But whether its methods or its positions be accepted or not, the author has reached certain very definite results which he has formulated with all the lucidity that could be desired.

The book is fundamentally based on a very able and very laborious analysis of the sources. With such care and skill has this been attempted, that the investigation has most important bearings upon the Synoptic Problem as a whole. As evidence of the wide range kept in view it may be mentioned that the first chapter, which deals with "The Sources and Their History," occupies one hundred pages, more than one-fourth of the entire discussion. Dr. Sharman has adopted as the foundation of his source-criticism the analysis of documents reached by Professor E. D. Burton in his remarkable dissertation, *Some Principles of Literary Criticism and Their Application to the Synoptic Problem*. One may refer in passing to the inexplicable ignoring of these results in recent German works on the Synoptic Problem. It is interesting to note that Dr. Sharman had his material ready for publication before the appearance of Burton's treatise. Accepting Burton's results, he was obliged practically to rewrite his material, "though the conclusions previously reached, both in general and in particular, were unaffected" (preliminary "Statement"). For the convenience of readers, Burton's main documents, G, P, M, and a section of Mark, are printed in sheets, and supplied with the book. This immensely facilitates a comprehension of the method employed.

There can be little doubt that the author has adopted that method which,

¹ *The Teaching of Jesus About the Future, according to the Synoptic Gospels*. By Henry Burton Sharman, Ph.D. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909. xiv + 382 pages. \$3.26.

if used with caution and insight, promises the most permanent achievement. Scholars occupying the most divergent standpoints have long since recognized that (to quote Dr. Sharman) "Those sayings of Jesus which dealt with the future, especially the future bounded by the lifetime of his hearers, would be less likely to retain the form given them by Jesus than sayings that had to do with other general or particular moral or religious problems" (p. 55; see also pp. 100, 138). The chief modifying influences would be, on the one hand, "the active hopes and longings" of the disciples, on the other, "the course of history as it actually did develop." Dr. Sharman believes that these modifications can be discovered more or less by a minute scrutiny and comparison of the reports in various documents. The source M, a document which Burton restricts to Matthew, and which he identifies with the Logia of Matthew mentioned by Papias, is discovered to have "a strong eschatological tendency" (p. 35). This is also found to hold good of P (the "Perean" Source), as used by Matthew in contrast with Luke. Hence the Gospel of Matthew seems to be largely responsible for much of the eschatological coloring found in certain parables and discourses of Jesus (see especially p. 88).

It is obvious that this method leaves room for a large amount of subjectivity. And the author has not escaped the inevitable temptation to find difficulties where there are none. Take, e. g., the Baptist's message as found in G (Burton's Galilean Source) and in Mark. In G, §1 (=Matt. 3:7-12; Luke 3:7-9, 16-17), in the saying, "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire," Sharman thinks that the phrase, "the Holy Ghost" was taken by Matthew and Luke from Mark, and was "wholly foreign to the fundamental thought of G, §1" (p. 20). But surely the baptism which, after a process of sifting, leads up to the gathering of the wheat into the garner, is in no sense incompatible with the presence and power of the Holy Spirit. Surely to any mind, steeped as John's must have been, in Old Testament prophecy, the Holy Spirit must have appeared an indispensable factor in the messianic cycle of events. Another example of what seems to us the same limitation of view may be cited. Dr. Sharman tries to prove that Jesus, in speaking of Gehenna, has never anything in view except the Valley of Hinnom, or the "depository of the city offal" (p. 257). Hence a passage such as Matt. 10:28 (=Matthaean P, §20) must have introduced the idea of the "soul" in addition to the "body" from eschatological tendencies. And so in this and in other places (e. g., Matt. 18:8, 9; Mark 9:42-48), "there is given to the term Gehenna a new content" (p. 261). Surely the gravity of tone which is discernible in all these utterances of Jesus could scarcely be explained on the author's hy-

pothesis. This "new content," as he admits, is found in apocalyptic literature, and it does not alter the situation to say that the date of that literature "must be conjectured" (p. 262). An examination of the occurrences of the term, e. g., in the Book of Enoch, shows conclusively that it had this sense in pre-Christian times. A large number of further instances might be adduced in which, in our judgment, Dr. Sharman has not done justice to the data.

But many most valuable results emerge as the result of the minute analysis and comparison of sources. Thus, to give a few brief references, it is made highly probable that the explanation of the parable of the Wheat and the Tares, which belongs to document M, is not an integral part of the parable, but a later Christian exposition which really ignores the central element in Jesus' teaching here, namely "the interpenetration of good by bad" in the kingdom, "until the harvest" (p. 233). Exceedingly suggestive is the reconstruction of Jesus' final discourse on the future (especially pp. 205-13). We have no space to give details, but it is sufficient to say that into this most difficult section of the Synoptics, Dr. Sharman, by his comparative method, has brought admirable clearness and coherence, without the need of any violent handling of the text. All further work on this theme will have to reckon with his analysis.

Controversy will inevitably be roused by the results which have been reached regarding Jesus' conception of the kingdom of God, for these are in direct antithesis to the favorite eschatological theory, in which so many have blindly followed Schweitzer and Johannes Weiss. Sharman's conclusions furnish a very necessary correction. We may briefly summarize them: "(1) Jesus regarded the kingdom as already present in some degree, initiated and exemplified by himself; (2) He forecast its extensive spread within the lifetime of his disciples; (3) He conceived of its beginnings, compared with its ultimate extent, as like the smallest seed relative to the greatest herb; (4) He gave no precise definitions as to the bounds of the kingdom, save as these are suggested by 'from the east and west, and from the north and south;' (5) He opposed clearly and strongly the eschatological and catastrophic conceptions of the kingdom held by John the Baptist and his contemporaries; (6) He treated as wholly chimerical the other current conception, namely, that the kingdom would be ushered in through a universal repentance resulting from some prophetic message and activity; (7) Jesus forecast two most significant historical developments as destined to have their realization within the generation, (a) the destruction of Jerusalem, (b) the widespread growth of the kingdom; (8) Incidental to his treatment of the former, he endeavored to forewarn his disciples against

messianic claimants in the time of the war by a sketch of the day of the Son of Man which gave denial to all future specious promises by these claimants, but professed complete ignorance of the time of that day" (pp. 326, 327). This quotation indicates the wealth of important material to be found in Dr. Sharman's exhaustive discussion, a discussion which is of high value even for those who are obliged to differ from the author in regard to many of his detailed results.

H. A. A. KENNEDY

KNOX COLLEGE
TORONTO, CAN.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, one of the most interesting pseudepigraphs of the Old Testament, was condemned by the early Christian church along with the other Apocrypha of the Old and New Testaments.

For several centuries the document was wholly lost sight of, and it was not till the thirteenth century that it was rediscovered through the agency of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, who translated it into Latin, under the misconception that it was a genuine work of the twelve sons of Jacob, and that the Christian interpolations were a genuine product of Jewish prophecy. The advent of the Reformation brought in critical methods, and the book was unjustly disparaged as a mere Christian forgery for nearly four centuries. The time has at last come for this book, so noble in its ethical side, to come into its own, and the text with all the documentary authorities is now laid before the student.

Thus Professor Charles on p. ix of the Introduction, §1, of his edition of the Greek text of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, which was preceded by an edition of the English translation, both books being published in 1908.¹ The two volumes appearing, thus, almost simultaneously are a new evidence of the great learning and scholarly sagacity of the Grinfield lecturer on the Septuagint in the University of Oxford, the worthy successor of Edwin Hatch and others.

A critical edition of the Greek text of these Testaments, on the basis of all the attainable Greek manuscripts and the extant versions, has long been a felt want. To be sure, nearly forty years ago, the learned Dr. Robert Sinker published a careful reproduction of the Cambridge MS of

¹ *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Edited from nine MSS, together with the variants of the Armenian and Slavonic versions and some Hebrew fragments. By R. H. Charles. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1908. 1x+324 pages. 18s.—*The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Translated from the editor's Greek text and edited, with introduction, notes, and indices. By R. H. Charles. London: Black, 1908. xcix+1+247 pages. 15s.

the tenth century,² with the variants of the Oxford manuscript of the fourteenth century.³ Ten years later the same scholar edited collations of a Vatican (Vaticanus Graecus 731) and a Patmos manuscript.⁴ But he made no attempt to deal with the relations of the MSS to each other and to the archetypes, from which they were derived. The manuscript evidence was, indeed, hardly adequate for such a task, and moreover, the presuppositions under which he and others worked—that these testaments were written originally in Greek and by a Christian author—precluded the possibility of ever attaining to a satisfactory text. To set aright these erroneous presuppositions is, in the main, the burden of the two introductions, of which that of the text edition (called, for convenience, Vol. I) numbers 21 sections, and that of the translation volume (Vol. II), 27 paragraphs. In the introduction to Vol. I, textual and philological questions are of prime importance, while in Vol. II are mainly treated the origin, composition, literary history, and theological content of the Testaments. Inasmuch as many of the sections in the two introductions are practically identical, it will be convenient for the better understanding to indicate the sections of the translation volume with Roman numerals wherever they differ from those in Vol. I. When both are the same, only the Arabic figures are used.

The introductions, thus, contain: (1) A short account of the book. It was written in Hebrew in the last quarter of the second century B. C.,⁵ by a Chasid on behalf of the high-priesthood of the great Maccabean family, and especially on behalf of the messianic claims of John Hyrcanus, who, according to Josephus, was the only Israelite who enjoyed the triple offices of prophet, priest, and king. But its claims to historical importance, however, are overshadowed by its still greater claims of being the sole representative of the loftiest ethical standard ever attained by pre-Christian Judaism, and as such attesting the existence of a type of religious thought in pre-Christian Judaism that was the natural preparation for the ethics of the New Testament and especially of the Sermon on the Mount. The book thus comes forward now as second in importance to none composed between 200 B. C. and the Christian era; (2) the Greek MSS, nine in

² It was from this manuscript that Grosseteste's Latin version was made. His handwriting, according to Dr. James, is found on the margin.

³ Bodley MS Baroccio 133.

⁴ MS 411 in the library of the monastery of St. John the Evangelist, a sixteenth-century codex.

⁵ More definitely, between the years 109 and 106 B. C. See, however, Schürer, in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1908, No. 18, col. 510.

all. Of five, namely the two Vatican, the Athos, of the tenth century,⁶ the Paris MS 938, of the tenth century, and one of the two Sinaitic codices, the editor has had photographic reproductions at his disposal, something thus far unheard of in the production of a theological work; (3) Armenian manuscripts there are many, eight of which the editor has made use of; (4) the Armenian version, following in general the readings of class β of the Greek recensions, is found in two forms. Over and above the verbal and scribal differences common to all, there are certain important sections where the differences between the two forms go back to the Greek. In some instances the Armenian version is of value as it shows in a lesser degree the Christian insertions, affording a great help for the study of the gradual growth of these Christian additions. Occasionally also it preserves the only correct text, e. g., supplying Joseph 19:3-9, and Benj. 2:6-8, wanting in all the Greek manuscripts; (5) only one edition of the Armenian translation has been published in 1896, by H. Sargis Josepheanz, whose work, while careless and uncritical in many instances, has yet lightened the labors of his successors; (6) the chief aid toward our knowledge of the Armenian version has been rendered by F. C. Conybeare, so well known to readers of this *Journal*, in his contributions to the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1896, Vol. VIII, pp. 260-68 and 471-85. In these articles Conybeare has retranslated into Greek or Latin the chief variants of three Armenian manuscripts. Other scholars contributing along these lines, are Paul Hunanian, Erwin Preuschen, and Issaverdens; (7, 8) the Slavonic version is very late and based in general on the text of β_1 of the Greek recensions. The Slavonic is also found in two recensions primarily taken from the so-called Palea (Greek Παλαιά), which contain short accounts of events mentioned in the Old Testament with the addition of traditional stories and comments of the fathers of the Church; (9) the Greek version is found in two distinct forms (α and β) which again rest on two recensions (H^a and H^b) of the Hebrew original (H).⁷ The first form (α) is represented by 3 manuscripts.⁸ Though freer from Christian interpolations than the second form (β),⁹ it, nevertheless, shows

⁶ Important as it contains three large additions of Jewish or Christian origin. The second of these is the remarkable Greek fragment, printed in Appendix 3 of Vol. I, which the editor shows to be a translation from a Hebrew work, probably an original source of the Testaments.

⁷ See, however, Schürer, *op. cit.*, cols. 509, 510.

⁸ A Vatican and two Sinaitic codices.

⁹ Represented by the remaining six manuscripts, which, again, fall into two distinct groups (β_1 and β_2) of which only one (β_2) has the interpolated text of Zebulun 6:4-6, 7:1-8:3; cf. also Zeb. 9:8.

many signs of the Christian scribe's activity in this direction. One notable corruption of the text occurs in Test. Jud. 12:6-10 where α has omitted the text of the Testament and substituted in its stead an abbreviated form of the LXX of Gen. 38:20, 24-30;¹⁰ (10) editions of the Greek version were published by Grabe (1698), Fabricius (1713), Gallandi (1788), and Sinker (1869); (xi) modern translations of the Greek version and (xii) critical inquiries, with a bibliography from Grabe (1698) to Wilhelm Bousset (1900);—(11=xiii) and (12=xiv). All other students, till within the last few years, assumed that the Testaments were written originally in Greek and by a Christian author. This precluded the possibility of ever attaining to a satisfactory text. By means of the Armenian version Conybeare established the high probability that all the Christian allusions in the Testaments are the interpolations of Christian scribes in an originally Jewish work. Herein he confirmed the earlier hypothesis of Grabe and Schnapp. The proposition of a Hebrew original was first suggested by Grabe and later by Kohler,¹¹ and again by Gaster, but more fully and elaborately by the present editor in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. I, pp. 237-41. The Hebrew form, again, existed in two recensions from which the two Greek groups α and β were derived independently, their differences not originating in the Greek; (13) linguistic character of the Greek version. Here the editor brings forward only the chief characteristics, discussing the peculiar use of certain nouns, etc., and of phrases; prepositions and particles; and Hebraisms; (14=xv) and (15=xviii), date of the original Hebrew and of the Greek version. The former is assumed to be about 109-106 B. C. The α version appears to have been translated first, indeed, before 50 A. D., for it was used by our Lord, and quoted by Paul¹² and the other New Testament writers. The date of β cannot be ascertained; but it seems to be certain that the translator who rendered the second Hebrew recension into Greek made use of α ; (16) the title of the book, which was probably *Διαθήκαι τῶν Πατριάρχων* (xvii); integrity, authorship, and sources. The groundwork, about eleven-twelfths of the Testaments, is the work of a single writer of the Pharisaic school of the earlier type, a Chasid. He has drawn freely on earlier books and traditions, showing a wide acquaintance with the Old Testament, Sirach, and Enoch, and has made use of several works, some of which have come down to us in a more or less corrupt form; (17=xix) Jewish additions to the text were

¹⁰ Other omissions in α are Reuben 2:3b-4a; Levi 9:2b, 11b, 14b; 12:5-7; 13, 2; Jud. 3:4; 6:1, 2; Naphtali 8:4b, 6c.

¹¹ *Jew. Quart. Rev.*, 1893, Vol. V, pp. 400-6.

¹² Thus, Rom. 1:32 from Test. Ash. 6:2; I Pet. 2:16 from Levi 6:11.

written about 70-40 B. C., with the object of overthrowing the Maccabean high-priesthood, which in the first century had become guilty of all lewdness and baseness. A few other additions there were, also, which are of various dates and spring from various sources; (18=xx) in the second and the following centuries the work was interpolated by Christian scribes. Of these additions Charles mentions upward of thirty.¹³ (19=xxi) Midrash *Wajjissau* containing Hebrew fragments of the Testament of Judah is printed in Appendix 1 of Vol. I, pp. 235-38; (20=xxii) the late Hebrew Testament of Naphtali containing fragments of the ancient testament is discussed quite fully, the editor differing radically from Gaster¹⁴ who believed that in this Hebrew text "we have undoubtedly the original version of the Testament, free from any interpolation." Charles prints the text in Appendix 2 of Vol. I, pp. 239-44, and an English version in Vol. II, Appendix 1, pp. 221-27; (21=xxiii) Aramaic and Greek fragments¹⁵ containing phrases and clauses from an original (?) source of the Testament of Levi and the Book of Jubilees. Concerning these fragments Charles maintains that they are versions of a common Hebrew¹⁶ original, neither being a translation of the other.

With this section and the addition of two pages of Corrigenda, the introduction of Vol. I closes. In the second volume there follow four most interesting sections dealing with the influence of the Testaments on Jewish and on patristic literature (xxiv, xxv). They have left much trace on either literature. The Christian writers who made use of the work were Hermas, Irenaeus, Origen, Tertullian, Jerome, the Apostolic Order, the Church canons. The Testaments are mentioned among the Apocrypha in the Stichometry of Nicephorus, in the Synopsis of Athanasius, and in the anonymous list of canonical books published by Montfaucon. (xxvi) The influence of the Testaments on the New Testament was considerable.¹⁷

¹³ Schürer, *loc cit.*, cols. 510, 511 maintains a much larger percentage of interpolations of this character.

¹⁴ *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. XVI, 1893-94, December, pp. 33-49; January-February, pp. 109-17.

¹⁵ Printed in Appendix 3 of Vol. I, pp. 245-56, and translated in Appendix 2 of Vol. II pp. 228-35. On Appendices 2 and 3 of Vol. I see, especially, Schürer in *Theol. Litsig*, *loc. cit.*, cols. 507, 508.

¹⁶ Siegmund Fraenkel, however, maintains that the Aramaic fragments are translations of a Syriac original: *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1907, No. 17, col. 475.

¹⁷ Of the sayings and discourses of our Lord in Matthew these are from the Testaments: 18:15, 35; 22:37-39; 5:28; 6:16, 22, 23; 5:42; 7:2; 5:19 (The Sermon on the Mount); 12:35-45; 19:28, 29; 25:33, 34, 35, 36; 22:15; 26:70 (cf. Mark 14:68); 27:6, 51; Luke 1:78; 2:19, 37, 52; 6:10; 10:19, 20; 12:45; 15:17; 16:2; 17:3; 22:27, 31; 24:32; Acts 7:10, 16; 8:23; 12:11; 14:23, etc.

Paul was thoroughly familiar with the Greek translation of the Testaments. His epistles are dependent, occasionally, both as regards matter and form, or as regards these severally, on the Greek version of the Testaments derived from H^a. In proof, Charles quotes 36 passages from the Pauline epistles and gives in parallel columns the corresponding passages from the Testaments. A list of words is also added which are common to the Testaments and the Pauline epistles, but are not found in the rest of the New Testament. James, I and II Peter, and Jude, as well as John, Gospel and the Revelation, have passages and words in common with the Testaments. (xxvii) In the closing paragraph of the introduction to Vol. II¹ the editor dwells on the author's teaching regarding forgiveness, the two great commandments—the duty of loving God and our neighbor—universalism of salvation, the Messiah, the resurrection, demonology, the Anti-Christ, all of which shows that pre-Christian Judaism possessed a noble system of ethics. But when Pharisaism, breaking with the ancient ideals of its party, committed itself to political interests and movements, and concurrently therewith surrendered itself more and more wholly to the study of the letter of the law, it soon ceased to offer scope for the further development of such a lofty system of ethics as the Testaments attest, and so the true successors of the early Chasids and their teaching quitted Judaism and found their natural home in the bosom of primitive Christianity.

To be sure, many points urged by Charles in support of his views and a number of proofs adduced to strengthen his position cannot be taken for granted at once and await further discussion. But, on the whole, the editor and translator presents a most striking picture and gives a most plausible account of the situation as he conceives it. If, however, Schürer's contention, in his *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*³, Vol. III, p. 259, etc., and *Theolog. Literaturzeitung*, 1908, No. 18, cols. 510, 511, that the sentences and sections containing this "loftiest ethical standard ever attained in pre-Christian Judaism" are mostly of Christian origin and later additions, is correct, Charles's whole position becomes untenable.

The introduction in Vol. I is followed by the Greek text of the Testaments, pp. 1-233, with all the variant readings and critical notes of a textual or philological character. These variant readings, in many instances, occupy from one-half to three-fourths of the closely printed page. The body of the text represents α , i. e., the Greek translation of H^a. Where words are printed in heavy type the reader is to understand that the text of β differs, and that this is found in the margin. Only the chief variants are thus denoted. Occasionally the readings of β are found in the text, especially in all the cases where α is lacking. At times the texts of the two

recensions differ so widely as to necessitate their printing in full in parallel columns, and several times we find a third column representing the Armenian text as an independent witness. The whole is a most astounding result of the happy union of philological acumen and indefatigable industry.

The text, again, is followed by six appendices, the first three of which have been mentioned before; Appendix 4, pp. 257-62, contains the Christian, strongly anti-Semitic additions by the hand of the Slavonic scribe of that first recension. These are retranslated into Greek from the *Palea* of the year 1477, preserved in the synodical library at Moscow. Appendix 5, pp. 263-94, gives the retranslation, into Greek, of the second or shorter of the two Slavonic versions, by the great Slavic scholar, Professor William Richard Morfill. Appendix 6, pp. 295-97, contains a collation of the second Sinaitic MS, discovered by Mrs. Gibson in the spring of 1906, in cases where it diverges from the Mount Sinai MS No. 547, for the Testaments of Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah, 1-20. A Greek index, the work of Miss Poole, pp. 299-324, concludes this splendid sample of scholarly workmanship.

The English translation is printed in Vol. II, pp. 1-218, together with a philological and historical commentary, a truly pioneer work in the interpretation of the Testaments. An index of passages from the Scriptures and other ancient works directly connected or closely paralleled with the text (pp. 237-40), and an index of names and subjects (pp. 241-47) are at the close of his second volume.

In conclusion, we beg leave to join the host of students of both Testaments, the Old and the New, who have now, or will shortly, express their sincere thanks to the editor and translator for this, the most important contribution toward the true reading and interpretation of the text of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and give voice to the hearty appreciation of the spirit which pervades both volumes from beginning to end.

W. MUSS-ARNOLT

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THE PERSON OF JESUS AND MODERN SCHOLARSHIP

One of the ablest exponents of the progressive movement in English theological thought has recently discussed from the modern standpoint the chief problems about the person of Jesus.¹ An introductory chapter on the sources concerns itself chiefly with determining the value of the Fourth Gospel. Since an erroneous interpretation of Jesus has usually

Jesus: Seven Questions. By J. Warschauer. London: James Clarke & Co., 1908. 302 pages. 3s. 6d.

proceeded upon the supposition that this gospel is genuine history, it seemed desirable to point out clearly that it is not really an early historical document but an early theology. The Synoptic Gospels are also used critically; but to just what extent they are purely historical is a problem that might well have been given more attention.

The main content of the book treats seven questions about Jesus: Was he the Son of God? Was he sinless? Did he work miracles? Could he forgive sins? Is belief in him necessary to salvation? Did he rise from the dead? Did he die for us? The question of his divine sonship is answered in the affirmative, but the relationship is essentially ethical. Jesus' physical origin was not at all different from that of other men. The doctrine of the virgin birth is not an integral part of the New Testament records; in fact, it is contradicted by the bulk of the gospels as well as by the testimony of Paul's letters and the Acts; but Jesus' will so harmonized with the divine that the spirit dwelt in him without measure and thus he was the true Son of God—the supreme and crowning instance of the divine immanence. He is not essentially unlike other men in kind but vastly different from them in the degree of his divinity, hence "it is he and none besides who has for us the value of God." It follows naturally that he was sinless, not because he was so born that he could not sin but because his choice of God was so absolute that he did not. That he must be a sinner if a regular member of humanity is not granted, since all theories about a historic "Fall," original sin, and total depravity are foreign to the genius of modern thought. The ruling ideas of our age are also inclined to discredit miracles; they can be accepted only on such evidence as may be regarded sufficient to substantiate other statements in the field of history. When submitted to such tests Jesus' exercise of the gift of healing is found to be the historic basis for the miraculous element in the gospels and all else is legend; but this power to heal did not differ in kind from that which other good men of his day possessed, and was dependent for its effect upon the patient's own mental attitude. All this Jesus himself understood and his primary purpose was not to display his power but to help the needy. Moreover, he shocked the religionists of his day by boldly declaring the forgiveness of sins. He felt authoritative in this respect since sin in his view was self-exile from God and could be entirely remedied by a return to God. By the helpful touch of his own personality Jesus awakened in men hope and trust toward the Father who cherished only a desire to pardon the repentant, and forgiveness resulted inevitably when one repented. This is the effect of Jesus' influence both in the past and present—he causes sins to be forgiven by awaking in men the spirit of repentance. This surrender

to his influence is what constitutes true belief in him and so is necessary to salvation, which is itself simply the soul's return to God. The process of salvation is twofold: an establishment of a filial attitude toward God, and a change of character in which the principle of self-giving takes the place of self-seeking; and for all this Jesus gives a new impulse by his precepts, by his example, and by his personality. This powerful personality was too great to be crushed by death; he certainly arose from the dead not physically but spiritually, and manifested his triumph over death in unmistakable fashion to his followers. He had died because of loyalty to his own religious ideals, not to make it possible for an angry divinity to forgive but to show how far self-giving love will go in its effort to help sinful men to see the Father aright. This voluntary self-offering of Jesus has been the greatest of all incentives to right living, "the chiefest of all redemptive forces." Did he die for us? Most assuredly, but his death has supreme significance because it is the climax of a life lived for us.

Such in outline is the content of this important book. It finds Jesus' chief significance in the realm of the ethical and spiritual, interpreting him in line with a metaphysical theory which views God's relation to the world in terms of immanence. Jesus was not an object for worship but the ideal religious man in whom divinity, which appears in others as a mere spark, glowed with full brilliancy. From this standpoint his supreme value for today lies in our knowing and appreciating the real character of his earthly life, and it is therefore important that we should know just what constituted the actual life-content of the historical Jesus. Many who are in sympathy with Warschauer's general attitude will doubtless feel that his treatment is weakest at this point, that is, he has assumed rather than proved that the content of Jesus' life was pervasively religio-ethical. But this is just the item in modern study about Jesus which is in sharpest debate. If it was his claim to messiahship in the eschatological sense, as many think, which gave him uniqueness for his associates, the more sober religious and ethical elements of gospel tradition, if indeed they are not secondary, are not the things that primarily characterized him. Perhaps a chapter on "Was Jesus the Messiah?" would have cleared up these uncertainties. One cannot be too careful in avoiding the temptation to make Jesus a kind of personification of modern religio-ethical ideals without sufficient regard for the actual facts which are attested by the history. Indeed the author seems to have fallen a victim to this temptation in his use of Paul. He concedes that the latter viewed the death of Jesus as expiatory (p. 273), and yet his phrase "on behalf of" is not allowed to support this meaning (p. 291). This is not so certain. If Paul thought Jesus' death expiatory,

and so effecting a change in God's attitude toward us, would it not still be something for our benefit, *on our behalf*? Here it would seem that the modern ethical feeling had been forced too severely upon the apostle. Again, perhaps it is not altogether fortunate to attempt to discuss a modern interpretation of Jesus under the old captions. These do not furnish adequate categories for classifying the new ideas, while the desire to impress the reader with the full significance of the new conceptions may lead one to insert under the older terminology more than properly belongs there.

Denney² emphasizes a different phase of this general subject. He endeavors to demonstrate two propositions: (1) Christianity from the first has existed only in the form of a faith which has Jesus as its object and not at all as a faith which has him as its living pattern. (2) Jesus assumed for himself this position which faith has given him. The former is thought to be proved by a brief survey of Christianity as it is exhibited in the New Testament, and the latter by an extensive study into the self-revelation of Jesus. The Synoptic Gospels, treated in the light of modern criticism, are made the basis of investigation, but many modern critics will not be able to agree with the writer in the conclusions reached with reference to the content of Jesus' self-consciousness. In reading this book one feels that a sane and scholarly advocacy of the traditional interpretation of Jesus is being presented: he is the object of Christian faith, his personality is so unique that we must believe it could transcend the limitations of nature and its laws, he was conscious of being the person through whom prophecy was to be fulfilled and the kingdom of God established, and through his passion he became the Redeemer. Then we turn to the conclusion of the book and are told that every Christian must hold to these things, yet everyone must be at liberty to construct his own Christology. There should be on the one hand unity in thus unreservedly recognizing Christ's place in evangelical faith, and on the other entire intellectual freedom in thinking out what this implies (p. 338). No philosophical presuppositions should be prescribed as fundamental to faith. The real difficulty here in accepting the author's conclusions seems to be in supposing that we can have the sort of attitude demanded without the presence of a certain philosophical position which is fundamentally determinative for any further intellectual exposition of one's thought of Jesus' person. Denney may disclaim that he would demand the acceptance of any particular metaphysical theory on the part of a believer, and yet he does require the acceptance of supernaturalism in one's attitude—a "surrender to the impression of the supernatural" in Jesus' person is

² *Jesus and the Gospel: Christianity Justified in the Mind of Christ.* By James Denney. New York: Armstrong & Son, 1909. xvi + 368 pages. \$2.

possible and necessary for everyone who would have Christian faith. Here is the crux of the whole matter. Such a surrender is possible when one's world-view permits it, otherwise it is impossible; so that the contention of the book rests ultimately upon a question of speculation though it may have been obscured by a skilful handling of the gospel material.

SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

CRITICAL STUDIES OF SOME NEW TESTAMENT PROBLEMS

The point of view of Rutherford's study of two Pauline epistles¹ is indicated by a remark of Professor Hort quoted on p. 24, that the two letters "might be products of the same state of mind. Practically they were written together." By identifying Ephesians with the "letter from Laodicea" of Col. 4:16, the author finds in this hint further evidence of a close relation between the two, and a suggestion of how they came to be written at the same time. Other possible interpretations of that phrase he reviews and rejects. In the discussion he refers to the article of Professor J. Rendel Harris in the *Expository Times* (Vol. XVIII, pp. 392 ff., June, 1907), based on De Bruyne's study of the probable Marcionite origin of the series of Latin prefaces to the Pauline epistles found in some Vulgate MSS. (*Revue Bénédictine*, January, 1907). The preface to Ephesians, it seems, has been rewritten from the accepted orthodox point of view, for in its original form it appears to have been a preface to the epistle to the Laodiceans. This of course accords with Tertullian's testimony (*Adv. Marc.* v. 17) that Marcion gave to this epistle the title, *Ad Laodicenos*.

What we have then are three letters: a personal note to Philemon, a letter to the Christians in Colossae, a circular letter to a group of congregations, Laodicea among them; all carried by one messenger, written therefore at almost the same time, and expressions of the one state of mind. The book is to explain Colossians on the basis of this situation, and after the introduction offers us a useful parallel arrangement of the text. Colossians is printed in full, and opposite each verse in the parallel column are found the passages of Ephesians and Philemon that exhibit similarity whether of thought or language. Parallels are found for practically all of Colossians, while a rough count shows that some four-fifths of Ephesians

¹ *St. Paul's Epistles to Colossae and Laodicea. The Epistle to the Colossians Viewed in Relation to the Epistle to the Ephesians. With introduction and notes by John Rutherford, B.D.* Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribners, 1908. x + 208 pages. \$2.25.

has been printed. While the notes are on Colossians only, attention is called to the parallels in Ephesians, and suggestive references to Johannine ideas (such as the anti-docetic allusion in the *σωματικῶς* of 2:9) help to give the epistle its place in the development of early Christian thought. One cannot help feeling, however, that it is the interpretation of Ephesians, after all, that has most to gain from this theory of the relation of the two epistles. It is not intended to be an exhaustive commentary; the notes have been selected rather with a view to helping toward an intelligent reading of the epistle. While it is perhaps no more convincing than more elaborate discussions, the theory of the relation of the two epistles is presented constructively and in a way that is easy to follow.

HAROLD H. TRYON

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
New York City

No word is needed on Abbott's *Indices to Diatessarica*² further than that their completeness will facilitate use of his *Diatessarica Parts I-VII*. But students of rabbinic legend as (possibly) reflected in the New Testament will be interested in his "Specimen of Research" on the sweetening of the waters of Marah, prefacing the Indices. More ground is covered on the "rock that followed" (I Cor. 10:4) than by Driver or Thackeray, yet in certain rather too clever positions not so convincingly. For instance, the "tree shown" to Moses (Exod. 15:25) is identified with the "bush" that "burned with fire" on Horeb (Exod. 3:2) briefly thus: (1) Moses would not have taken a flock to Horeb, had water not been there (p. xlv). (2) The "bush," growing strong despite the desert heat, i. e., "fire," because of hidden springs (Abbott compares the Arab proverb of the date with "its feet in water and its head in fire," p. xlvii), symbolized to Moses the divine source whence Israel should gain strength to endure and overcome its afflictions (pp. xlviii f., li, lviii ff.). (3) Therefore, Yahweh was described as the one "that dwelleth in the bush" (Deut. 33:16) or "that standeth . . . upon the rock in Horeb" (Exod. 17:6), so simply the "Rock" (pp. xlv-l), i. e., the "Giver of Life," i. e., "Yahweh" (p. lxii). (4) At Marah Yahweh "taught" (not "showed") Moses "the lesson of a tree," i. e., the "bush," "and God" (proper name *El*, not preposition, because a poetic source underlies similar to Num. 21:17 f.; but cf. Lagarde's theory of the derivation of the divine name from the preposition) "cast forth waters

² *Indices to Diatessarica, with a Specimen of Research*. By Edwin A. Abbott. London: Black, 1907. lxiv + 152 pages.

and the waters were" (not "were made") "sweet" (Exod. 15:25; pp. xlii f., li f.); etc. This conception of Yahweh as life-giving Abbott finds controlling in Jesus' thought which the Fourth Gospel correctly reflects; whence the terms, "life" and "living water" (p. lxiii)!

A less clever but more substantial approach to the Fourth Gospel is made in *The Irenaeus Testimony to the Fourth Gospel*.³ I summarize the following points: (1) There was only one John of Asia known to the "presbyters" of subapostolic times (p. 59). The testimony of Georgius Hamartolus and Philippus Sidetes that the apostle John suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Jews is thrown out of court as a late and variant tradition (p. 30, n. 1), though Lewis does not satisfactorily account for such a late variant tradition after what appears to have been a universal belief in the second century that John attained a ripe age and enjoyed a peaceful death. Again, Papias' testimony (Eus., *H. E.*, iii, 39:3 f.), by what seems a misconception of the $\tau\acute{\iota}$ clauses as appositives of identity, not of predicate or specification, hence objective to the verbal noun $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, is made evidence of Papias' knowledge of one John only, because the other apostles, who, for Papias, with John are the presbyters, were dead when Papias wrote, while the apostle, i. e., presbyter, John and Aristion, not a presbyter, were alive (pp. 31 f., n.). (2) Irenaeus as a former student of Polycarp reflected his views on the Fourth Gospel (p. 59) on the evidence of the letter to Florinus (Eus., *H. E.*, v, 20:4-8; pp. 26 ff.). As Irenaeus assumed the author to be the apostle, so Polycarp taught the same. But as he knew the author, his witness establishes the apostle as author or source (pp. 56-60).

But (3) Polycarp knew only of brief sermon narratives (pp. 31-37) written by or under the direction of John and so circulated till after the middle of the second century (hence no quotation in Justin, pp. 36 f.), when edited as one gospel by Polycarp or "at his suggestion . . . as a memorial treasury . . . of the Johannine tradition which no one else so directly preserved" (p. 62). One would like to find such definite external evidence for the existence of independent Johannine sermon narratives as Lewis finds in the $\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \gamma\rho\alpha\phi\alpha\iota\varsigma$ of the letter to Florinus; but probably, in view of Irenaeus' reference to other eye-witnesses of Jesus co-ordinately with John, this should be understood as a reference to writings, held authoritative, from the hands, directly or indirectly, of these eye-witnesses, not from John exclusively.

³ *The Irenaeus Testimony to the Fourth Gospel—Its Extent, Meaning, and Value*, "Historical and Linguistic Studies," Second Series, Vol. I, Part VII. By F. G. Lewis. Ph.D. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1908. 64 pages. \$0.54 postpaid.

In his study of *διαθήκη* (*διατίθεσθαι*)⁴ Norton does a signal service by his careful lexicographical presentation of the classical use of the noun (verb) and by the extended discussion of the origin and development of the Greek conception of the will. The *διαθήκη* was originally a religious institution, the "solemn compact" or covenant, ratified by the phratry, whereby a man without sons adopted an heir. In time this adoption became constructive during the life and actual after the death of the adoptive father. Hence, the *διαθήκη* became the instrument establishing both the constructive and the actual adoption. Norton rightly emphasizes the fact that two parties are involved in the *διαθήκη*, of which one lays down the terms and the other agrees to them, though too much weight is attached to the scholiast's tale on Aristophanes' *Aves*, ll. 440 ff. (pp. 35-38). In view of the double connotation of *διαθήκη* it is easily seen how it rightly renders *berith* and yet lends itself to Paul's usage in Gal. 3:15-18.

RALPH H. FERRIS

CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

RECENT TREATISES ON THEOLOGY

It is difficult to say in a brief compass all that one would like to say of the latest volume in the "International Theological Library."¹ It is the fruit of years of thought by one of our leading American theologians upon the supreme theme of theology, and those who have found inspiration and guidance from Dr. Clarke's other writings have long been looking forward to its appearance with anticipation.

It may be said at once that these expectations are more than fulfilled. *The Christian Doctrine of God* is an instructive book, full of clear thought and independent insight; but it is something better; it is a live book, dealing with realities and not with words merely, and relying for its appeal upon the assent of the reader's own experience. The spirit in which it is written may be gathered from the dedication, *Deus accipiat*.

A striking feature of the book is the absence of any reference to other writers on the same subject. While fully conversant with the literature of his theme, Dr. Clarke cites no one, and controverts no one. He deals with reasons rather than with authorities, and his argument depends for

⁴ *A Lexicographical and Historical Study of Διαθήκη from the Earliest Times to the End of the Classical Period*. "Historical and Linguistic Studies," Second Series, Vol. I, Part VI. By Frederick D. Norton, Ph.D. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1908. 71 pages. \$0.79 postpaid.

¹ *The Christian Doctrine of God*. ("International Theological Library.") By William Newton Clarke, D.D. New York: Scribner, 1909. 12+477 pages. \$2.50.

its power of conviction upon its own inherent luminousness. This gives the book a simplicity and unity refreshing in these days of exaggerated parade of learning, and, if the method has its disadvantages in leaving the reader sometimes in doubt as to the historic relations of the positions taken, the corresponding advantages are so great that he will not be disposed unduly to criticize.

The main subdivisions of the book are four. After an introduction dealing with method and sources, the author discusses in succession the nature of God, his relation to men, his relation to the universe, and, finally, the reasons for believing that such a being as the Christian God exists. While the positions taken are, in substance, those already made familiar to his readers by his earlier book, *An Outline of Christian Theology*, there are numerous changes in detail which are interesting and significant. The section on the nature of God is concerned primarily with his character as Christianity conceives it, which is summed up comprehensively in the three great words, love, holiness, and wisdom, in the unity of which consists the goodness of the one personal God. This holy and loving God reveals himself in his relations to men as Creator, Father, Sovereign, and Savior.

The treatment of the sovereignty of God leads Dr. Clarke to a discussion of the doctrine of providence, and incidentally, of miracle, which he defines strictly in the older sense, as the ability of God, for the sake of his providential purpose, sometimes to depart from the order of nature (p. 204). While admitting that such a departure may have taken place, Dr. Clarke assigns miracle a subordinate place. "The certainties that are the food of eternal life," he tells us, "which alone are essential to religion, are certainties in themselves, of which man can become sure for himself through fellowship with God" (p. 207). Miracles do not fall in this category, and therefore the question whether or no they have occurred is not a vital question in religion (p. 206).

In connection with his discussion of God's saving activity Dr. Clarke is led to consider the doctrine of the Trinity, which, for him, expresses the conception of God to which Christians are naturally led through an analysis of the facts of the redeemed life. We see here a marked change in point of view. Whereas, in the *Outline*, the Trinity was regarded as a truth concerning God in himself (the tri-unity, as Dr. Clarke there phrased it), here all attempts at ontological construction are abandoned, and the full meaning of the doctrine is found in its relation to the personal Christian experience. The Trinity, as Dr. Clarke conceives it, is a doctrine of the redeeming God, and hence can only be rightly apprehended in connection with the experience of salvation.

Passing to the doctrine of freedom, one notes a certain lack of clearness in the definition of terms. Freedom on man's part is declared to be inconsistent with predetermination on the part of God (p. 170), and valiant war is waged against predestination. Yet a doctrine of moral omnipotence is insisted upon as essential to the Christian idea of God, which is, in fact, a doctrine of moral determinism (cf. especially p. 356).

Most interesting of all is Dr. Clarke's discussion of the evidence upon which faith in the Christian God depends. He passes over the old arguments lightly as no longer adequate under the changed conditions of the modern world. He rests his case chiefly upon two lines of reasoning, the evidence from the rational, the immanent teleology which is involved in the very structure of the universe, and which is the implicit assumption of all thought; and the evidence from the spiritual, basing itself upon man's moral and religious nature, which postulates a being akin to man in character, as well as in thought, and finds its complete satisfaction only in the Christian God.

Dr. Clarke is well aware of the practical difficulties of holding such a faith. He looks with open eyes at the familiar facts of sin and suffering and failure, but he believes that a solution of the problems which they suggest is possible. This solution he finds where all devout natures have found it, in the fruits of character which they have produced in those who have met them in the Christian spirit. Our difficulty lies in the fact that there are so many in whom these fruits are not yet apparent. "If we could confidently include the vast movement of sin between a Godworthy origin and a Godworthy outcome, we might sadly wonder on the way, but we could rest in hope" (p. 461). Such hope the Christian doctrine of God makes possible. "Christianity does not accept the dilemma that if God is love he is not almighty, and if he is almighty he is not love. It believes that he is both" (p. 461). And in this faith it finds its solution of the ultimate problems.

WILLIAMS ADAMS BROWN

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
NEW YORK CITY

To the "constant reader" of theological reviews there is a threefold classification which is preliminary to all other canons of evaluation, in approaching any new contribution to theological science. Is the author controlled by the traditional method and point of view, in his treatment? Or, is he under the spell of the modern, critical-scientific interpretative method? Or, is he a "mediating" theologian? President Strong is

readily classified. He pours his old wine into the old bottles, and even retains the old labels and corks. And there is good wine here.

The two volumes which had already appeared of this latest edition of *Systematic Theology*, make the work of the reviewer of the third volume^a superfluous for those who are familiar with Dr. Strong's doctrinal positions. The new edition is ampler, owing to the expansion of the discussions at certain points. But the method of treatment, both in its grand divisions and in its orderly subtopics, remain unchanged. The spirit and the point of view are substantially identical with those of the earlier editions.

Since this is so, detailed criticism of the volume would be profitless. The encyclopedic massing of sources, opinions, and illustrations, which has constituted Dr. Strong's previous editions valuable reference books on doctrine, is even more in evidence in this enlarged edition. Some of us owe a great deal to these suggestive sidelights of history and of illustration; though perhaps this value is homiletic rather than philosophically constructive.

The subject of this present volume is "Soteriology, or the Doctrine of Salvation." It includes the author's discussion of the "Application of Redemption," "The Doctrine of the Church," and "The Doctrine of Final Things."

The same strong, faithful, reasoned support of his doctrinal positions is everywhere in evidence. The author is both an honored thinker and a religious power to be reckoned with. His logical gifts are earnestly placed at the service of his religion. This vigorous, virile note of conviction of truth has always made Dr. Strong's work vital; and we think this volume will have genuine suggestion even for some who are not in sympathy with its method. Many modern discussions of theology, striving after "correct method," seem to us to miss both the consistency of really great thinking, and the vital religious conviction or experience which must be the starting-point of all theology that is worth while. Dr. Strong seems to the reviewer to perform the teacher's function in religious explanation with a feeling for reality that is sadly wanting in some modern essays in theological interpretation that are tuned to the present *Zeitgeist*.

Nevertheless, we could wish that the author's great philosophic powers and his vigorous personality would guide us in interpreting the faith of our fathers into the language that men are using today. Many of us believe that the older thought-terms and the traditional method are obsolescent if

^a *Systematic Theology*. Vol. III, Soteriology, or the Doctrine of Salvation. By A. H. Strong. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1909. xix+389 pages. \$2.50.

not quite obsolete. Only such a vigorous personality as Dr. Strong's can galvanize them into semblance to living forms of thought. What a steady-power he would be in guiding a modern reconstruction of theology! For that reconstruction is surely coming; and this volume aids us very little in attaining a satisfying point of view or in mastering principles that will be both congenial and authoritative for the thinking of the age that has dawned.

HERBERT ALDEN YOUTZ

AUBURN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
AUBURN, N. Y.

RECENT BOOKS ON CHRISTIAN ETHICS

In view of the fact that our modern ethical problems are being considered and formulated with new definiteness by psychology and social science today, one turns to a book bearing the title *The Christian Method of Ethics* with interest not unmixed with apprehension.¹ Is there a distinctly *Christian* method in ethical science? And if so, will it commend itself to an age which demands thorough and critical examination of all problems? Mr. Clarke recognizes that the Christian is often quite as much bewildered as anyone else as to his duty. But he insists that this bewilderment ought to be eliminated by religious discipline rather than by a non-religious study of life. "The fundamental reason for lack of equipment on the ethical side lies in the fact that the Christian's ethical program is not sought for in the right way. The ethical or practical side of the Christian's life is looked upon as a thing detached; and it is not perceived that Christian practical ideals are rightly formulated only when they are translations into practical life of the one religious ideal" (p. 16). Mr. Clarke's method thus consists in expounding and applying the Christian mysticism which he had previously set forth in his *Philosophy of Christian Experience*.² The Christian is to be so completely in communion with the divine Spirit that he no longer makes human judgments but attains "the supplanting of man's activity by God's own, and thus provides for that automatic adoption of right courses wherein the ultimate ethical attainment consists" (p. 79). "Conscience, for the distinctively Christian man, must be taken as a monitor declaring that not he, but the divine life within him, is to make the choice." One is tempted to ask whether automatic activity due to alien control can be moral at all. To be sure, the situation is saved by the fact which the author regretfully admits, that practically no one is able thus to eliminate his own judgment. One is compelled repeatedly to make

¹ *The Christian Method of Ethics*. By Henry W. Clarke. New York and Chicago: Revell, 1908. 254 pages. \$1.25.

² Reviewed in the *American Journal of Theology*, XI, 359.

the attempt to "call up the living presence of the living Christ, and submit himself to its spell." There is thus left abundant room for personal choice and effort.

But when the author assumes that this type of mystic contemplation is sufficient to solve all problems, we must protest in the name of both Christianity and science. It is dangerous doctrine in these days of specialized knowledge to declare that "as a matter of fact, a perfect spiritual adjustment of man's nature—a perfect ordering of life on its religious side—would, were it accomplished, make any study of practical problems unnecessary" (p. 22). It can be said only of a strangely detached and self-satisfied type of religious experience that "just as it involves freedom from all struggle within, it involves also freedom from all ignorance and perplexity concerning right relations with that which is without" (p. 32). Such language, under the guise of religious devotion serves only to encourage the Christian in what is perhaps his greatest sin today, viz., lack of sensitiveness to the social problem, with its bewildering *human* elements. We are fast being initiated into a method of ethics which consists in bringing to bear upon our problems all the specialized skill of human science, in order to see where the remedy may be found. To fail to co-operate with this scientific ethical endeavor means to be rightly left behind and ignored by the age. Attractive as is Mr. Clarke's exposition of his religious ideal, his book, if followed, would only intensify the moral inefficiency of a pietistic Christianity which has no appreciation of the importance of scientific methods and achievements in dealing with ethical issues. It is peculiarly unfortunate to call this *the* "Christian method" of ethics.

Dr. J. Clark Murray has long been known by his careful work in psychology and general ethics. His treatise on Christian Ethics³ will be welcomed by those who have drawn inspiration from his previous works. It would be impossible for him not to write in a suggestive and interesting style; and in a field where one usually finds either formalism or mere preaching his sane, illuminating consideration of the subject is most wholesome.

But the book belongs distinctly among these philosophical textbooks embodying a method which seems to the modern scholar to make too little use of historical processes. Ethics is defined as a "normative" science in somewhat sharp contrast to the descriptive sciences. The task of Christian ethics is declared to be "to construct a science of the moral life in accordance with the ideal of Christ." In form, therefore, the author would seek to lead us into the art of a rational guidance of life on the basis of a previously

³ *A Handbook of Christian Ethics*. By J. Clark Murray. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribner, 1908. xiv + 328 pages. \$2.25.

ascertained philosophy. One who is familiar with the genetic method of analyzing moral situations will wonder what concrete results can come from a treatise the first chapter of which bears the title, "The Christian Ideal in the Abstract." Starting with the abstract ideal of Christian love, the subsequent chapters bring this to bear on the various problems of life. While Dr. Murray is entirely hospitable toward critical biblical scholarship, he nevertheless assumes an essentially static view of Christianity, and reads his New Testament without due consideration of historical conditions. In this way he escapes the necessity for discussing the serious problem whether an ethical ideal which was dominated by the Messianism and eschatology of primitive Christianity can take a commanding place in our modern world.

Having defined Christian ethics in the above formal manner, it is a comparatively easy task to apply the ideal of Christian love to the varied activities of human life. Incidentally, mention should be made of the admirable way in which—more through psychological insight, it is true, than through an application of historical Christian norms—the author, examines and criticizes current ecclesiastical conceptions of original sin, conversion, repentance, and the like. The physiological conditions of moral life receive unusually excellent treatment. The moral control of emotion, the moral attitude toward pain, the moral significance of optimism, and other aspects of personal life are touched upon in a way which indicates psychological mastery of the problems. The Christian's relations to society are treated under the traditional rubrics of the church, the family, and the state. There is little appreciation here of the genetic problems involved in these forms of social life; but the exposition is most wholesome from the individualistic point of view. The concluding chapter on "The Methodology of Christian Ethics" is an admirable embodiment of pedagogical wisdom which might with profit be circulated separately as a guide to teachers of morals. While the work fails to do justice to many problems growing out of a genetic study of morality, it is an unusually excellent discussion of the subject from the point of view with which most clergyman are familiar, and is especially valuable because it expounds morals in terms of defensible psychology.

Häring's popular discussion of Christian Ethics appeared in German in 1902⁴ and has now been translated into English as a volume in the "Theological Translation Library."⁵ The book is well adapted to introduce

⁴ Reviewed in the *American Journal of Theology*, VIII, 415.

⁵ *The Ethics of the Christian Life*. By Dr. Theodor von Häring. Translated from the second German edition by James S. Hill. With an Introduction by Rev. W. D. Morrison. New York: Putnam; London: Williams and Norgate, 1909. xvi+479 pages.

Christians, who still think in terms of the older metaphysics, to the real problems of morality in our modern life. Along with this type of moral philosophy the author gives an exegesis of New Testament teachings to furnish guidance for our moral conduct today. The interpretation of New Testament precepts is most suggestive from the homiletic point of view and often reveals rare moral insight. The modern New Testament scholar, however, will be impressed by the lack of definite historical method in this exegesis. The statements of the New Testament are as a rule taken as isolated texts containing formulations of ethical principles as such. The consequences of these principles are then deduced and applied to the problem in hand. The author's philosophical attitude is quite in harmony with this treatment of the New Testament. While recognizing certain defects in Kant's exposition of ethics, yet he is decidedly opposed to the empirical method, and insists in retaining an a-priori starting-point as the only way of preserving ethical distinctions. The sense of "ought" is a mysterious endowment furnishing the real kernel of any moral judgment. So emphatically is this a-priori origin of ethics defended that the reader is put face to face with the dilemma of defending this against empiricism or else of abandoning all hope of maintaining the validity of ethical distinctions. It goes without saying that freedom is expounded and defended on the basis of a metaphysical individualism, that a demonstrated logical relationship between ethical concepts is felt to be a sufficient proof of validity, and that the content of ethics must be manipulated so as to be reduced to a philosophical unity which again is adduced as proof of the self-consistency and superiority of the Christian ideal. We may add that the book labors under the disadvantage which is almost inevitable in a translation from the German, in that it employs a style and a vocabulary somewhat unfamiliar to English readers. Thus while the volume is full of wholesome suggestions on various ethical problems, and while it may be used with advantage and profit by those whose thinking is still dominated by the deductive method, it will seem to the student of empirical social ethics today like a survival of an outgrown method in the history of ethical science.

GERALD BIRNEY SMITH

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE FUNCTION OF RELIGION IN HUMAN LIFE

Professor Foster's book¹ is not, as its name might imply, merely a discussion of the nature and place of religion from the functional and evolutionary

¹ *The Function of Religion in Man's Struggle for Existence.* By George Burman Foster. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909. xii + 293 pages. \$1.00 net.

point of view. It is this, but it is also an attempt (and a successful one) to deal courageously, wisely, and sympathetically with most of the important questions about religion which are troubling so many thousands of young men and women today. It is to them and to them alone that it is explicitly addressed. In a large way and with splendid sincerity the author treats of such problems as the value of authority, the function of doubt, the place of Jesus, of the church, and of the Bible in the religious life of the modern man. It would be interesting to follow him in all these discussions, but lack of space forbids; and I can therefore only recommend them most heartily to the reader, while confining this review to the main theme of the book, which is that implied in the title.

The general evolutionary point of view is first presented. Man, taken in the broad sense of the psycho-physical organism, is shown developing and generating his various functions, guided not only by the impulse for self-preservation but by the equally important impulse for self-expression. In the course of this development, the author points out, the generation of new functions not only satisfied old needs but, by enlarging man's outlook, developed new needs as well. Factors in the situation for which man had no equipment were brought to light. And the response of the soul to this larger and more general need was the production of a new human function, namely, religion. Religion has thus a perfectly human, even a subjective, origin; and every stage of its growth has been due to some new need which it has sought to satisfy. We must face this fact, for no theory of any supernatural origin or authority for religion is tenable in our times.

Is religion then illusion? The answer to this question cannot be given in "Yes" or "No." In the first place there certainly is much that is illusory in any given "religion"—its outgrown shell which must be sloughed off. But religion itself "is fundamentally *life*, not the form of life." "If religion be primarily the created and not the human creator—primarily historic fact and dogma and ritual and institution and gods, and not the life and spirit of man that creates these expressions and forms and means of self realization—its 'seeming unreality' will pass on into the sense of its utter illusion." But the essential life of religion is not to be identified with any of these its mere expressions. Nor does the subjective origin of religion in any way invalidate its significance. "If religion stands the test by which you try every other human creation—namely, the test of contributing to the rich and full development of the ideal interest of humanity—if, in a word, religion stands the test of workability and of service equally with other subjective creations like art and language and morality, what more have we a right to demand?"

Religion, in other words, is not first a theory *about* reality; it is a reality. And if you taste and see you will find it good; it commends itself by bringing to all who really try it equilibration, satisfaction, and peace.

But though religion is not primarily a theory, Professor Foster recognizes that it at least includes a theory, or rather a faith. And the faith of religion is "the conviction that in spite of much that is dark and inharmonious in the world, reality is on the side of the achievement of ideals such as ours." "God" is indeed to be interpreted symbolically and pragmatically. "The word God is a symbol to indicate the universe in its ideal-achieving capacity." That our ideals are achieved to some extent is a verifiable fact. And the larger faith in the universe which gives us courage to pursue our ideals is the function of religion in man's struggle for existence.

Professor Foster writes with a vigor and earnestness that sometimes rise to true eloquence, and he faces all the problems which he raises with a sincerity and courage that must command the admiration of every reader. The functional view of religion has seldom been so clearly presented; nor would it be easy to find a more vigorous defense than this book makes of the value of religion for life.

Perhaps we have no right to ask for more than this. But I am sure at least that the young men and women for whom the book is explicitly written *will* ask more—namely this further question: Is the religious conviction not only useful but *true*? And when all is done and said, is not this the ultimate question? It certainly is the only one that is unavoidable, the only one whose answer is crucial. On it hang all the rest. Certainly religion *means* to be true. It is not quite in the same category as "art and language and morality" after all. It intends to be objective as well as subjective. And one cannot satisfy the young minds for whom this book is written by answering their question, "Is the religious conviction true?" with the response, "It is subjectively useful." For the truth of religion which they care about is not the pragmatic "truth" of *workability*, but the old-fashioned "static" truth which functionalism and evolutionism are so apt to disregard. The functional view is not indeed to be blamed because it cannot answer the question of the truth of religion—who can?; but it is open to criticism, as it seems to me, when failing to recognize more explicitly than Professor Foster does the crucial importance of this question.

Of course no writer should be criticized for not doing what he never meant to do; and it may be, therefore, that what I have just said is out of place. But I cannot help feeling that Professor Foster's book would have

been more successful, even than it has been, in its splendidly practical and helpful purpose, had he faced more squarely the one really fundamental question of religion.

It is against the present overemphasis upon the subjective and practical aspect of religion that Professor Hébert offers a timely protest in his recent work.² Doubtless it is true that with a large portion of the community God is "used" rather than "believed in." As Professor Leuba has so well pointed out, many religious people do not care who God is but want to make use of him for various practical purposes. But in our present-day enthusiasm over "the practical" we are in danger of forgetting that all religious people are not of one type; and that there always have been and still are many who do care "who God is," and in whose religion the ideal plays a more important part than the utilitarian. This is the type studied in the book before us.

Professor Hébert presents the idealistic type of the religious sentiment by outlining what he considers its principal elements as illustrated in two of its clearest expressions, namely the *Confessions* of St. Augustine and the *Traité de l'amour de Dieu* of St. François de Sales. This method has the great advantage of concreteness and of exhibiting the idealistic religious sentiment in its living activity. The divine is *felt* by these idealists and mystics, and is felt as *perfect* and as *infinite*. As a result "God" is not merely loved for his "cash value," as "meat-purveyor," etc., but is adored for his own sake and disinterestedly. But this does not mean that the divine must be represented by the religious consciousness as personal. In fact Hébert strenuously opposes both the doctrine of creation and the personality of God. Finally, the sense for the perfect and infinite which the idealistic mystic finds within him manifests to him at least the possibility of another existence where the purposes of this shall be realized under more favorable conditions.

Aside from its interesting appendices, Professor Hébert's book is short, having in fact only 113 pages. But there are few books of its size in which is condensed so much that is excellent in both the fields of the psychology and the philosophy of religion. For it is equally valuable as a study of mysticism and as a contribution to theology.

JAMES BISSETT PRATT

WILLIAMS COLLEGE
WILLIAMSTOWN, MASS.

* *La "forme idéaliste" du sentiment religieux.* Par Marcel Hébert. Paris: Nourry, 1909. 160 pages. Fr. 2.50.

WHAT IS PRAGMATISM?

Among the anti-pragmatists Professor Pratt is known as one of the clearest and cleverest writers. On the whole the present volume¹ supports and enhances this reputation. It consists of six semi-popular lectures delivered at the Glenmore Summer School, and published, the author says in the preface, "to show those who did not attend the summer school (and this includes a fairly large portion of the human race) how much they missed."

The subjects of the lectures are: "Meaning and Method in Pragmatism;" "The Ambiguity of Truth;" "The Pragmatic View of the Truth Relation;" "Pragmatism and Knowledge;" "Pragmatism and Religion;" "The Practical Point of View."

In the space allotted me I can report only a few general features. Professor Pratt's style is delightfully free and easy, and some readers, especially the pragmatic ones, may find that this applies also to some of his criticisms. This might be charged to the limitations of a popular audience did not the author expressly declare in his preface that he has "nowhere allowed the desire for simplicity and popularity to interfere with thoroughness of treatment."

As an instance of the difference between Professor Pratt's notion of "thoroughness" and theirs on some points, pragmatic readers will probably cite Professor Pratt's "simple" disposition of the "correspondence" view of truth (p. 65 ff.), in which he says: "Truth or the relation of correspondence means not copying, but merely this simple thing, that the object of which one is thinking is as one thinks it," and adds a little farther along: "I confess it is impossible for me to see how anything can be simpler than this." And yet philosophers generally, from Plato to pragmatism, seem to have found this problem anything but "simple." Moreover if the relation of correspondence is so "ultimately simple" and "irreducible" that it is "absurd" (pp. 68, 69) to ask a realist to "explain" it, pragmatists will wonder why it is that the capacity of ideas to serve as "instruments" and "guides" of action should be for Professor Pratt such a dark riddle for which he says pragmatists have no solution. Why should not the pragmatist also say that the relation of guidance is an "ultimately simple" and "irreducible" one, needing no explanation?

The pragmatist, however, is not content with so "simple" a solution. And this brings us to the fundamental point, and I would add, weakness, of Professor Pratt's book. It is written from the standpoint of what he

¹ *What Is Pragmatism?* By James Bissett Pratt. New York: Macmillan, 1909. xii + 254 pages. \$1.25.

calls "the private stream of consciousness," which is so highly private that its ability to "correspond" with "outer realities which never come within that private stream" remains, Professor Pratt confesses, a "mystery," even if a "simple" and "irreducible" one.

Moreover, Professor Pratt also persists in attributing his own standpoint to pragmatists, and so he finds it easy under this attribution to convict them of solipsism. This he does in the face of no end of most explicit and repeated proclamations by pragmatists that their logic and metaphysics assume a *social interpretation* of this "private stream of consciousness," that it holds that the individual consciousness arises in and remains an organic part of a social world; that it is not a function of an isolated, lonely, windowless "mind" or "soul," or even brain, but always of the total "social situation." An idea, a hypothesis therefore, is never wholly a private monopoly. So far as the individual is concerned there is always an unearned increment in it. Arising out of a social matrix, being a function of it, and being therefore always in vital connection with it, there is for the pragmatist nothing "mysterious" in the efficient relation of ideas to the "outer" world of people and things. It would indeed be a "mystery" if they had no such relation.

This total disregard of the social conception of the private individual consciousness, makes much of Professor Pratt's clever and interesting writing seem to the pragmatic reader wholly beside the mark. But Professor Pratt's book reveals the fact that pragmatists have been premature in their assumption that everyone was prepared to accept and start with this social conception of consciousness, and shows that what is now needed is a return to detailed exposition and applications of this conception.

Such an exposition of the "social situation" will also turn the point of much of Professor Pratt's criticism of the religious bearings of pragmatism. From Professor Pratt's standpoint God, as a working hypothesis, is *nothing but* a mere idea of "a private stream of consciousness." From the standpoint of the social origin and significance of ideas, every *working* hypothesis must have a reality behind it as well as in front of it.

ADDISON WEBSTER MOORE

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE GREEK AND EASTERN CHURCHES

There has long been need of a volume on the Greek and Eastern Churches. It is now half a century since Dean Stanley published his lectures. In these fifty years a great mass of information regarding the eastern churches has been gathered by missionaries and oriental scholars and has

appeared, mainly, in reports and monographs. But hitherto no book has appeared in English which has undertaken to summarize this new information. It is to this task that Dr. Adeney has addressed himself.¹

The book is divided almost equally into two parts. The first part, "The Church and the Empire," deals with the general history of the church down to the Fall of Constantinople. The center of interest in the narrative, however, is not Rome, but Antioch, and later Alexandria, and finally Constantinople. And the whole course of events is viewed from the standpoint of the Greek half of Christendom. Consequently great prominence is given to the intellectual aspects of Christianity, to the development of dogma and liturgy, and to the doctrinal controversies in which the Greeks took such interest, and in which were sown the seeds of the disruption of the oriental church. The steps are traced by which the eastern patriarchates passed from the state of patronage to that of abject dependence upon the Byzantine monarchs.

There are two chapters of special interest in the latter part of this section. The first deals with the rise and spread of Mohammedanism, and presents briefly the state of deterioration within the church which made the Arab conquest of Syria and Egypt so swift and easy. The second chapter of special interest is that relating to the Crusades. Viewed from the standpoint of the West these religio-romantic expeditions have usually been regarded with enthusiasm as illustrating the piety and courage of the mediaeval Christians. But we here see the Crusaders as they appeared to the Christians of the East, as the rude, reckless barbarians that they were with their outrageous abuse of such hospitality as they were given by the Greeks through whose lands they passed.

But more serious still were the results of the conquest of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade, and the forcible imposition of the rule of the Pope and a feudal government upon the helpless Byzantine Christians, which so exasperated the Greeks as to make all attempts to reunite the eastern and western churches utterly futile. Thus while the Crusades may have checked Turkish invasion, they nevertheless confirmed that alienation between eastern and western Christendom which has made possible the long occupation of so many Christian lands by the Turk.

It is, however, the latter half of the book, dealing with the separate eastern churches, that is the more valuable. Here the author enters a field little worked till recently by historians, and one regrets the necessary brevity of his narrative.

¹ *The Greek and Eastern Churches*. By Walter F. Adeney, M.A., D.D. "International Theological Library." New York: Scribners, 1908. 634 pages. \$2.50.

The Fall of Constantinople in 1453 brought the Byzantine Empire to an end, and reduced the established church of the empire to the same pitiable condition of dependence upon the Moslem conqueror which had long been endured by the other branches of eastern Christianity. That is the author's justification for his treatment of the modern Greek church as one of the separate churches. Dr. Adeney devotes an interesting chapter to the notable scholar and reformer, Cyril Lucar. Another is given to the semi-independent outlying branches of the Greek church in Cyprus, Georgia, Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina.

No part of the book is more admirable than the hundred pages devoted to a sketch of the Russian church—one of the great national churches to which western Christendom has given little attention. Proper importance is attached by the author to the Russian sects, which number many millions of adherents and which in the future of the Russian church and nation may play a part comparable to the English dissenters.

The large space given to the Syrian church and the meager chapter devoted to the Armenian constitute a disproportion in treatment. It is true that the Syrian church has a special claim to attention because of its relation to the christological controversies and its early missionary activity, which planted churches in India and China. But the Armenian church has a like claim in view of its heroic endurance of centuries of persecution and its present importance as a factor in the Turkish Empire.

The last section of the book deals with the Coptic and Abyssinian churches, and takes the reader into an unfamiliar region. One cannot but wish that the author had given a fuller treatment of this latter unique church, which in isolation and barbarism has maintained an unbroken life since the time of the early Fathers.

Two considerations unite to give great interest and timeliness to this book. Nearly all the churches dealt with are or have been under the heavy yoke of the Turk. For centuries they have been grudgingly given the privilege to live. What part are they to play in the new Turkey of greater justice and freedom? On the other hand, the work of American missionaries in European and Asiatic Turkey, in Egypt and Persia, has been almost wholly among adherents to these churches. In the light of their history, what prospect is there of their regeneration, and participation in the conversion of their Moslem neighbors? That this volume by Dr. Adeney will assist in answering these and similar questions insures its welcome by those who seek in the past the clue to the future.

EDWARD W. MILLER

AUBURN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
AUBURN, N. Y.

The history of the eastern empire has been very much neglected by western historians. To most of them it is an unknown world. In this way the West has failed to appreciate its great debt to the East. This debt is far greater than most of us have supposed. While we have been busy developing a magnificent civilization we have been unmindful of how many of our ideas have come from the East, and especially have we forgotten the indispensable service rendered us in the way of protection from the Saracenic hordes. Had it not been for the steady and persistent opposition of the eastern emperors the West would certainly have been overrun, our springing ideas would have been blighted, and our civilization must have been far different from what it is.

For this reason we welcome the scholarly and fascinating work of M. Vogt.* In the introduction he gives us a valuable critical study of the sources, such as: the historians and chroniclers; the law books; the religious documents; and the works of different contemporaneous writers on geography, strategy, etc.

The volume is divided into four books. In the first book he discusses the Byzantine Empire from the death of Theophilus to the retirement of Theodora (842-846); the origins of Basil; his personality; his character; his ideas; the imperial family; the court.

The second book deals with the internal government of Basil I; his first public acts; financial administration; legislation; judicial organization; administration of the church.

The third book has to do with external affairs—wars and military administration.

In the fourth book we have a charming presentation of Byzantine civilization—the land; slaves and freedmen; Byzantine commerce to the ninth century; and Byzantine art under the government of Basil.

J. W. MONCRIEF

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE EDUCATIONAL IDEAL IN THE MINISTRY

One of the best evidences of the significance of the pulpit in modern life is the vitality of the Yale Lectureship on Preaching. No lecturer now concerns himself with formal homiletics. That task has perhaps been sufficiently well done. But each year the able preacher who is appointed to the lectureship finds some vital subject upon which to speak.

The 1908 lectures were delivered by President W. H. P. Faunce, who

* *Basil, 1^{er} Empereur de Byzance (867-886) et la civilisation byzantine à la fin du 9^e siècle.* Par Albert Vogt. Paris: Picard, 1908. 447 pages. Fr. 7.50.

selected for his subject, "The Educational Ideal in the Ministry."¹ He conceives the liturgical, the magisterial, and even the oratorical ideals, to belong to the past. The minister for today is to be a teacher. Not that he is to cease to be a preacher. Indeed Dr. Faunce finely calls attention to the fact that this is the great day of preaching. Everyone is preaching, even chief magistrates. But it is preaching with the educative aim. It is man talking with man upon the high interests and the high themes, on which he has convictions.

An educational ideal in the ministry means scholarship, an appreciation of the modern scientific point of view, an understanding of the real value of the Scriptures, a realization that the pulpit must be ethical in its doctrine and leadership. The minister must of course order his work and appreciate his problems in the light of modern psychology. And he must gain expertness in the new science of religious education. Dr. Faunce does not confine himself to the Sunday school, nor simply add the young people's organizations, in considering the educational aspects of the church. He considers the whole church as a school in which the whole congregation is to be developed in spiritual apprehension, in social sympathy and knowledge, and in the activities which are the expression of the inner life. The basis for a ministry of increasing power and the dangers of popular oratory are significantly discussed.

In view of this ideal of the ministry Dr. Faunce does not fail to call attention to the need of a reorganization of the curriculum of the theological seminary to meet the demands of the modern church.

It is a notable book. It cannot fail to be an inspiration to the ministry. The minister whose ideal has not been educational ought to find the argument convincing. It is an excellent book to put into the hands of the young man who is considering the ministerial calling, that he may gain a larger view of the significance of the modern church.

The book is written with the charm, strength, and felicity of diction that characterize all the writings of this master of English.

THEO. G. SOARES

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

¹ *The Educational Ideal in the Ministry*, by W. H. P. Faunce. New York: Macmillan, 1908. 286 pages. \$1.25.

BRIEF MENTION

OLD TESTAMENT AND SEMITICS

SCHLIEBITZ, JOHANNES. *Išôdâdhs Kommentar zum Buche Hiob: I. Teil: Text und Uebersetzung Beihefte zur Z A T W*. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1907. 88 pages. M. 4.

This edition of the Syriac commentator is a welcome addition to the available material for the mere history of exegesis. For exegesis itself, it will have small value. Išôdâdh's commentary is divided into fifteen chapters, a varying amount of the text of Job being covered by each. There is no discussion of general plan and purpose and origin of the book; mere textual treatment, touching 200 verses. There is a quaint mixture of the objective and subjective points of view; of simple clarification and of fanciful rabbinical touches and marvels, though this latter element is not large. Satan is a reality; the assembly in which he addresses God is purely imaginary, to show that good and evil spirits are as thoroughly mingled as good and evil men. "Chaldeans in three bands" represent three evils Satan would implant in Job's heart. Job's illness is elephantiasis. He sits outside of the city gate, not as an outcast, but in order to advertise the low estate from which he will be delivered soon—more prevision than we credit Job with. Curious textual variations are followed; e. g., leviathan, the destroyer, in 3:7. In 4:12 Eliphaz derives his knowledge from the fathers, instead of from the following "vision." In 22:12 "the head of the stars" is Satan, fallen from heaven; 26:5 refers to those destroyed in the flood. "The great dragon" is rather prominent with Išôdâdh. "Stories of the Ephod" are read into 28:19; therefore he argues the book is post-Mosaic. Among various explanations of the behemoth occurs the interesting suggestion that it is the grasshopper.

Dr. Schliebitz gives a list of the various MSS collated for this work.

HEJCL, JOHANN. *Das alt-testamentliche Zinsverbot. Im Lichte der ethnologische Jurisprudenz, sowie des alt-orientalischen Zinswesens*. Freiburg: Herder, 1907. 98 pages. M. 2.80.

Dr. Hejcl inquires, "Is the rigid prohibition of interest a primitive independent principle of the early Hebrews, codified by Moses and later legislators, or is it borrowed from other peoples?" His investigation leads to the conclusion that it is Semitic.

Considering primitive ethnological jurisprudence, he finds that in tribal communal life based upon marriage and blood-relationship, the prohibition of interest, as private property begins to develop, is a general phenomenon: the earlier duty of mutual aid is emphasized, and making personal profit of a fellow clansman's distress is viewed with detestation. Illustrations are cited from different epochs in Arabia: from modern African tribes, the Aztecs, ancient Germans, and Romans. Mohammed found it advisable to incorporate pre-Islamic practice in his system.

The possibilities of borrowing, Dr. Hejcl sees only in Egypt, Babylonia, or Assyria. In the first, no loan-contracts of early date are extant. The hatred of interest is shown by the "Negative Confession" and daily usage, down to the days of Bocchoris, (XXIV dynasty). It is possible that there is too much *argumentum a silentio* in this conclusion. Certainly the destruction of the old Egyptian free peasantry, and the absorption of the wealth by the temples, etc., was complete centuries before Bocchoris—as

was the practical dominance of the foreign mercenary and adventurer. The high civilization of the third millenium B. C., not to speak of the less clearly defined fourth, shows us commerce, art, manufactures, feudal conditions, taxation, organization, a financial standard in copper, suggesting a society very different from that in which interest is just appearing and is forbidden. There would seem no good reason for Bocchoris to concede to the temples fourfold the usual rate, unless they were already in possession of some such privilege. The relation between interest and rental should be considered—cf. Joseph's 20 per cent. rental, and interest and rental in Babylonia. It is possible that Dr. Hejcl does not make sufficient allowance for the peculiar conservatism of Egyptian formulae of expression, and in consequence holds to a conservatism in popular practice hardly justified.

In contrast with Egypt he sees in Babylonia and Assyria peoples economically progressive, with abundance of loan-contracts of very early date still extant. At no time do we see them in the condition of the primitive Hebrew, or of the early inhabitant of the Nile Valley. The commercial character of the population he contrasts with the simple agricultural peasantry of Egypt—exaggerating the difference, perhaps. The loan-contracts generally bear interest—the rate in Babylonia being usually 20 per cent. per annum for money, 25 to 33½ per cent. for provisions. Johns' view that current rates in Assyria may have been 300 per cent. and 600 per cent. annually is followed. This we must doubt; but we may approve his rejection of Revillout's theory that loans without interest are due to Egyptian influence, and his answer that these are survivals of old tribal practice. Ethical feeling in Assyria he considers so blunted that the very conception of "usury," or of the possibility of excess in interest, had vanished. Yet this may be based upon a mere absence of technical terminology; and some of the *Šurpu* queries quoted (e. g., "Hath he given too little? Hath he gained too much?") may be too summarily dismissed.

Israel is recognized to be socially and economically a very young people, at its entrance into Palestine. As a conglomerate of "Bedouin" clans, primitive Arabian customs account for its opposition to interest: and there is no sufficient ground for attributing it to Egyptian influence. We may regard its attitude as an illustration of a universal ethnological phenomenon: a primitive social duty, later formulated into a legal duty and religiously grounded. This last feature Dr. Hejcl would consider the especial contribution of Moses. But the phrasing he considers post-Mosaic. Comparing Ex. 22:24 and Deut. 23:20, 21, he finds the older more parenetic, the later more specific, and more juristically expressed. In the earlier he sees opposition to Canaanite practices; in the latter, Babylonia is criticized. With reference to *תרבית*, Lev. 25:37, he rejects all tentative explanations hitherto offered, and argues that it implies the *poena conventionalis*—interest in form of a penalty for failure to return the loan at a given date. This appears sound: it will be generally accepted, though not all will regard its origin as being in a precaution against fluctuation in price. Ezekiel's use of the term is not noticed: it is probably earlier than Dr. Hejcl thinks.

Dr. Hejcl is hardly to be accused of deliberately taking out a brief for the immeasurable ethical superiority of the Hebrew law to the Babylonian, yet it is to be questioned if he does not, with most writers, exaggerate the Hebrew *praxis*. With regard to this latter, as well as regards the real object of the law, a reconstruction of the Deuteronomic society seems prerequisite. Ethnological jurisprudence can show us origin and development—it cannot demonstrate the social conditions of that particular epoch. Dr. Hejcl concludes that the prohibition is at best temporary, dealing with a local situation;

not a principle of universal finance. Now the Deuteronomic society is essentially patrician plus plebeian—or shall we say patriarch and dependent? A wealthy nobility and homeless poor are continually before us in the burdens of the prophets. Does the prohibition then apply to all loans to fellow-Israelites, or only to those made to the technical poor—the *lassaroni* of modern Italy—the *muškēnu* of Babylonia, so carefully considered in the Code Hammurabi? the homeless *Plebs* of decadent Rome, for whom the state provided “*panem et circenses*?” whose ancestors Appius Claudius so bitterly antagonized, when it was proposed, upon condition of military service, to remit their indebtedness to patrician moneylenders, as was also proposed in Jerusalem in Jeremiah’s time? Is not the prohibition a clearly defined piece of class-legislation? comparable to government loans at a nominal interest to Irish peasantry? or French *monts de pitié*? That it “prevented the concentration of property in the hands of a few” is not true to the facts of the situation: that it could not should be apparent upon a little reflection: that it was not expected to is shown by the jubilee provisions. “The poor shall never cease out of the land.” The larger property interests are not affected by it. To put it differently, an old practice of the days when private property was but partially developed is urged in dealing with those who were practically without private property. Pointing in the same direction is the inclusion of the stranger and sojourner in some of the later legislation: whereas Dr. Hejcl’s investigation accounts only for the waiving of usury in the case of an Israelite. It would be interesting if Dr. Hejcl should give us a study of Jewish methods of providing for their poor at various epochs. But these suggestions necessarily qualify the peculiar laudation sometimes accorded to the Hebrew provision against usury—such laudation usually assuming it to be a universal principle. That the rabbins later strove to construe it as such does not prove Deuteronomic practice, as Dr. Hejcl recognizes.

CHEYNE, T. K. *The Decline and Fall of the Kingdom of Judah*. London: Black, 1908. xlviii + 194 pages. 7s. 6d.

The methods, principles, and theories made familiar to the Old Testament scholar through many articles in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* and elsewhere, through *Critica Biblica* and *Traditions and Beliefs of Ancient Israel*, here receive a fresh exposition and defense. It can hardly be said, however, that they are made any more probable or attractive. The amount of learning and research revealed by this book as by all of Professor Cheyne’s works compels our admiration, but only makes the keener the practically universal regret that such magnificent abilities are not directed toward more profitable ends. Here and there the book contributes a valuable piece of information or a fertile suggestion, but this is small compensation for the greater loss in the perversion of judgment that is everywhere manifest.

KAPLAN, J. H. *Psychology of Prophecy. A Study of the Prophetic Mind as Manifested by the Ancient Hebrew Prophets*. Philadelphia: J. H. Greenstone, 1908. xii + 148 pages. \$1.50.

In Part I, “What Is a Prophet?” the author undertakes to correct certain popular misconceptions as to the nature and function of prophecy. This task occupies about one-half of the book and is but a popular statement of the commonly accepted results of scholarship concerning this subject. Part II briefly disposes of “Prophetic Genius,” pointing out its analogies to human genius in general and describing the prophets as

"the perfected embodiments of the Hebrew genius, that is, they were the political, economic, social, and religious geniuses of Israel all in one." In Part III, beginning with p. 81, the theme of the book, "Psychology of Prophecy," is taken up. Here are discussed in succession "Prophetic Call;" "Premonition, Prescience, and Prediction;" "Revelation;" "Dream, Vision and Audition, Ecstasy;" and "Inspiration." The book gathers up and presents in accessible and interesting form a large amount of material on these subjects not otherwise easily obtained. It is to be heartily recommended to all students of these subjects as the best discussion yet put forth. It was prepared as a thesis for the degree of Ph.D., in the University of Denver, apparently in the department of psychology.

HAUPT, PAUL. *Purim*. "Beiträge zur Assyriologie," VI, 2. Address to Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, December 27, 1905. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1907. M. 4.

Professor Haupt recognizes several elements as fused in this perplexing Jewish festival: the two main features being a combination of the Babylonian and Persian New Year's festivals, at the vernal equinox, and the commemoration of Nicanor's Day, on the 13th of Adar (cf. II Mac. 15:36 and Esther 9:17). The book is the work of a Persian Jew about 130 B. C., portraying Nicanor under the name of Haman; Alexander Balas becomes Ahasuerus, and his wife, Cleopatra, is the prototype of Esther. Irene, the favorite concubine of Ptolemy Physcon, who besought him to abandon his plan of exterminating the Alexandrian Jews, contributes also to the figure of Esther. The so-called third book of Maccabees is an Alexandrian, Esther a Persian legend for Nicanor's day: Judith is suggested to be a Samaritan Purim legend, Pharisaic in atmosphere while Esther is Sadducean. DeGoeje's view that Esther is identical with the Scheherazade of the Arabian Nights is also interesting. Another striking parallel to Esther and Mordecai is pointed out in the action of Phaedyia and Otanes in overthrowing the Magian (Herodotus, 3, 68).

In the New Year combination indicated Mordecai and Esther are forms of Marduk and Ishtar, while Haman and Vashti are the Elamite gods, Humman and Mašti. A possible antagonism between gods of Babylonia and Elam is also made to suggest the battle between summer and winter—curiously, Professor Haupt fails to refer here to the Descent of Ishtar and her return. "Agagite" he amends to "Gagite," "northern barbarian;" Purim he plausibly argues to be "portions"—distributed gifts—a regular feature of New Year festivals. The explanation as "lots" is a case of folk etymology. Other interesting oriental New Year customs are pointed out. There is an element of weakness in all such parallels: the possible plots, motives, and human actions are relatively few: hence there is frequent independent coincidence. Yet the difficulties in the present book of Esther so make against its historicity that another interpretation seems essential. The chief features of Professor Haupt's careful exposition will receive respectful consideration, and probably general acceptance. The thesis is critically annotated—these additions, 30 pp., increasing the paper to 52 pp., indicate wide research and accurate scholarship.

LIDZBARSKI, MARK. *Kanaanäische Inschriften*. ("Altsemitische Texte," I. Heft.) Giessen: Töpelmann, 1907. 64 pages. M. 2.

This is the first volume of a series of "Altsemitische Texte," in which it is designed to place before the student available material for a knowledge at first hand of ancient

Semitic texts. These are printed in Hebrew letters with copious but concise footnotes. Few illustrations are given, but these facsimiles illustrate principal types. The general plan of the series is well conceived. It will place all the material available for a comparative study of dialects and idioms within the reach of students of limited means. More illustrations would be desirable, but would involve too much expense. Yet it would be well to include all possible seals, figures, and reliefs, though no more illustrations of texts are given.

The present volume includes Moabite, Old Hebrew, Phoenician, and Carthaginian inscriptions. The complete series, in eight numbers, will contain Old Aramaic, Middle Aramaic, Phoenician Fragments in Greek and Latin Authors, Old North Arabian, and Old South Arabian (three numbers). The material is generally familiar to the Semitic expert, and no notable contributions to or emendations of familiar readings are contemplated. The entire series will form a most welcome addition to the library of the young orientalist or scholarly biblical student and historian.

CARUS, PAUL. *The Story of Samson, and Its Place in the Religious Development of Mankind.* Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1907. 183 pages.

A short controversy in the *Open Court and Monist* led to this investigation by Dr. Carus. His personal view inclines toward that of Roskoff, published in 1860, comparing the Samson story with the Herakles myth, but finding a religious—a Yahvistic idea, infused into it. Wellhausen was not far from this view: Steinthal sees solar myth only. Dr. Carus would, however, recognize more of a historical element in it: "I am perfectly willing to say that a man by the name of Samson (sun-like) may have lived: that he may have been born after the fashion described in the book of Judges: that he may frequently, on account of various love affairs, have become entangled in brawls with the Philistines: that these events were praised among his countrymen as deeds of valor, and that his adventures finally landed him in prison . . . I fail to see how these concessions can change the character of Samson as the hero of a solar myth." That is, to the personality conceded a number of solar-myth episodes have become attached as genuine adventures by J. about 1100 B. C. Dr. Carus introduces some interesting illustrations of the way historical characters like Alexander have been overlaid with marvel and myth.

The reader will find Dr. Carus' 160 pages very interesting, and though he will not accept all details, will probably accept his main contention, and the view that sun-worship existed among the primitive Danites. The author does not carefully establish historical connections; and however interesting some details like those of ass-headed divinities and ass-festivals may be, they do not always seem to belong to the subject. The numerous illustrations are helpful and the work as a whole is a useful popular contribution to comparative mythology and criticism of Hebrew history.

NEW TESTAMENT AND ALLIED SUBJECTS

"The Westminster New Testament." Edited by Principal A. E. Garvie. *The Gospel of St. Matthew*, by David Smith, 1908. 256 pages. *The Gospel of St. Mark*, by Rev. S. W. Green, 1909. 245 pages. *The Acts*, by Professor H. Andrews, 1908. 318 pages. New York: Revell. \$0.75 per vol.

The Westminster New Testament is to be published in ten small volumes. The books aim to meet the needs of those who are not scholars. The standpoint of the

series is that of modern critical scholarship of the more moderate type. The sections of Scripture are printed in small type, the notes in large, clear type. The use of the Authorized Version makes a waste of space, for it often involves explanations otherwise needless. The introductions to *Mark* and *Acts* are good presentations of the usually received opinions about the books, stated in moderate form. The date of *Mark* is assigned to "shortly before the fateful year 70." *Acts* "the general consensus of modern scholars" dates between 75 and 85. There is no discussion of sources in the early part of *Acts*, but the author speaks as though Luke were personally responsible for the contents of all sections of the book. The general historical reliability of *Acts* is affirmed, but there is no attempt to defend the historicity of speaking in foreign languages at Pentecost, or of certain other things. The editor of *Matthew* holds to the oral tradition theory of gospel sources. The guarantee of the faithfulness of the gospels "is the marvelous and, to the modern mind, almost incredible faculty of remembrance which the oral method is known to have developed in its practitioners." Where, one may ask, is there any evidence for either such tradition or such faculty in the early church? The modern advance in freedom of treatment of the gospels is shown in what not long ago would have been regarded as a dangerous use of phrases like "homiletical gloss" and "altered tradition." On the whole the books fulfil their purpose well.

MEYER, MAX. *The Sinlessness of Jesus*. (Foreign Religious Series.) New York: Eaton & Mains. 1907. 46 pages. \$0.40.

A superficial treatment without much value.

BARTH, FRITZ. *The Gospel of St. John and the Synoptic Gospels*. (Foreign Religious Series.) New York: Eaton & Mains. 1907. 87 pages. \$0.40.

Disparages the difference between the Gospel of John and the synoptic records, accepts the traditional view of the Johannine authorship, but acknowledges that he used great freedom in composition.

RIGGENBACH, EDUARD. *The Resurrection of Jesus*. (Foreign Religious Series.) New York: Eaton & Mains, 1907. 74 pages. \$0.40.

The position is that of the conservative throughout and especially when dealing with the sources, but the discussion is somewhat critical and of considerable value. He thinks that "whether one acknowledges a miracle or not is a matter of one's view of life and faith, not of historical judgment and scientific inquiry." "The resurrection of the Lord is, and remains therefore, an article of faith," but is the reanimation of the physical body essential to faith? Is it not just a question of historical investigation and of scientific inquiry?

WINSTANLEY, EDWARD WILLIAM. *Spirit in the New Testament: An Inquiry into the Use of the Word πνεῦμα in All Passages, and a Survey of the Evidence Concerning the Holy Spirit*. Cambridge: University Press, 1908. 166 pages. 3s. 6d.

This book contains an introductory survey of πνεῦμα in the LXX and uncanonical writings, the Greek text with annotations of 379 passages in the New Testament using πνεῦμα, and a brief study of the Holy Spirit in the New Testament and the apostolic

Fathers. The book is of value as presenting the actual uses of *πνεῦμα* in the New Testament, though giving the summary less fully than does Dr. Schoemaker's brochure on the subject (The University of Chicago Press). The treatment of the Holy Spirit is a judicious presentation of the actual usage of the term. By confining itself to the bare facts of linguistic usage the book misses the opportunity to inquire for the reasons of the varieties and changes of this usage; in which inquiry lies, after all, the real significance of the study of this subject.

BALJON, J. M. S. *Commentaar op de Brieven van Paulus aan de Thessalonikers, Efeziërs, Kolossers, en aan Filemon*. Utrecht: Van Boekhoven, 1907. 357 pages.

This commentary resembles its predecessors from the same hand. It is thoroughly scholarly, clear, brief, and irenic. Its author has recently passed away, creating a gap in the ranks of New Testament scholars which it will be hard to fill. He was a master of the language and the manuscripts of the New Testament, and he was also a good student of its history. All this knowledge he has used in this commentary, as elsewhere to good advantage. He devotes little space to controversy, but states what he thinks the apostle meant, and passes on. When he does refer to those who differ from him, it is always in the kindest manner.

Homiletically the commentary is not very helpful. It throws out no sermonic suggestions. Neither is it of much value to such as do not read Greek. These can use it, but not to much advantage.

Space does not permit us to give the author's views on many leading passages. Only a few can be instanced. The question of trichotomy or dichotomy (I Thess. 5:23) never came into the apostle's mind (p. 64). The doctrine of conditional immortality (II Thess. 1:9) has no support with Paul (p. 73). The ultimate purpose of election is service (Eph. 1:4 f.); election is for the sake of the non-elect (p. 106). In interpreting II Thess., chap. 2, one must not designate definite persons (p. 83). The atonement changes God's relation to the sinner because it changes the sinner (Col. 1:22) (p. 265). Baljon has no sympathy with Dr. H. Bavinck and other old-school Calvinists who hold that it made God cease to be man's enemy. This commentary, as well as his others, will well repay thoughtful and thorough study.

PATRISTICS

VÖLTER, DANIEL. *Die älteste Predigt aus Rom (Der sogenannte zweite Clemens-brief)*. Neu untersucht. Leiden: Brill, 1908. viii+71 pages. M. 1.50.

The so-called Second Clement belongs to the same group of literature as I Clement, Hermas, and our canonical I Peter and James. It is later than I Clement, I Peter, and Hermas, but is older than James. It was originally composed about 135 A. D. This entire group of writings originated in the same community or even the same society which consisted of gentile proselytes to Judaism who had no specifically Christian conceptions but only the most general knowledge of the Old Testament religion. Such Christian ideas as the work contains are due to a reworking. It originated in Rome where also it was revised probably for the people at Corinth. This redaction was sometime about 150-160 A. D.

The argument is based on very precarious grounds and the general conception of church history involved in it can hardly be said to have any considerable recognition.

SEEBERG, ALFRED. *Die Didache des Judentums und der Urchristenheit*. Leipzig: Deichert, 1908. vi+122 pages. M. 3.50.

Seeberg refers to a former discussion of his in which he sought to show that Judaism had a catechism for the training of proselytes and children which was known by John the Baptist and Jesus, and was taken over by the early Christian church and adapted to its own use. He held that this catechism consisted of a series of moral formulae and was preserved to us in the *Didache*. He now attempts to discover from the *Didache* and other early Christian writings two other "*Lehren*" of a catechetical nature. One of these contained the ideas of God and the other the eschatological conceptions of Judaism and the early church. Seeberg's argument is subject to the criticism made on his former discussion. Because various writings reflect the same general conceptions of God and eschatology does not argue very much for a catechetical derivation, nor does the fact that a number of writers speak of God as "the creator of the world" seem conclusive evidence that they have studied the same catechism.

Professor Seeberg has presented much interesting material but his thesis has been quite unsuccessfully defended.

LUPTON, J. M. *Septimi Florentis Tertulliani De Baptismo*. Cambridge: University Press, 1908. xlv+78 pages.

The series of Cambridge Patristic Texts is designed for the use of theological students. The present volume consists of a brief introduction to and commentary upon Tertullian's tract *On Baptism*. The introduction offers only a possibly homiletical analysis of this early deliverance upon immersion. Occasionally there is a strange hesitancy to state conclusions compelled by the evidence. A tendency to discover present usages of the church in the utterances of the great Carthaginian also appears. No contribution to Tertullian's view of baptism is made. The bibliography might betray more familiarity with recent literature upon related questions.

LIETZMANN, HANS. *Das Leben des heiligen Symeon Stylites*. [Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur, Dritte Reihe, Zweiter Band, Heft 4.] Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908. vii+257 pages. M. 9.

The Jena church-history seminar has rescued Simeon Stylites from the realm of romance. The investigation is restricted to the main problems in the life of the first pillar-saint but has yielded a permanent contribution to the history of Eastern monasticism. The work on the sources is exhaustive, painstaking, and sane. The twenty-sixth chapter of Theodoret's *Historia Religiosa* as well as the biography by Antonius, together with all the variants, are published in full. The Syriac *vita* is translated into German by Hilgenfeld with telling effect. A penetrating history of the transmission of the various *vitae Symeonis* and a discriminating attempt to construct a consistent chronology and biography of the real Simeon conclude the survey. The customary explanation of the introduction of the pillar by this branch of anchorites is no longer tenable. The founder of the Stylite order did not pass the major portion of three decades upon a twenty-meter pillar to live nearer heaven but more completely to separate himself from the world and more severely to annihilate any remnant of personal freedom.

SCHULTHESS, FRIEDRICH. *Die syrischen Kanone der Synoden von Nicaea bis Chalcedon*. Nebst einigen zugehörigen Documenten. Berlin: Weidmann, 1908. (Abhandl. der kön. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil. Hist. Klasse, N. F., Bd. X, No. 2.) xiii+177 pages. M. 20.

For the text of the canons of the early councils, the Syriac versions are of great value, but have been little used. It is true that portions of them have been published in various quarters usually upon the basis of a single manuscript, and their evidence has been invoked in deciding some vexed questions. It was the absence of the list of books of scripture from the Syriac version of the Canons of the Synod of Laodicea that determined Bishop Westcott in rejecting that list, although some Greek and many Latin manuscripts include it. But the propriety of publishing a detailed critical edition of these early canons of the fourth and fifth centuries as the Syriac versions exhibit them calls for no justification. The historical study of a difficult and crowded period will be importantly aided by this edition. The canons are preserved in two Syriac versions, one of them made in A.D. 501, and the text now published is based upon seven manuscripts, mostly of the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries. Both versions are printed, the one below the other, each accompanied by the variants of its manuscripts. Scholars who use Syriac, as most workers in the history of the eastern church are compelled to do, will find this an admirable source-book for the Synods of Nicaea, Ancyra, Neocaesarea, Gangra, Antioch, Laodicea, Constantinople, and Chalcedon—in short for that important time between 325 and 451 A. D. An index of some sort would have made the book more useful.

BECKER, HANS. *Augustin: Studien zu seiner Geistes-Entwicklung*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908. 155 pages. M. 3.

The life of the great Augustine was so many-sided, and his influence so wide and far-reaching that it perhaps can never be fully interpreted. He surely did not fully interpret himself in his *Confessions*. There is, then, always room for one more study in his spiritual growth when it is a new investigation of the sources. Dr. Becker has evidently done a good piece of work, and we fully agree with him that "this Titan in the spiritual world has much to say to the restless, inquisitive men of the present."

CHURCH HISTORY

FURSAC, J. ROGUES DE. *Un mouvement mystique contemporaine. Le reveil religieux du pays de Galles (1904-1905)*. Paris: Alcan, 1907. 188 pages. Fr. 2.50.

This volume comes in the "Library of Contemporaneous Philosophy." At several points in 1904-5 there were great manifestations of religious sentiment in France and Wales. M. Fursac made a tour in which he came into close contact with these movements, and applied his psychological training to the phenomena. In this book he has brought together the notes which he took in the course of his investigation. The work is sure to be read with interest by all who are occupied with problems of the religious life and the psychology of peoples.

Lettere di un Prete Modernista. Appendice dalla sospensione di R. Murri la scomunica di A. Loisy. Roma: Libreria Editrice Romana, 1908. 288 pages.

Twelve letters by a modernist priest containing a full and free discussion of all the points involved in the Modernist controversy from the viewpoint of one who sympathizes with modernism, and who sees in it the salvation of the Roman church. The appendices covering 104 pages and treating eighteen different subjects add much to the value of the book.

Saint Bernard on Consideration. Translated by GEORGE LEWIS, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908. 169 pages. 3s. 6d.

We are indebted to Mr. Lewis for this the only English translation of Bernard's masterpiece—*On Consideration*. In a short introduction the translator reminds us that Bernard was born and flourished at a time when great events were taking place in the mediaeval world, and how more than any other man he directed them as he would. There are brief introductions to each of the five books and numerous valuable notes distributed all through the book.

HERON, JAMES. *A Short History of Puritanism.* A Handbook for Guilds and Bible Classes. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribner, 1908. 236 pages. \$0.50.

Professor Heron very truly thinks that Puritanism has not yet had its day; that its history and achievements ought to be brought to the attention of young people, and indeed all people who still think that there should be a difference between the church and the world. In this little volume of 236 pages he has told the story in such a simple and attractive way as to win earnest readers to his point of view. This is not, however, to say that he writes as a narrow puritan. He points out the mistakes of Puritanism in a perfectly candid manner. We heartily commend the little book.

BEVERIDGE, W. *Makers of the Scottish Church.* Edinburgh: Clark, 1908. 212 pages. \$0.60.

The historian of the Westminster Assembly has very briefly but accurately and attractively brought to our attention the great lights of the church in Scotland. The list, of course, includes Patrick Hamilton, John Knox, Alexander Henderson, and, later, Thomas Chalmers, and Robert Rainy. The little volume of 212 pages should have a place in all Sunday-school libraries.

BOSSERT, A. *Johann Calvin.* Deutsche Ausgabe besorgt von Prof. Dr. Hermann Krollick, mit dem Bilde des Reformateur. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1908. 176 pages. M. 3.60.

It is rather remarkable that since Stäblin in 1863 and Kampschulte in 1869 there has appeared in Germany no satisfactory life of Calvin. Yet the amount of new bibliographical material is such as to make a comprehensive work desirable. Dr. Krollick has sought to supply this want by bringing out a German edition of Bossert's *Calvin* which appears in the series of "Grands Ecrivains Français." The chapters in the book are: Calvin's family; his classical studies; his law and theological studies;

his Institutes—the prefatory letter to Francis I, the conception of God, man, predestination; his journey to Italy; his first sojourn in Geneva; his banishment and recall; Calvin and Sadolet; the reorganization of the Genevan church; the trial of Servetus; the triumph of the theocracy; Calvin as humanist, orator, and writer; and the outcome of Calvinism.

The editor adds eighteen notes covering nineteen pages closely printed on such subjects as: The authorship of Cop's address, Calvin's doctrine of predestination, the purpose of his visit to Ferrara, his influence in the Netherlands, England, and Scotland. The volume ends with a general bibliography.

Bossert's work is *multum in parvo*. In 176 pages he has condensed into a readable, really interesting narrative the essential facts of the life and work of the great Genevan reformer.

HARRIS, J. RENDEL. *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins*. With seven plates. Cambridge: University Press, 1906. 160 pages. 6s.

Twin worship is shown to be one of the oldest of religions, and its observance among primitive peoples, in Greece, in eastern and western Christianity, and among uncivilized races today, is ingeniously traced, with Rendel Harris' well-known literary charm. The result is a strange and convincing disclosure of new pagan survivals in mediaeval Christianity.

STEPHAN, HORST. *Luther in den Wandlungen seiner Kirche*. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1907. 8vo. 136 pages. M. 2.60.

This brochure constitutes Heft 1, of "Studien zur Geschichte des neueren Protestantismus," herausgegeben von Lic. Dr. Heinrich Hoffman und Lic. Leopold Zscharnack, of the universities of Leipzig and Berlin respectively. The aim of the writer is to show on the one hand the power of Luther's personality and its influence on subsequent Christian thought, and on the other hand that the prevailing conceptions of Luther from epoch to epoch have varied so widely in response to changes in ideals and modes of thought as in some cases almost to obliterate the real Luther. The many-sidedness of Luther readily lent itself to such treatment. In the Reformation time, even in his own lifetime, antinomians and legalists, fatalists and synergists, Osiandrists, Flacianists, and Philippists, all claimed for their views the support of Luther's writings. In the time of dominant "orthodoxy" Luther was portrayed as the narrow and intolerant dogmatist, refusing any sort of fellowship to Zwingli and Carlstadt because of their denial of the real presence in the Supper, waging an exterminating warfare against the Anabaptists because of their rejection of infant baptism, state-churchism, justification by faith alone, etc., with his hostility to Calvinism, synergism, etc. Pietists, so far as they sought to establish the legitimacy of their position in the Lutheran communion, pictured Luther as the devout mystic, spending much time in prayer and in the reverent study of the Scriptures, and the works of Augustine, Tauler, etc.; in the age of "Enlightenment" (Aufklärung) the revolutionary Luther burning the papal bull and law-books, contending for freedom of thought and liberty of conscience (as in the *Address to the Nobility of Germany*, *The Liberty of a Christian Man*, *The Babylonish Captivity of the Church*, etc.). The chief blot on his career was his ill-mannered and contemptuous handling of Henry VIII, in the eyes of a generation that gladly accepted the rule of the "benevolent despots." In the newer time, while representatives of different tendencies have all been glad to

find support for their positions in the writings and deeds of Luther, the objective spirit has come to prevail and earnest efforts are being made to bring into the light every scrap of extant material by or about Luther and to reconstruct his personality with all the elements of power and weakness just as it was. The author has fully illustrated the varying conceptions of Luther by quotations from the literature of each period and the monograph is one of much interest and value. The effect of the book is to show that Luther's personality has been central and dominant in German life and thought during the past four centuries.

KEHR, PAULUS FRIDOLINUS. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*. Jubente Regia Societate Gottingensi conguessit. Italia Pontificia. Vol. III. Etruria. Berolini: Weidmannus, 1908. lii+492 pages. M. 16.

This third volume of the regesta of the Roman pontiffs fully meets the expectation of mediaeval scholars and maintains in plan and execution a high level of excellence. Without the support of a learned society inspired by splendid ideals and commanding the services of a tireless and methodical collector like Professor Kehr an enterprise of such magnitude as the present could neither have been launched nor have been brought safely into port. Many earlier scholars have indeed cleared the way by assembling similar material, but all their collections, valuable enough at the time of their appearance, may now be declared to be superseded and shelved.

The present volume, covering only the pontifical privileges and letters issued for the province of Tuscany prior to the year 1198, contains a description of 1501 numbers. A list of these in chronological order introduces the volume and serves to give the student a general survey of the material. The fact that fully two-thirds of the total number of the listed privileges belong to the twelfth century would go to show how lamentably scanty the documentary material is for the earliest centuries of the papacy. On the heels of the preliminary list begins the detailed description of the privileges under twelve heads corresponding to the twelve dioceses (Florence, Pisa, Siena, Lucca, etc.) which make up the province of Tuscany. In connection with each diocese there is a minute bibliography followed by a description of the local archives and a review of their treasures. It is not without a certain comfort to his pride that the reader discovers in the preface that a number of congenial spirits have assisted Professor Kehr in this incredibly difficult compilation; none the less the labor has been supplied in the main by him and to him alone the honor is due. When the present collection is complete it will take rank with such long-established sources as the *Monumenta Germaniae* and the *Scriptores of Muratori* as the necessary and solid foundation for all our labors in connection with the mediaeval church and state.

COIGNET, C. *L'Evolution du protestantisme français au XIX^e siècle*. Paris: Alcan, 1908. 172 pages. Fr. 2.50.

This essay was inspired by Aug. Sabatier's *Esquisse d'une philosophie de la religion*. It aims at a demonstration of the net content of the gospel, divested from the unevangelical accretions of tradition and environment. The author reviews the reformatory thought in France previous to the Edict of Nantes, gives a careful study of the Edict, and of the later Gallicanism. The influence of Calvin and Kant on French religious thought are treated very adequately and the concluding chapter opens the way for constructive work, which is to be undertaken later.

HARNACK, ADOLF. *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*. Vol. I and II. Second, Enlarged and Revised Edition. London: Williams & Norgate; New York: Putnam, 1908. xv+514, vii+358 pages. \$7.00 net.

It is impossible to withhold enthusiastic admiration from such a work as Harnack's *Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, now in its second English edition. The new German edition of 1906, amplified and largely rewritten, is the basis of this new English edition, which is accompanied by a number of maps illustrating the extension of Christianity in the first centuries, and by a admirable indices. The maps drawn by Professor Harnack constitute a distinctive feature of the new edition; it will be remembered that Professor Harnack was at first unwilling to express his conclusions in maps. The conception and execution of this notable book are alike admirable. Harnack's firm touch, precise and encyclopedic learning, broad sympathy and appreciation, and brilliant historical style characterize the whole. More than ever, in this enlarged form, and with these helpful maps, it will be indispensable for the interpretation of early Christian literature and still more of early Christian life, in the stirring and mysterious centuries before Eusebius and Constantine. The second volume, "The Expansion of the Christian Religion," is of especial interest, tracing the progress of Christianity in every district of the ancient world, in specific and convincing detail. The unique interest and importance of the work have already been widely recognized. We notice a few misprints—Palledius, F. Flavius Clemens.

KRUGER, GUSTAV. *Dogma and History*. [The Essex Hall Lecture.] London: Philip Green, 1908. 84 pages. 1s.

In this popular lecture, Dr. Kruger puts into brief and readable form the thesis that the traditional dogmas of the Trinity and of Christology cannot stand the test of historical criticism. It is imperative that religious faith should be disengaged from these dogmas which are in danger of losing their authority as historical research proceeds. The true basis of faith he finds in the Ritschlian value-judgment. In this way he believes that it may be shown that "what is eternal in Christianity is completely independent of the formulas in which the churches of all ages have enclosed it."

SABATIER, PAUL. *Modernism*. [The Jowett Lectures, 1908.] Translated by C. A. Miles. With a Preface, Notes, and Appendices. New York: Scribner, 1908. 351 pages. \$1.25 net.

The lucid and suggestive interpretation of modernism by this famous French historian is of great interest. He identifies himself enthusiastically with the modernists, and, presupposing a general knowledge of the progress of the movement, calls attention to those features of it which seem to him to be most worthy of notice. He feels that it is the present government of the Catholic church rather than the church itself that is failing to understand the present crisis. He brings out clearly the limitations of Pope Pius X, with his provincial outlook, and his simple piety which leads him to take the information given to him through his advisors as reliable. For the pope, the crisis is simply one of insurrection, to be dealt with by ecclesiastical police measures. The modernists, on the other hand, have come to feel that a religion which rests upon the inner sense of harmony in life is more authoritative than one

which must appeal to coercion. Moreover, a veneration for historical growth, a sense of unity with the process of the centuries differentiates the modernists from the more individualistic Protestants. M. Sabatier feels that "the present crisis will not kill the church, it will transform her; the Catholic of tomorrow will be no longer a subject but a citizen." The four appendices, giving English translations of the two papal encyclicals and of the syllabus as well as the petition of the French Catholics regarding the Separation Act make the book the most valuable source-book in English for students of the movement.

PISANI, P. *L'église de Paris et la révolution*. Vol. I, 1789-1792. Paris: Picard et Fils, 1908. 348 pages. Fr. 3.50.

This excellent little book gives in graphic language, based on close and extensive investigation, the story of the first phase (1789-1792) of the schism produced in the French church by the religious policy of the National Assembly. Though very readable, as well as judicial in temper and scientific in method, the volume does not set forth any new or startling results. Truth to tell the religious history of the period has been so often reviewed that little has been left which the late-comer can gleam. The feature of the volume deserving special mention is that we have here a popular presentation in the best sense of the word. While its simplicity and clearness render the volume accessible to a large circle of readers, the solidarity of its construction successfully repels the criticism of the learned. American readers may in this connection take note once more of the special genius of French authors for combining profound research with the requirements of literary form.

COMPARATIVE RELIGION

HENRY, VICTOR. *La magie dans l'Inde antique*. Paris: Nourry, 1909. xxxix+286 pages. Fr. 3.50.

The aim of this book, as its title implies, is to give an account of magic as found in ancient India, and also to treat in a more general way of the place of magic in human development and its relations with various cognate phenomena. As a study of Indian magic it is based upon the Atharva Veda and the Kauçika Sutra, and it gives an exposition of methods of divination, charms of long life, prosperity, marriage, etc., and rites of black art.

Magic and myth the author considers hardly more than different aspects of the same primitive interpretation of Nature. Nor is magic to be sharply distinguished from early religion, for normally the magician is the priest. Professor Henry does not agree with Frazer that religion is "the despair of magic," nor with the view that magic is essentially different from religion in recognizing "secondary causes." In fact, "magic and religion are only diversified forms of myth, which is science in formation."

BIGELOW, W. S. *Buddhism and Immortality*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1908. 75 pages. \$0.75.

In view of the breadth of the subject of this lecture, the reader is surprised to learn that the author treats primarily the Japanese-Buddhist *Tendai* and *Shingon*,

two only out of many *sects* of Northern, or Nepaulese Buddhism which is closely related to Brahmanism, in distinction from the Southern School of Ceylon.

The author takes as a basis the definition of man taken from Buddhism: "A man consists of states of consciousness." The problem to be solved is "the perseverance of *these states of consciousness*." Buddhism holds that "each man carries within himself the conditions and limitations of his universe; that self-consideration contracts and finally destroys it while unselfish action expands it; that character through transmigration determines the persistence of the altruistic self; and that the end—beyond kingdoms, beyond the stars, in the sky that holds them all—is the peace of limitless consciousness unified with limitless will." "That peace is Nirvana."

GASQUET, ABBOT, AND BISHOP, EDMUND. *The Bosworth Psalter*: An account of a manuscript formerly belonging to O. Turville-Petre, Esq., of Bosworth Hall; Now Addit. MS 37,517 at the British Museum. With an Appendix on the Birth-date of Saint Dunstan, by Leslie A. St. L. Toke. London: George Bell, 1908. 189 pages. 15s. net.

The Bosworth manuscript of the Latin psalms recently came to the notice of Mr. Gasquet while on a visit to Leicestershire, and the present handsome volume is the result of the interest it aroused in him. The manuscript contains the Psalms in the Roman version, and a complete hymnal, besides an interesting calendar, of a slightly later date, and certain other liturgical pieces. The editors discuss these works somewhat elaborately, presenting the full text of the calendar, with other Canterbury calendars, in parallel columns. Since the manuscript exhibits the Benedictine (monastic) not the Roman (secular) office, and since the hymnal lacks the hymn for St. Dunstan, and since the manuscript is of such antiquity and beauty, they conclude that it was probably written for Dunstan himself in the earlier years of his archiepiscopate at Canterbury, in the middle of the tenth century. An appendix maintains that the saint was born not as Bishop Stubbs held, in 925, but at least as early as 910. Three excellent facsimiles illustrate the volume, which is admirable as a study in English ecclesiastical history, and as an interpretation of a mediaeval manuscript.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

BALLARD, FRANK. *Christian Essentials: A Re-Statement for the People of Today*. London: Cully, 1907. xv+354 pages. 8s.

This volume is a series of sermons upon such essential Christian doctrines as God, Trinity, Atonement, Resurrection, Holy Spirit, Sacraments, Sin, and Hereafter. It is a book for the people, wordy, written from the view-point of enlightened orthodoxy and with special reference to the views of Rev. R. J. Campbell.

LOOFS, FRIEDRICH. *Akademische Predigten*, mit einer Vorrede: "Über die Aufgabe der Predigt in der Gegenwart." Dresden: Ungelenk, 1908. 22+139 pages. M. 1.50.

This little volume is one in a series on the "Predigt der Gegenwart." It contains twelve selected sermons which were preached by the professor of Church history before academic audiences. The first three sermons define the position to be taken in reference to the ethical and dogmatic material, the next two concern the fundamental principles

of the Christian life as shown by the Christian evaluation of life in general and some particular precepts of Jesus, and the remaining seven are on the doctrines of justification and atonement. The preface, however, is the most important thing in the little book. It gives a strong testimony to the need of a change in pulpit emphasis that is being felt in Germany at present. Professor Loofs argues that a Protestant preacher need not be bound by the perikope, but should adapt himself to the needs of his congregation. And in order to find out this need he should aim to learn "not merely the religious horizon of his audience, but he should take special pains to find out the intellectual life of his auditors in general. He who would serve laborers must know the whole social-democratic educational literature. The chief aim of the sermon should be that the congregation, the modern congregation, should find "an answer to their questions, comfort in their necessities, guidance and encouragement for the practical tasks that are before them." And how to go about to achieve this aim is excellently exemplified in the sermons of Professor Loofs.

COFFIN, HENRY SLOANE. *The Creed of Jesus, and Other Sermons*. New York: Scribner, 1907. 280 pages. \$1.00.

The sermon from which this volume takes its title was delivered to the graduating class of Yale Divinity School, 1907. It is at once a creedal interpretation of the Lord's Prayer, a statement of the underlying religious convictions of Jesus, a reduction of theology to a doctrine of God, a programme, and an appeal to experience. Many helpful utterances abound: "The aim of the doctrine of the divinity of Jesus is not to assert something about Jesus, but to assert something about God." "His theology was really subordinate to his purpose." The sermon on "Self-consciousness" has unique value.

KELLEY, WM. V. *The Ripening Experience of Life, and Other Essays*. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1907. vii+444 pages. \$1.50.

These essays give beautiful expression to sane and profound meditation. The title essay and those on "Automatic Evangelism" and "The Normal Age for Conversion" are remarkably illuminating. The collection as a whole, with its variety of material under the three divisions of "Avowals," "Answers," and "Consolations," is replete with wisdom and literary culture. Ministers, especially, will find the volume useful and stimulating.

DYKES, J. OSWALD. *The Christian Minister and His Duties*. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribner, 1908. viii+371 pages. \$2.25.

In this book the Principal Emeritus of Westminster College, Cambridge, puts into permanent and available form the substance of his classroom lectures on practical theology. A half-century of experience as minister and teacher gives to the work marked sanity and thoroughness. The consciousness of the British nonconformist is sometimes in evidence so that New Testament interpretation becomes apology for congregational church polity to an extent that would not be necessary in America. Profitable emphasis, however, is given to the minister's conduct of public worship in the non-liturgical churches, and recognition is made of the fact that the churches have overtaxed the modern minister by the multiplicity and magnitude of the duties imposed upon him as the sole paid servant of the church.

The work may be criticized, along with practically all similar productions, for

being oblivious of the social probation which the church is now undergoing. The thought of leadership in social regeneration is absent; only the individual is in evidence. In this respect the book, although excellent in the ground that it does cover, leaves much to be desired by those who are conscious of modern church problems, at least in America.

HOYT, ARTHUR S. *The Preacher: His Person, Message, and Method*. New York: Macmillan, 1909. x+373 pages. \$1.50.

The author manifests a consciousness of modern pulpit problems not usually found in works on homiletics. To be sure, the exceedingly personal, and so subtle, element in preaching must ever elude book treatment, but in Part I of his book Professor Hoyt makes a remarkably satisfactory analysis of the elemental factors in pulpit power. The chapters on "The Social Message," "Ethical Sermons," and "The Ethics of Pulpit Speech" are especially valuable. The book is a timely contribution to the better training of ministers.

RICHARD, J. W., AND PAINTER, F. V. N. *Christian Worship: Its Principles and Forms*: Second edition, revised. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1908. viii+368 pages. \$1.50.

This work was first published in 1892. In the present edition "no change whatever has been made in the substance or sentiment of the book." The treatise, however, is decidedly valuable as a history of Christian liturgics, and it has the added virtue of presenting in full a good number of the typical liturgies of the church. Especial prominence is given to the worship of the Lutheran church, but the book will prove helpful to every student of Christian worship by providing the proper approach to an understanding of the liturgical practices in the various Protestant denominations.

BLACK, HUGH. *University Sermons: The Gift of Influence*. Chicago: Revell, 1908. 307 pages. \$1.25.

These brief and vigorous sermons constitute real messages to students, not, indeed, as such, but as men and women with ideals and needs common to humanity. The largeness, simplicity, and positiveness of these twenty-seven sermons explains in part the manifest interest and profit attendant upon the ministry of their author.

THEOLOGY

Faith and Works of Christian Science. New York: Macmillan, 1909. 232 pages. \$1.25.

The author of *Confessio Medici* who has already won many friends by his genial style and acute powers of observation, in this volume subjects Christian Science to a critical review. The first part of the book is devoted to a somewhat whimsical exposure of the logical inconsistencies and absurdities in Mrs. Eddy's logomachy. The latter portion of the book consists in a rigid examination of Christian-Science testimonies from the point of view of a trained physician, and is extremely damaging to the therapeutic claims of the movement. While admitting the value of psycho-therapeutics under proper scientific guidance, the author deprecates the irresponsible methods of Christian-Science healers.

The Christ That Is to Be, by the author of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*. New York: Macmillan, 1907. xviii+385 pages. \$1.50.

These thoughtful essays elaborate the imperial significance of the religion of Jesus for all spheres of human life and more especially as touching mental and physical health. The author points out the present retreat of medicine as a purely materialistic science, and makes rather more of the miracles of Jesus than critical scholarship would be prepared to grant. The work, however, reveals much historical insight and is written in admirable style. The theodicy, like all others, is inconclusive.

FAUT, S. *Die Christologie seit Schleiermacher, ihre Geschichte und ihre Begründung*. Tübingen: Mohr, 1907. M. 2.80.

This little volume is a valuable and discriminating study of the interpretation of the person of Christ as set forth by the chief German theologians in the nineteenth century. The author sets forth clearly the logical inconsistencies involved in the early attempts to do justice to the complete historical humanity of Jesus while at the same time retaining his deity in the traditional sense of the term. The analysis and criticism of the Hegelian and of the mediating theologians is especially valuable and acute. Ritschl is treated with very great sympathy, and the author's own conclusions correspond in general to the Ritschlian ideal, although he makes a somewhat larger use of the appreciation which comes from a genuine historical study of the life of Jesus. He insists however, that religious faith cannot be satisfied with affirmations concerning a historical man, but that in so far as Jesus becomes central for religious faith it becomes necessary to make theological affirmations concerning him. The book is one of the best brief introductions to the modern problem of Christology which has appeared.

KING, HENRY CHURCHILL. *The Laws of Friendship, Human and Divine*. New York: Macmillan, 1909. 159 pages. \$1.25.

This little book contains the Haverford Library Lectures, and makes practical application of those ideals drawn from psychology and from religious faith which Dr. King has so effectively expounded in his previous volumes. The central message of the book consists in its interpretation of religious life as a friendship between man and God, and the application of the psychological conditions of human friendship to the promotion of profound religious life. It is written with Dr. King's well-known lucidity, and will doubtless be read widely and with great profit.

BOUSSET, WILHELM. *The Faith of a Modern Protestant*. Translated by F. B. Low. New York: Scribner, 1909. 119 pages. \$0.75.

Professor Bousset's little brochure, entitled "Unserer Gottesglaube" in the *Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher*, has been translated into English under the title "The Faith of a Modern Protestant." Professor Bousset gives expression in the warm, persuasive language of religious devotion to the uplifting influence which comes from the Christian belief in God. It is scarcely to be expected that a little volume of this size should enter upon the critical question as to our scientific right to hold the sort of faith which is depicted. This problem is of more fundamental importance than is an exposition of the practical inspiration which comes to life from holding such a religious faith. It is interesting, however, to observe that a somewhat radical critical position in biblical scholarship does not make impossible the holding of a faith which rivals in warmth and eloquence that of the most orthodox pietist.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The more important books in this list will be reviewed at length.

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- OLD TESTAMENT AND SEMITICS**
- Brooke, A. E., and McLean, Norman (editors). *The Old Testament in Greek. According to the Text of Codex Vaticanus, supplemented from other Uncial Manuscripts, with a critical apparatus containing the variants of the chief ancient authorities for the Text of the Septuagint. Vol. I. The Octateuch (to be completed in 4 parts). Part II. Exodus and Leviticus.* Cambridge: University Press, 1909. viii + 155-405 pages. 12s. 6d.
- Burney, C. F. *Israel's Hope of Immortality.* Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1909. 105 pages. 2s. 6d.
- Caspari, Wilhelm. *Aufkommen und Krise des Israelitischen Königtums unter David. Ursachen, Teilnehmer und Verlauf des Absalomischen Aufstandes.* Berlin: Trowitzsch & Sohn, 1909. 138 pages. \$1.
- Cook, Stanley, A. *Religion of Ancient Palestine. (Religions Ancient and Modern.)* Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1909. 122 pages.
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- Gollanez, Hermann, *The Targum to the Song of Songs; the Book of the Apple; the Ten Jewish Martyrs; a Dialogue on Games of Chance. Translated from the Hebrew and Aramaic.* London: Luzac & Co., 1908. 219 pages. \$1.
- Hirschy, Noah Calvin. *Artaxerxes III Ochus and His Reign. With special consideration of the Old Testament sources bearing upon the period.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1909. 85 pages. \$0.81.
- Kent, Charles Foster. *The Historical Bible: Vol. III. The Kings and Prophets of Israel and Judah. From the Division of the Kingdom to the Babylonian Exile. With maps and charts* New York: Scribner, 1909. xv + 323 pages.
- Otto, Walter. *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Aegypten. Zweiter Band. Leipzig: Teubner, 1908. 417 pages. M. 14.*
- Rothstein, Wilhelm. *Grundzüge des Hebräischen Rhythmus und seiner Formenbildung nebst lyrischen Texten mit kritischem Kommentar.* Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909. 397 pages. M. 12.40.
- Sulzberger, Mayer. *Am Ha-Aretz. The Ancient Hebrew Parliament. A Chapter in the Constitutional History of Ancient Israel.* Philadelphia: Julius H. Greenstone, 1909. 96 pages.
- Thompson, J. Campbell. *Semitic Magic. (Luzac's Oriental Religious Series.)* London: Luzac & Co., 1908. 286 pages. \$2.50.
- Torge, Paul. *Seelenglaube und Unsterblichkeitshoffnung im Alten Testament.* Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909. 256 pages. M. 5.
- Weber, Otto. *Eduard Glasers Forschungsreisen in Südarabien.* Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909. 32 pages. M. 0.60.
- Winter, J., und Wünsche, A. *Mechiltha. Ein tannaitischer Midrasch zu Exodus. Erstmalig ins Deutsche übersetzt und erläutert.* Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909. 390 pages. M. 10.

NEW TESTAMENT AND ALLIED SUBJECTS

- Abbott, Edwin A. *The Message of the Son of Man*. London: Black, 1909. xxii + 166 pages. 4s. 6d.
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- Denney, James. *Jesus and the Gospel. Christianity Justified in the Mind of Christ*. New York: Armstrong, 1909. 368 pages.
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- Hölscher, G. *Die Geschichte der Juden in Palestina seit dem Jahre 70 nach Chr. Eine Skizze*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909. 64 pages. M. 1.50.
- Law Robert. *The Tests of Life. A Study of the First Epistle of St. John. Being the Kerr Lectures for 1909*. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribner, 1909. 421 pages. \$3.00.
- Lewis, Agnes Smith. (editor) *Horae Semiticae. VIII. Codex Climaci Rescriptus. Fragments of Sixth Century Palestinian Syriac Texts of the Gospels, of the Acts of the Apostles, and of St. Paul's Epistles. Also fragments of an early Palestinian Lectionary of the Old Testament, etc. With seven Facsimiles*. Cambridge: University Press, 1909. xxxi + 201 pages. \$3.50.
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- Robertson, A. T. *Epochs in the Life of Paul. A Study of Development in Paul's Career*. New York: Scribner, 1909. 337 pages. \$1.25.
- Scott, Robert. *The Literature of the New Testament. The Pauline Epistles. A Critical Study*. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribner, 1909. 376 pages. \$2.00.

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- Klein, G. *Der älteste Christliche Katholizismus und die jüdische Propaganda-Literatur*. Berlin: Reimer, 1909. 273 pages. M. 6.
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- Bigg, Charles. *The Origins of Christianity*. Edited by T. B. Strong. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1909. viii + 518 pages. \$3.00.
- Delehaye, Hippolyte. *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires*. Paris: Picard et Fils, 1909. 271 pages. Fr. 5.
- Feret, P. *La faculté de théologie de Paris et ses docteurs les plus célèbres*. Paris: Picard et Fils, 1909. 417 pages. Fr. 7.50.
- Heitz, Th. *Essai historique sur les rapports entre la philosophie et la foi*. Paris: Lecoffre, 1909. xv + 176 pages. Fr. 3.50.
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- Tixeront, J. Histoire des dogmes. II. De Saint Athanase à Saint Augustin (318-430). Paris: Lecoffre, 1909. 534 pages. Fr. 3.50.
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- Lea, John W. The Atonement, or Hu-man Nature and Redemption. Chicago: John W. Lea, 1909. 168 pages. \$0.50.
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- Que penser de la bible? Par un groupe de prêtres catholiques. 1^{re} série: *De la morale et de la civilisation des peuples bibliques*. 209 pages. Fr. 2.50. 2^e série: *De l'authenticité des livres Saints et principalement du Pentateuque et des quatre Evangiles*. 311 pages. Fr. 3.50. 3^e série: *De l'Inspiration, sa nature, son étendue, ses conséquences*. 160 pages. Fr. 2. Paris: Nourry, 1909.
- Saintyves, P. Le discernement du mi-racle ou le miracle et les critiques. Paris: Nourry, 1909. 357 pages. Fr. 6.
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- Seignobos, Charles. *History of Contemporary Civilization.* Translated and edited by James Alton James. New York: Scribner, 1909. 464 pages. \$1.25.
- The Faith and Works of Christian Science.* New York: Macmillan, 1909. 232 pages. \$1.25.
- The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge.* Samuel Macauley Jackson, Editor-in-Chief, with the assistance of Charles Colebrook Sherman and George William Gilmore, Associate Editors. Vol. II. Basilica-Chambers. 500 pages. Vol. III. Chamier-Draendorf. 500 pages. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1909. \$5.00 per vol.
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DOES THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF RELIGIONS YIELD A DOGMATIC THEOLOGY?

PROFESSOR HUGH R. MACKINTOSH
Edinburgh, Scotland

The new method of study, familiar to Germans as the *religionsgeschichtliche Methode*, is in theology the question of the hour. Issues are raised by it of such cardinal importance that for the present it tends to overshadow all other problems. In an age of trusts, often hostile to individual enterprise, it is perhaps not wonderful that the science of comparative religion should propose to take over the business of Christian theology. The work, it is held, can be better done on the larger scale. Every religion is a syncretism; every religion has in it elements which can be traced to alien sources and differ considerably in value. Is it not antecedently probable that the man who studies Christianity, not by itself, but as one member of a group, with the knowledge and trained insight gained by comparative investigation, will take a saner view of it, its strength and perhaps its weakness, than the man who is a Church theologian and nothing more? In Kipling's familiar words,

What can they know of England who only England know?

How can we reach truth at all except as we define various types of religion by contrast to one another, thus fixing and authenticating by reference to history the beliefs and practices that are relatively highest?

This is the problem of present-day theology; but it is perhaps worth while to point out that it is in no sense a novel one. Not to speak of the early apologists, we know that the place of Christianity

in the religions of the world evoked lively interest in the eighteenth century. The age of rationalism indeed brought to the discussion several qualities of immense value—a cool urbanity of temper, a singular absence of ecclesiastical prejudice, and a real interest in psychology. Its weak point was its sense for history. In the nineteenth century also there have been forerunners of the new movement. The late Professor Otto Pfleiderer had for at least thirty years been making substantial contributions to a philosophy of religion which should embody, and interpret to reason, the ascertained results of the historical study of religion. In a recent *History of Theology* he is actually styled the father of the new school. The widely current impression that the movement as a whole is of a novel and unprecedented kind may be due rather to the sharp contrast that obviously exists between it and the tendencies of Ritschlianism. So jealously and so completely had Ritschl isolated the religion of the New Testament from ethnic influences that in the end some of his ablest scholars were provoked into reaction; and not unnaturally they have sometimes spoken as if the direction taken by their revolt were a wholly new thing in the world, and spelt revolution. Already, however, the Christian mind has begun to accommodate itself more or less calmly to the fresh issues thus flung into the arena. Someone has said that every new idea, before it is received, has to submit to three successive modes of treatment. First people say, severely, "We never heard of such a thing before;" next, "It is contrary to the Bible;" finally, "We knew it all the time." And even now, I think, we can see this process of self-recovery going on in the church. For the hundredth time the gospel is finding its own in the changes of human thought.

Let me now state clearly what this paper does not aim at. It does not aim at a discussion of the value of the new method for biblical exegesis. It was of course certain beforehand that scholarship would advance from a study of primitive Christian documents to a historical study of the ideas which these documents contain; answers to the question how certain ideas took literary form scarcely decide anything as to the origin or worth of the ideas themselves. Hence the work of Gunkel and Bousset on a writing like the Apocalypse was at once felt to supply a palpable want. At first, it is true, wild ideas were entertained as to the far-reaching modifications in store for biblical

theology, and we are still agreeably conscious of the sobering influence exerted by the *Babel-Bibel* controversy. Still, whatever the diseases of its childhood, anyone can see that the new method of inquiry has come to stay. As Professor Denney has said, "Its right is unquestioned, and though like all new things it is apt to go to some heads with intoxicating power, it has brought light into a few dark places in the New Testament, and has doubtless more to bring."¹

Neither is it the aim of this paper to ask what may be the significance for apologetics of the parallels to specifically Christian doctrines which are or may be discoverable in the records of non-Christian faiths. The importance of this question no one will dispute. Let us waive for one moment all uncertainty as to whether the myths of virgin-births, of descents into the underworld, of resurrections and ascensions which certain writers have pointed out in the religions of Egypt, Arabia, Phoenicia, or Persia are veritable analogues of the ideas enshrined in the New Testament; let us assume rather that the analogy has been proved to the very hilt. Is this supposed result a hindrance to the apologist or a help? Does it make his task of justifying the gospel to the modern mind an easier thing, or create a fresh and perhaps an exceptionally grave difficulty? Farther on I have ventured to indicate briefly the elements of a reply to this subtle and complicated question, but for the present we must leave it on one side.

Our problem is rather the more general one whether the method of comparative religion, moving always in its proper limits, and using no principles but its own, can furnish us with a tenable dogmatic. Sanguine things have been said as to the prospect of this, and as to the attractiveness it is likely to have for the normal intelligence of today. Can these eager words of promise be made good? Has the effort been made to substantiate them, and if so with what success? It is perhaps a fact of significance that so far only one prominent writer, Professor Troeltsch, of Heidelberg, has tried his hand, and even he, in spite of his great ability, has scarcely got much beyond the *prolegomena* to a possible dogmatic system. From this we have no right, certainly, to infer that the task is too much for human powers, but at least we may cherish a salutary sense of its extreme difficulty.

¹ *Jesus and the Gospel*, p. 11.

Let us then take in turn the laws of historical inquiry formulated by Troeltsch, in their application to the field of religion, and let us scrutinize the bearing of each on the construction of a doctrinal system. Be it remembered, also, that no system of theology is possible or conceivable except as it rests upon the apprehension by religious men of an absolute criterion of truth and value. Christian beliefs imply that in Jesus the Christian mind has felt itself to be in contact with the last and highest reality in the universe. Human appreciation of truth, as truth is in Jesus, may change or vary in respect to depth, accuracy, and comprehensiveness; but except for the irrefragable conviction generated in the soul that Jesus Christ puts very God within our reach, as Father and Redeemer of men, not a single article of Christian faith would ever have been formulated anywhere in the world. It is a crucial point, therefore, whether the rules of scientific history, as Troeltsch conceives them, still leave to the gospel this fundamental character of absoluteness and finality.

The laws of historic method, says Professor Troeltsch,² under which all religious phenomena of the past must be subsumed, are three in number; those, namely, of criticism, analogy, and relativity. According to the first of these, each historical conclusion is in itself no more than a judgment of probability, which cannot at the utmost rise higher than moral certainty. This makes our hold upon each particular an insecure one. The law of analogy asserts the essential uniformity of occurrences in this world, so that events far apart in space and time must be regarded as having taken place in that manner which general experience proves to be normal. Finally, the law of relativity proclaims that history is a seamless robe, each personality or episode of the past being only a subordinate element in the limitless context. Or, to change the figure, all things are born in the river of time; every change in the current is the outcome of previous change; and to speak of ultimate isolation or originality is therefore purely unmeaning. No one can believe in it who sees what history is.

Now it is plain that if the fact of Christianity, and especially the facts in which Christianity originated, are to be interpreted by these

² *Ueber historische und dogmatische Methode*, pp. 89 ff. On the whole subject see Hunzinger's able book, *Probleme und Aufgaben der gegenwärtigen systematischen Theologie* (1909).

laws, as conceptions assumed to cover all the details without remainder, a stupendous problem is being approached with very grave dogmatic prejudices. They are so grave that the faith of the New Testament may turn out to be discredited from the first. In any case, it is always depressing to be told in advance how much you are permitted to believe; and these "summary and a priori decisions in which courageous spirits lay down the law beforehand to a world of which we know so little" do not lead us to anticipate that the greatest things in Christianity will be handled with the requisite sympathy and fairness. One may go farther, and say that it is a direct offense against the principles of exact thought to import into the investigation of Christianity methods which are no doubt quite trustworthy in general research, but which yet bar out by definition the claim of this religion to bring to men a wholly unique embodiment of divine grace. If we may put it so, the Christian faith has achieved results, in the consolation and renewal of human lives, which merit treatment of a more respectful kind. Nor can we consent that the lips of the apostles should be sealed on the mere ground that they lived so long ago, when it was still believed that amazing things could happen. It is possible that amazing things happen to this day. Indeed "if anything is certain, it is that the world is not made to the measure of any science or philosophy, but on a scale which perpetually summons philosophy and science to construct themselves anew."³ The estimate of Christianity proposed by the new school has naturally suffered from a failure to allow for this. And in particular, a closer scrutiny of the three rules laid down by Professor Troeltsch will prove, I think, that the obstacles they present to the construction of a theology are really of an insuperable kind.⁴

a) We may grant without hesitation, apropos of the law of criticism, that exact history can never furnish a mathematically certain demonstration of facts belonging to the past. For half a century, indeed, it has been held as a theological commonplace that the apologist or preacher has no coercive proofs at his disposal. History, sacred or profane, can yield no more than verdicts of probability. It can

³ Denney, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

⁴ I take them in a slightly different order from Troeltsch, but this makes no difference to the argument.

neither make it certain that Jesus rose from the grave, nor that, if he did so rise, the incident was part of a unique and definitive manifestation of divine mercy. Yet on the other hand the Christian gospel, as we rightly remind ourselves, in no sense lives and moves and has its being in the pure vacuum of historical science. Rooted in history once for all, it yet stands in another and richer context. For one thing, it is energizing in the world at this hour, touching hearts and changing lives; and Christianity, so far as historians may study it apart from this, is a mere abstraction, a detached and unmeaning fragment of reality. For another thing, Christianity does not fly loose in the air, but is in itself simply a brief name for effects due to the influence of Jesus, with whose personality we are confronted in the New Testament, and who makes his own divine impression on the conscience and the mind. He shines before the souls of men in ways that are their own evidence. Thus it is in complex fashion that the gospel makes its appeal to our entire personality, flowing in upon us by many channels; and our motives in responding to it are not the product of merely historical argument, but something much more diverse and constraining. Hence the discovery that each particular fact in the New Testament record may be called in question by the critic need not perturb us, for we have other and deeper grounds for being infallibly sure of Jesus. On the other hand, the failure of a purely historic proof is very serious for the man who determines to build religious certainty on history alone. It means that the central support of the edifice has given way. Thus in the case before us, the historical study of religion, operating with the law of criticism as Professor Troeltsch expounds it, deprives us of full assurance as to the origins of Christianity. And this means, so far, the ruling-out and withdrawal of data without which dogmatic cannot be produced.

b) The second law of history, in the religious field or any other, is the law of relativity. It excludes at the outset all facts of a supposed unique or absolute character, and levels even the most remarkable down to a point at which they become amenable to exact scientific method. Past events are only phenomena at the best, and phenomena have all their assignable place in the uniform sequence of effects and causes. It is this place in the series that makes them what they are. Hence the *milieu* creates the man. Clearly, when such a

view is confronted with Jesus Christ, it will be tempted to disparage his singularity, not arbitrarily but on principle, for it will regard itself as bound to show him to his place in the normal process of the world, and to frown upon excited talk about a clear distinction between him and all other children of men. It will tend to interpret what the gospels say as to Jesus' own consciousness of himself with an estimate of the situation held in reserve which is certain to minimize the impact of the evidence. Unbiased study of the documents is rendered nearly impossible by a private theory which discounts the evidence beforehand.

In a single word, the issue at this point is whether the new method of study can make room for a redeeming self-revelation of God. If history is the domain of the merely relative, each constituent part being only a greater or less function of the whole, it has been so defined as to make the presence of an absolute religion on the earth impossible. The character of the world vetoes it. It can no more be put in a universe like this than lightning in a matchbox. All things being relative only, the person of Jesus is also relative; He can have no absolute significance for religion, as the one Mediator between God and man. The meaning of his life, the impression he made on the apostles, has no final value for faith now. It has a value of its own no doubt as an indication of the Power behind the universe; it is one of many phenomena that reveal the great noumenon. But to speak of it as conclusive is merely thoughtless. It may yet be modified or transcended. Hence once more, this time from a fresh point of view, the materials of a Christian theology—as an interpretation of life based expressly on Christ's absolute redeemership—are seen to be beyond our reach.

The insufficiency of the conclusions yielded by the history of religion, accordingly, is manifest. Does the psychology of religion carry us farther? Let us remember what the psychology of religion is. Its function may be described in a few words. First, in abstraction from the time process, we simply analyze the contents of the religious consciousness; next, we inquire whether the religious psychosis is a primary or secondary element, an original and distinct kind of mentality—as logical thought is, or ethical judgment, or aesthetic intuition—or on the other hand a mere result of combination, a derived and collateral product born of the consilience of ideas and feelings not

themselves religious. Further than this the scope of psychology does not extend. It is to be noted therefore that in the first place a psychological history of religion is incompetent to pronounce upon the *truth* of the beliefs it has encountered in the human documents and records of the past. What the beliefs in question exactly are, with what feelings they are associated causally or by mere concomitance, in what acts of worship they find expression—on all these points abundant information may be had. But as to their objective veracity, their correspondence with a system of reality existing elsewhere than in the individual's mind, no psychological discipline can tell us anything. In the same way, secondly, the psychological history of religion has no right to decide upon the ethical *value* of the faiths it has been seeking to analyze. Its methods do not permit of a verdict as to the comparative merits even of different stages in the evolution of a single religion, for its resources supply no absolute criterion by means of which the necessary measurements and comparisons may be carried out. You can say whether one religion is more powerful than another, or more widely disseminated, or longer lived; but you cannot say that it represents a nearer approximation to a perfect religion, for the idea of a perfect religion is, at this point and in this context, illegitimate. Before this tribunal every religion is as good as its neighbor, and proves its right to live by living. To appeal to an absolute revelation, as a canon of truth to which our minds have to conform, is, as from this point of view we are told, quite consistently, to cease to be pure historians, and to ask questions which must be disallowed. In your capacity of historian or psychologist you can no more declare for one religion as against others than as a tax-collector you could give a personal friend the privileges of exemption.

To pass to another point, the advocates of the new method have never concealed their predilection for the idea of a general evolution of religion which makes a peculiar revelation, strictly, inconceivable. A typical passage from Bousset may be quoted.

The modern conception of the world [he writes] postulates certain inviolable norms and rules of the development of man's spiritual life. By the side of the laws of nature there has come to stand for historical science the idea of historical evolution. With the aid of this idea, that science undertakes the immanent interpretation of every occurrence in the spiritual world. . . . All things are

in flux, all things are reciprocally determined. When history has done its leveling work, it is impossible to maintain that anywhere in human life there exists in the old sense a quite special realm of divine revelation. . . . But if we must thus lower our flag to historical science, and abandon the notion of special acts of divine revelation, all the more is it our duty to step forward without fear and take seriously the idea of a universal revelation. On the one hand therefore we say, composedly, nowhere in history is a spot discoverable where God works in a special manner, by action that goes on alongside of human action, and can be distinguished from it; for the whole is human. On the other hand we say, all is divine.⁵

It is evident that the philosophical presuppositions so candidly avowed in these words make Christian doctrine in the older sense quite futile. If reality, as dealt with by history, is a self-contained and internally controlled sphere, every change in which is completely explicable by means of resident forces, no intrusions from without can be tolerated, and none in the last resort are called for. The system is self-sufficient, and, like unwinding clockwork, it liberates for ever and ever the energies with which it was charged in the beginning. At no point is there room for that remedial interposition on the part of God, belief in which is the very stamp and seal of the Christian religion. No one religion of the past, nor all religions together, can avail to bring God near to us in a decisive way. This compromise with the principles of natural science—in which faith bears all the loss and science really gains nothing—fixes in advance the dimensions which are to be assigned to the person of Jesus. No view of Jesus can be admitted, be the historical or experiential evidence what it may, that sees in him the definitive personal appeal of Almighty God to a world of sin, for that would be to affirm the existence in human life of “a quite special realm of Divine revelation;” and this, as we have already seen, is vetoed from the start.

I think it is clear that a certain view of the actualities of history emerges as a conclusion in the writings of Professor Bousset and his friends for the simple reason that it has been put into their fundamental premises. It applies no doubt to what they call “history;” but it need not apply to the real world. To suppose that it must is—to borrow an illustration from Dr. James Ward—as absurd “as it would be to say that a man must fit his coat, and not that the coat must

⁵ *Das Wesen der Religion*, pp. 255 ff.

fit the man.”⁶ On the strength of their assumptions, indeed, a special Christian revelation is affirmed to be unthinkable; but the only statement logically permissible is that the descriptive apparatus named by them “history” cannot recognize any such thing. So that the sweeping conclusion has been demonstrated by turning it into an axiom. “And how often in the history of science have false and hasty assumptions been called axioms, only because they were simple and could not be proved.”

We demur therefore to a theory which discredits the Christian religion beforehand, forbidding men to think of it as a new beginning in human life, absolute, unique, original, and thus the very type of divine preferential action. But this does not condemn us to a view of the world’s past which is cold and narrow. We have no interest in denying that revelation has been going on in all places and at all times—in nature, in history, and specially in the history of all religions. It is not possible, indeed, at once to believe in God the Father as Jesus made him known, and to maintain that he has sedulously hid himself from all but Jews and Christians. But universality is not uniformity. That God has spoken to the world through prophets, seers, saints in every clime, is no reason why he should not have spoken finally in his Son, to make an end of sin and bring in everlasting righteousness. A great missionary was once heard to say that he had never preached the gospel anywhere, without finding that God had been there before him. Yet that divine presence and action did not serve to make the Christian message superfluous, but to make it appreciated when it came. So far therefore from belief in the absoluteness of Christianity compelling us to regard a universal operation of the Spirit of God as something incredible, or at all events excessively improbable, it reveals it rather as luminously fit and religiously certain. Let us not so conceive the good as to make it the enemy of the best. That, however, would be the case if the gifts of God elsewhere were taken to disprove his supreme and incomparable gift in Jesus Christ. It is much wiser, surely to point to the signs of divine providence which appear in the fact that this is an age both of missions and comparative religion. The more we learn of other religions, the more clearly do we perceive the absolute place of the gospel in comparison.

⁶ *Naturalism and Agnosticism*, II, 68.

One feels that men have drifted into a negation of the absolute character of Christianity, however unconsciously, because they have first come to hold the absoluteness of Christ himself with an uncertain grasp. In fact, a recent exponent of the new method has blurted out the truth by declaring that the difference between the group to which he belongs and the more positive school is a difference not of method simply, but of religion.⁷ This incautious but well-founded observation is corroborated by their allusions to the person and work of Jesus. In strictness they have as yet given us no real Christology; which is not to be wondered at, for it is only in a non-natural sense that they are able to speak of him as the object of faith; but we can discern whither their argument is tending. He is a religious genius; he is the hero of faith *par excellence*; he is the first Christian, in whom belief in God, immortality, and virtue were seen in unique and amazing power; but only in a partial sense is he the Mediator between God and man. And the inference appears to be that those who trust in him are only partially redeemed. He may bring men rather nearer God than other great religious souls have done, but there can be no question of his bringing them into a quite new relation to the Father. I do not suppose that Christians of the type represented in the New Testament would know what to make of the notion that Jesus is a partial Savior, who accomplished much for us, but, as later revelations may yet prove, by no means all. Of course we are assured that Christians of that period were very far astray. With increasing boldness the theory has been worked out that the New Testament view of Christ had scarcely anything to do with him who bears that name; as Weinell puts it, the Christology was almost complete before Jesus appeared. Even his existence (one feels) might be called gratuitous, for the ideas we associate with him were familiar previously. But the arguments employed to support this specious hypothesis are obviously less convincing than the supreme importance of the case demands. No serious effort has been made to explain how the apostles came to fix on Jesus, a crucified Jew, as the object of those infinite epithets of glory and transcendence which Weinell says it was inevitable they should use. Granted that the idea of a divine and pre-existent Savior was current in the world of that day, why identify Jesus with this sublime Figure of religious hope?

⁷ *Theologischer Jahresbericht*, 1907, IV, 553.

We may sum up our results so far. The historical law of relativity is interpreted in such a sense as to invalidate beforehand the conception of Christianity as a message of absolute redemption. History cannot be the medium of absolute values. God cannot use it to communicate himself wholly to man. Inviolable principles of criticism forbid us to believe that there is anything not completely explicable by the immanent laws of the world-process. It is not merely that we cannot apprehend God's gift of himself except relatively —this we shall all concede; but God cannot give himself, except relatively, and in degrees of more and less. Evidently, if this be true, there is no longer a Christian gospel. In sober fact, however, the idea that history is incapable of anything but relatives is a mere prejudice of the mind. Our first duty is to listen to evidence, not to dictate off-hand to reality as to the possible or impossible. Moreover, when we consider the content of the gospel, to deny its sheer and unconditional uniqueness is open to no one who sees clearly what the gospel is. Nor does it appear to have dawned on writers of the new school that a reading of Christianity like theirs, if past experience is worth anything, will be found by the modern mind just as incredible as that of the more familiar evangelicalism. A personal God who reveals himself partially in Jesus, but not completely, is in no sense more probable than a God who so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son to save it. *Mystère pour mystère*, the more amazing gospel is the more convincing. In any case the tentative and hypothetical conclusions of Troeltsch and Bousset do not permit of our making the person of Christ the organic and all-determining center of theological interpretation, and for this reason alone the dogmatic thinker who takes that person as his regulative principle must look for light and help elsewhere.

c) The law of analogy may be dealt with more briefly. According to it the human mind, in every land or century, has been working on parallel and related lines, so that virtually all the more striking doctrines of Christianity have their counterpart in other faiths. Here also *tout connaître, c'est tout pardonner*. Let us only take pains to understand how men have always thought about Deity, and its operations in the world, and we shall readily make allowances for beliefs such as those in the incarnation, the resurrection, the miracles of Jesus.

Ideas of that kind have no historical truth, indeed, but they have the timeless truth of religious poetry, and they represent the grand symbolism into which the soul is wont to cast its ineffable intuitions.

What then are we to say about analogies that have been pointed out in other religions? In the first place, it behooves us to be quite sure of our facts. I believe it to be true to say that no exact parallel to birth from a pure virgin has been found. Assertions to the contrary have indeed been made, but on a close inspection the parallel has invariably broken down at some crucial point. This holds good also of the resurrection of Jesus, as the New Testament represents it. Yet granted for the moment that such analogies exist; what then? Then, as it appears to me, there are two wrong kinds of attitude, and one right kind. The first wrong attitude is the panic of orthodoxy. Men who still hold, even if it be unconsciously, the older ideas of revelation, according to which a number of theological propositions are supernaturally imposed on the human intelligence, are not unnaturally bewildered to find elsewhere ideas curiously resembling some that enter into Christianity. But no difficulty exists for the truer view that revelation is given, not in bare dogmatic theorems, but through the medium of historic fact and personality. The second wrong attitude is the hasty dogmatism of some writers on comparative religion. To them it is self-evident that analogy means borrowing. The analogous elements in Christianity have simply been lifted out of the legends of the East. All one can say of this is that it degrades the apostolic mind to a quite incredibly low level. Does the New Testament really look like the production of men who had to borrow their great ideas? The life that vibrates in it, "the life that always fills us again with wonder as it beats upon us from its pages"—is it, in truth and soberness, the kind of thing that we naturally associate with plagiarism? Surely to say that the idea of the resurrection is a christianized pagan myth is to miss the whole point of the New Testament situation; for what confronts us there, as the first and fundamental reality, is a wonderful new life called into being by experiences of which the apostles claim to give a simple historical account; it is not a general idea about what must have been the destiny of one like Jesus, to which they then proceed to give expression in copied or borrowed symbolisms. People do not borrow ideas who already

have the concrete fact. But apart from this, it will not be difficult to offer a reasonable account of the analogies in question, if we believe, as surely we may, that in the Christian gospel there is given the historic fulfilment of great religious ideas which from the first had been dimly moving in the human mind. After all, it was not an irreligious world into which Christ came. On the contrary, it was a world in which countless wistful religious experiments had been made, and in which many of the vast conceptions given in the Christian salvation, and now at last realized in pure and final form, had long before assumed rudimentary but prophetic shape. Sacrifice, incarnation, atonement, resurrection—these ideas are present in many ethnic faiths; by their presence they bear witness to the deepest religious needs of man; and these dreams, often expressed unconsciously in myth, are answered in Jesus Christ. And Christianity becomes greater, not less, one may feel, by owning a real kinship with these profound and immemorial desires. In every worthy sense, it comes not to destroy but to fulfil. Yet it does not fulfil by borrowing ideas; it fulfils by offering to the world, in the concreteness of divine reality, what had hitherto been the object only of faint and broken expectation. The analogies, therefore, which are or may be proved to obtain between the Christian facts and pagan legends need embarrass no one. They become luminous and significant in the light of these two facts, that the religious instinct is universal, and that all along there has been the steady pressure of divine revealing action on susceptible and earnest souls.

Hence we by no means demur to the law of analogy as such, but only to a particular application of it. As interpreted by the new school it discounts the spontaneity and independence of the Christian religion, and assigns it a place of reduced importance as in some ways but the satellite of older faiths. Gunkel's words could not well be plainer. "The religion of the New Testament," he writes, "in its origin and its shaping, fell under the influence of alien religions in important points, and even in some points that are essential."⁸ One of the essential points, as we have seen, was its Christology. But if, as Pfleiderer also has suggested, the Christian view of Christ is little more than a compound of ideas to each of which real and sufficient analogies can be found elsewhere,⁹ the claim of Christianity to fill a place all by

⁸ *Zum religionsgesch. Verständniss d. N. T.*, p. 1.

⁹ Cf. his *Das Christusbild des urchristlichen Glaubens*, pp. 102 ff.

itself is vain, and no ground remains for continuing to speak of Jesus, in any incomparable sense, as our Lord and Savior. *That* belief also the law of analogy sweeps away. So that the newer school is really unable to offer us a Christian dogmatic, because first of all it is unable to offer us a Christian faith. It has detached salvation, as believers have known it, from Jesus Christ; it has left him, when all is said and done, no distinction but that of being the first of Christians. But Jesus is not the first Christian; his work is to make the Christian life possible. Far from being one in a series, it was his aim that men's eyes might be opened to see what he and he only is.

In three points of view, therefore, we have examined the prospects of a dogmatic being built up with materials at the disposal of the most modern school of writers; and the result, in many respects, has been of a negative and unsatisfactory character. With all their brilliant service to the cause of biblical exegesis, they are useless for the purposes of Christian theology. For there is no evading the principle laid down by the instinctive feeling of the church: unless a theologian takes the specifically Christian attitude to Jesus—unless with the saints of every time he puts Jesus in the supreme place, a place that covers and determines everything in the relations of God and man—he is not a Christian theologian any more. That which he is building up is not Christianity, but something quite different. It is the outcome of an attempt to make all over again a religion that has passed its nineteen-hundredth birthday.

THE HELLENIZATION OF THE JEWS BETWEEN 334 B. C. AND 70 A. D.

GEORGE HOLLEY GILBERT, PHD., D.D.
Northampton, Mass.

The period of Jewish history extending from Alexander the Great to Jesus is one for which our sources of information are fragmentary, especially as regards the contact of Jew and Greek. This fact is all the more regrettable because the impact of Greek civilization on the Jews which then took place gave to the period an importance that almost ranks it with the period of the great prophets, or with that of Moses and the beginnings of the Hebrew state.

An attempt will be made to present in this article the sifted testimony of the ancient sources¹ regarding the hellenization of the Jews prior to the composition of the New Testament.

Athens and Jerusalem are less than eight hundred miles apart, and the old Greek cities on the coast of Asia Minor, the home of so many of the celebrated Greek philosophers, historians, and poets, are considerably nearer to the capital of the Holy Land. When did the peoples whom these cities represent look first in each other's faces and exchange thoughts on the problems of life? It seems strange in this day that the horizons of Homer and Isaiah did not overlap, that no echo of the Greek poet was heard among the heights of Judah, and that the teaching of the Hebrew prophet was not carried to the coast of Asia Minor and to the islands of the Aegean. Yet more strange does it appear to us in this modern age, when every part of the earth is molding every other part, that men like Ezra, the founder of the religion of Jewish law, and Nehemiah the patriot, and Malachi the prophet, all of whom were associated in a great historical movement the influence of which was to be felt for centuries, and other men, their contemporaries and neighbors, like Anaxagoras of Clazomenae and Socrates, Pericles and the tragic poets, Sophocles and Euripides, should have lived their lives and done their work without knowledge one of the other. But such appears

¹ A list of the sources used will be found at the end of the article.

to have been the case. Even Herodotus, another contemporary of Ezra, who had traveled as far east as Babylon and Susa, and as far south as Elephantiné on the confines of Ethiopia, seems never even to have heard of Jerusalem, though it possessed more in which, as one might suppose, he would have been interested than any of the cities of Asia Minor to which he devoted so much careful study. It is doubtful whether he had any knowledge whatever of the Jewish nation, for his reference to "the Syrians of Palestine" who practiced circumcision may point to the Philistines rather than to the Jews. It is practically certain that the great heroic past of the people of Israel was all unknown to him. Yet Herodotus might have become acquainted with Jewish history in the East, for thither thousands of Jews had been deported, first by the Assyrian kings at the close of the eighth century before Christ, and then by the Babylonian Nebuchadnezzar in 597, 586, and 582 B. C.; and there can be little doubt that he might also have gained most interesting material for his history in Egypt, for Jeremiah speaks of a Jewish settlement there in his time, a full century before the birth of the "father of history." But though he might thus have become acquainted with the Jewish nation without ascending to the highland of Judea, to a people who "dwelt apart," for some unknown reason he seems never to have done so, at least in a thorough manner, for otherwise he would not have been utterly silent regarding them.

It is true, Herodotus does not mention Rome in his great work, yet this is less to be wondered at than his silence regarding the Jews, for Roman history had but just begun in his day, while the Hebrew nation had done valiant deeds for a thousand years.

We must come down nearly a century beyond the death of Herodotus before we discover any clear trace of influential contact between Greeks and Jews. The story of a meeting between Aristotle and an unnamed Judean on the coast of Asia Minor—a story derived from a book on *Sleep* by Clearchus of Soli, a pupil of Aristotle, may appropriately be called a dream. For Clearchus represents Aristotle as giving substantially the following account: that he met a Jew from Coelesyria who had become a Greek not only in his language but also in his spirit, that this man had been hospitably entertained by many in the "upper country," that is, in the interior of Asia Minor,

that he conversed with various philosophers and with him, making trial of their skill and communicating to them somewhat more than he received. Josephus, who appears to have taken this interesting fiction directly from the book of Clearchus, adds that Aristotle discoursed particularly of the simple and serene life of this remarkable Jew. But the story has only this historical value, that it witnesses to the extreme regard entertained by the Greeks at this time for the far-away and mysterious East. Clearchus evidently knew nothing definite of the Jews, for he supposed the word "Judean" to be the designation of a class or family of philosophers who were descended from those of India. It is possible indeed that a Jew of the fourth century before Christ may have become a Greek "not only in language but also in spirit;" it is not credible however that there was a Jew at that time who, in philosophy, was qualified to communicate to Aristotle and to other Greek philosophers somewhat more than he received from them.

There is then in the ancient writings nothing to indicate that, prior to the time of Alexander, the Jew had begun to be influenced by the Greek. He had been at school in Egypt a thousand years before Alexander's day, he had come into close contact with the civilization of Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia in the preceding four centuries, but the golden age of the Greek spirit—the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ—passed before he began really to know this people of the West, whose dominion over the future was to be second only to his own. And when this acquaintance at last began, it was not of his own choosing. The Jews who returned from Babylon in the days of Nehemiah and Ezra wished to be henceforth by themselves. A hedge of ordinances designed to keep them from all contact with other peoples speedily grew up around them. They had lost indeed their political independence, but all the more did the scribes, and at a later day the Pharisees also, labor to preserve them uncontaminated by the gentiles round about. This religious seclusion, practiced in the belief that they alone possessed the oracles of God and that the gentiles had nothing of profit for them, may account in a measure for the fact that their acquaintance with the Greeks was postponed until the Macedonian conqueror sowed the world from the Hellespont and Nile to the Indus with the seeds of Greek civil-

zation, and began that work of breaking down the barrier between Greeks and barbarians, which, in a spiritual sense, was completed centuries later by the peaceful gospel of Jesus.

It is therefore from Alexander and his decade of beneficent conquest (334-324 B. C.) that we date the beginning of that hellenization of the Jews which was one day to bring Greek elements into the sacred writings of Christianity. In this process of assimilation of Greek culture and philosophy by the Jews there were two external facts of primary importance. First, there was the invasion of Palestine by Greek settlers, and second, the dispersion of the Jews throughout the Greek world. These movements we shall now consider.

The coming of Greeks into Palestine in any considerable number was subsequent to Alexander's conquest of the land. After the capture of Tyre he went down the coast to Gaza, and thence probably to Egypt. Whether on his return he went up into the interior is uncertain. The remarkable tale that Josephus tells, lacking any support in the Greek or Latin historians, how Alexander on approaching Jerusalem recognized in Jaddua, the high-priest who came out in state to greet him, the very one who had appeared to him in a dream while yet in Macedonia, saying that he would give him the dominion over the Persians, and how he sacrificed to Jehovah in the temple, how also the Book of Daniel was shown to him, wherein it is announced that a Greek should destroy the empire of the Persians—this tale, in which the Book of Daniel figures one hundred and fifty years before it was composed, in which also Alexander, who may never have heard the name of the Jews, confesses that he had seen the Jewish high-priest in a dream and that, moved by his exhortation, he had undertaken his campaign through Asia, is obviously unhistorical—a pious Jew's attempt to glorify his people. But though Alexander himself may have touched only the border of Palestine, his general Perdicas seems to have planted a Macedonian colony in the ancient city of Samaria. As this city was overthrown by Demetrius within a generation, the colony may then have disappeared entirely. But nevertheless a permanent Greek invasion of the land had begun. It is impossible to trace the course of this invasion accurately from generation to generation, and yet we are not without valuable information on the subject.

In the third century before Christ, when Palestine was under the rule of the Ptolemies, it is believed that the Old Testament, or at least the greater part of it, was translated into Greek in Alexandria. Who the translators were we do not know. We should naturally expect that they were Jews of Alexandria. But the *Letter of Aristeas*, if with Schürer we may date it as early as 200 B. C., throws an interesting light on our present subject, for in representing the seventy-two translators as Palestinian Jews it assumes that there were many Jews in Palestine in the days of Ptolemy Philadelphus (283-247 B. C.) who were well acquainted with the Greek tongue. If this was indeed the case, even at the time of Aristeas, then the Greek language could probably have been studied in Jerusalem in those days, and we should have to infer a rapid progress of Greek civilization in the land since the death of Alexander.

More trustworthy for this early period is an inference which we may draw from the Greek historian Hecataeus of Abdera. This writer, who may well have been one of the company of learned men who went with Alexander on his campaign, was with Ptolemy Lagus at the battle of Gaza in 312 B. C., and may have visited Jerusalem at this time. According to Josephus he was acquainted in Egypt with a Palestinian Jew by the name of Hezekiah who was thoroughly familiar with the history and affairs of his own nation. Now Hecataeus says that through contact with Persians and *Macedonians* many Jewish customs had been changed. This refers of course to the Jews of Palestine, and implies that, when Hecataeus wrote, the influence of the Macedonians had made itself felt. This is most easily understood if we suppose that, in addition to the Greek rule over the country, there was also an appreciable Greek element in the population of some of the larger cities.

When we descend to the next century, to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (175-164 B. C.), we find more numerous evidences of the presence of a Greek element in Palestine—not merely of a leaning toward Greek customs and an acquaintance with Greek civilization, which would not of themselves necessarily imply the immediate presence of Greeks. Thus, in the first place, we learn that when Antiochus, at the request of the high-priest Jason and his party, granted the erection of a gymnasium in Jerusalem under the shadow

of the tower of David, the Jews who frequented it hid their circumcision that they might appear to be Greeks, which seems plainly to argue that Greeks also visited the same place. About this time, when the feast of Bacchus was celebrated, the Jews were compelled to deck themselves with ivy and march in the procession; and in the same source mention is made of "Greek cities" round about Jerusalem, that is, in Judea. If there were towns in Judea which were predominantly Greek, we can understand how the feast of Bacchus might be celebrated in Jerusalem, and why the Jews who frequented the gymnasium wished to conceal the mark of their nationality. In this connection reference should be made to the Book of Daniel, which was probably written in Palestine in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. Its mention of Greek instruments of music (*κίθαρς, συμφωνία, ψαλτήριον*) may reasonably be held to show that these instruments were in use among the Jews, and this in turn implies that Greek merchants had introduced them into Palestine, or that the Jews had seen them in use among the Greeks who dwelt with them.

How completely the northern part of Palestine was dominated by Greeks in the second century appears from a number of facts in the history of the Hasmonean rulers. Thus it is represented in First Maccabees that Simon (before 161 B. C.) brought back with him from Galilee the Jews who dwelt there, to save them from their enemies. This implies that their number cannot have been very large. Again, at the close of the century it required all the power of Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 B. C.) to conquer Asochis in Galilee, and the neighboring cities of Gadara, Pella, and Dium on the east of the Jordan. The population of these cities and of others in northern Palestine was doubtless no less Syrian than Greek, but the type of civilization was essentially hellenistic.

With the beginning of Roman rule in Palestine (63 B. C.) there came at once a notable expansion of hellenism, for Pompey restored those cities which had been reduced by the Hasmoneans and put them under the prefect of Syria. The cities of the Philistine coast, Gaza and Ashdod, Anthedon and Raphia, and farther north such cities as Joppa and Jamnia, Strato's Tower and Apollonia, and Dora by Mt. Carmel; Scythopolis at the south end of the Lake of Galilee, Hippos and Pella, Gamala and Gadara on the east side, and Samaria

in the center of the land, together with many others, were now repopulated, either by their former inhabitants, or by these and such others as welcomed a residence in towns which had formerly been predominantly non-Jewish. Of the five cities which Pompey made the political centers of the entire Palestinian region, two, Gadara and Amathus, were thoroughly Greek, and Sepphoris in Galilee was doubtless strongly Gentile in its composition. The others were Jericho and Jerusalem.

The expansion of hellenism in Palestine, which was thus favored at the beginning of the Roman period was steadily promoted by the Herods, dependent as they were for their power on the favor of the emperors. Next to Augustus himself, of whom Philo said in somewhat exaggerated terms that he increased Greece by many Greeces and hellenized all the most important divisions of the barbarians, Herod the Great was the most notable promoter of the purely material side of Greek civilization. He cared no more for the worship of Jehovah, to whom he built a temple in Jerusalem, than he did for that of Apollo, the restoration of whose temple at Rhodes is said by Josephus to have been his greatest and most illustrious work. He built temples to Caesar at Caesarea, Samaria, and Paneion, and, what was of still wider and deeper popular influence, he promoted throughout his kingdom all those forms of amusement which constituted so conspicuous a feature of Graeco-Roman life. We learn from the Jewish historian, usually in an incidental manner, of hippodromes, theaters, and amphitheaters, even in Jerusalem itself, which he constructed at great expense; of royal prizes which he offered to attract from all nations those most skilled in public games and races; and of the lavish manner in which on great occasions, as at the completion of the city of Caesarea and at the reception given to Marcus Agrippa, he carried out the popular shows. His successor shared his spirit, but not his ability and wealth. It may be mentioned in passing that Herod always had Greeks about him, as Nicolas of Damascus and Eurycles the Spartan.

This sketch of the presence of Greeks in Palestine may be completed with a reference to certain facts in the lifetime of Jesus. Thus it is noticeable, in the first place, that Jesus seems never to have visited the coast region of Palestine where, as at Joppa and Jamnia, doubt-

less also at Ptolemais, there was certainly a Jewish population; that, as far as our records inform us, he never preached in Tiberias or Tarichaeae, which were probably the largest towns on the Lake of Galilee, or at Scythopolis, or any of the cities on the east of the lake, as Pella and Hippos and Gadara, or at Seleucia on Lake Merom, or in Sepphoris, the largest city in Galilee and only a few miles from Nazareth. That no one of these cities is mentioned in the story of his life is an indication that they were largely non-Jewish. He who felt that he was sent to the lost sheep of the house of Israel kept aloof from them.

Again, the presence of a considerable element of Greek-speaking people in Palestine in the time of Jesus is to be inferred from the widespread acquaintance of Palestinian Jews with the Greek tongue. A number of facts appear to justify this statement. Thus the coins of the Herods bore Greek inscriptions, which seems to imply that the people who used those coins had at least a little knowledge of Greek. Joseph of Arimathaea, a member of the Sanhedrin, and Jesus, a carpenter of Nazareth, conversed with the Roman Pilate, apparently without an interpreter, and if so, it must have been in Greek, for it is utterly improbable that Pilate knew Aramaic. Peter, a fisherman of Bethsaida in Galilee, Mark, a Jew of Jerusalem, James and Jude, who were possibly the authors of the letters which bear those names, all wrote Greek, if not in the lifetime of Jesus, at least in subsequent years. Two other facts may be mentioned here though they belong to the latter half of the first century. When Paul spoke from the stairs of Antonia to the multitude who wished to kill him, it is said that they were the more quiet when they perceived that he spake unto them in the Hebrew language. This implies that they were somewhat surprised, and had expected that he would speak Greek. Apparently then the common people of Jerusalem were able to understand a Greek speech. Again, when Titus, at the siege of Jerusalem, wished to speak to the Jews as persuasively as possible that he might lead them to surrender the city and thus save it from destruction, he sent Josephus to talk with them in their own Aramaic tongue. This course was evidently not dictated by necessity: the Jerusalemites could have understood a summons in Greek. It was couched in Aramaic and spoken by a Jew in the

thought that it might thus be more effectual, being more widely and better understood.

Thus far we have spoken of the presence of the Greek in the land of the Jews as an agent in their hellenization. And it should be added in conclusion on this point that the smallness of Palestine is not to be overlooked. If we remember that it is approximately the size of the state of Vermont, and if in thought we transfer its ancient population to this state; if then we have a line of Greek cities down the east shore of Lake Champlain and Lake George, others equally flourishing along the Connecticut River against the northern half of the state, with a number of Greek cities in the interior; if moreover at the capital among the mountains, to which a large part of the population journeys three times a year, we have a Greek theater and amphitheater, Greek baths and Greek festivals; and if, in addition to all this, we have Greek civilization spread over Canada, Greek cities and Greek gods in New Hampshire, and a great Greek center in the south, a composite of Boston and New York, all of which regions and cities are constantly represented in Vermont along many channels of commerce and travel, we shall then appreciate the situation of the Jews of Palestine in relation to the Greeks in the time of Jesus.

Yet more important for the hellenization of the Jews before the New Testament era than the presence of Greeks in the land of the Jews, of which we have spoken, was the scattering of the Jews through the various lands which from the time of Alexander had come more and more under the sway of Greek civilization. To this subject we must give careful attention if we are to understand the extent and depth of the impress of Greek civilization upon the Jewish people.

The extent of the Jewish dispersion is in general clear from the ancient writings, and a brief statement of the facts will suffice. We have no definite knowledge of permanent Jewish settlements outside of Palestine prior to Alexander the Great—settlements which continued down to the Christian era, with the single exception of that in the East which was concentrated chiefly along the Tigris and Euphrates. How extensive this was we may infer both from the size of the deportations from Palestine in the eighth and sixth centuries and from a variety of facts of which the following may be noted as the chief: Hecataeus the Greek historian wrote—if we may in this

point trust Josephus—that many myriads of Babylonian Jews were removed after Alexander's death, into Egypt and Phoenicia, to give stability to the political state of those regions; Antiochus the Great (224-187 B. C.) is said to have transplanted 2,000 Jewish families from Babylon to central Asia Minor; Zamaris, a Babylonian Jew, with five hundred horsemen, was invited by Herod the Great to occupy Trachonitis, a region east of Galilee, and to overcome the robber bands infesting the region; in the time of Artabanus III (12-40 A. D.) two Jews of Nehardea on the Euphrates made themselves leaders of a band of freebooters which at length attained such proportions that it was recognized by Artabanus and by the Babylonians, and at a later time was able to defeat Mithradates the son-in-law of Artabanus; in the story of Pentecost we are told that there were men in Jerusalem from Parthia, Media, Elymais, and Mesopotamia, whom we are doubtless to regard as, in the main at least, descended from the original colony; and finally, the extent of this eastern dispersion may be inferred from the fact that the greater of the two Jewish Talmuds goes back to Babylonian scribes, one of whom, Hillel, who flourished in the first century before Christ, ranks among the greatest of Jewish teachers.

But the chief voluntary migration of Jews from Palestine dates from the time of Alexander and is one of the significant historical results of his campaign. Whether Jewish soldiers went with Alexander to the East, and whether they formed a part of the population of Alexandria from the very first, are points on which there is doubt; but that they went to Egypt in great numbers in the reign of Ptolemy Lagus and formed a large element of the population of Alexandria is certain. This Egyptian colony is said to have numbered one million in the time of Philo, that is, it was about the size of the present Jewish population in greater New York. West of Alexandria, in Cyrene, the Jews were so numerous that they maintained a synagogue of their own in Jerusalem in the first century, and in the time of Titus there was an uprising among them headed by a certain Jonathan who had two thousand followers. There were so many Jews in Rome in Cicero's lifetime (106-43 B. C.) that in his oration on behalf of Flaccus he spoke as though standing in some fear of their power. At the death of Julius Caesar in 44 B. C. the mourning of the Roman

Jews was so conspicuous as to be mentioned by the historian Suetonius. Tacitus says that in 19 A. D. four thousand Jews, that is, men, were sent off into Sardinia, a statement which implies a Jewish population of three or four times that number. Nor were the Jews of Italy all in Rome. There was a colony in Puteoli at an early day, and the excavations at Pompeii show traces of a Jewish settlement there which, if De Rossi's view that Fabius Eupor who sought the election of Pansa in 51 B. C. was a Pompeiian Jew, must date its origin considerably before that time. That there were numerous Jews in Spain at the middle of the first Christian century seems to follow from the fact that the apostle Paul planned to go thither to preach the gospel, for though he was the Apostle of the Gentiles he always approached them by the way of the synagogue and the proselytes who at this time were sure to be found there. Of the presence of Jews throughout Asia Minor from Antioch on the Orontes to Pontus and from Cappadocia to Ephesus, also in the islands of the Aegean and Mediterranean seas, we have abundant proof in the epistles of the New Testament and in the Book of Acts. In addition to the particular islands mentioned in the New Testament as the abode of Jews, Josephus mentions Cos, Delos, Paros, and Melos.

Thus we see that for the time of Julius Caesar, the language of Philo and Josephus regarding the universality of the dispersion of the Jews is not too strong, and the Jewish Sibyl uses similar language for a time from a half-century to a century earlier. As to the numbers of Jews in different quarters of the Empire it is probable that the language of Philo, though suitable to Egypt, is extreme for other parts, for he says of the Jewish population in the Dispersion that it everywhere appears but little inferior in numbers to the original native population of the country.

When now we ask how far these Jews dwelling outside of Palestine became hellenized before the New Testament era, there are two classes of facts to be taken into account. Whether we go back to the time of Julius Caesar, or the Syrian kings, or the Ptolemies, we find that the Jews who lived abroad, with rare exceptions, remained Jews in religion. Cases of apostacy like that of Tiberius Alexander, or even of intermarriage with Gentiles as in the case of Anileus the Babylonian Jew, seem to have been infrequent. From all parts of

the empire an annual Jewish tribute was sent up to the temple in Jerusalem, and the number of pilgrims who went to the greater feasts, especially that of the Passover, was large. The Jews were not lost to Judaism by their residence abroad. Instead of being absorbed by the pagan religions, they carried on in the Roman period a most zealous and successful propaganda. A traveling merchant, Ananias by name, got access to certain women at the court of Izates, king of Adiabene, east of the upper Tigris, and taught them to worship God according to the Jewish manner; later he persuaded also the king himself, and another Jew won the king's mother, Helena. In Damascus, shortly before the last Jewish war with Rome, there were multitudes of people, especially women, who were attached to Judaism. The treasurer of Candace in distant Ethiopia was doubtless not the only proselyte whom the Jews had won in that southern land, nor Poppaea Sabina, wife of Nero, the only one in Caesar's household who adopted the Jews' religion. In the synagogues of the Dispersion, where Paul preached, there was always a gentile contingent.

Again, if the hellenization of the Jews of the Dispersion was held in check by the proud consciousness of their superiority to the gentiles in morals and religion—a consciousness which contributed not a little to their success as missionaries, it was also hindered, we must suppose, by that hostility which they encountered among the gentiles. Slandorous statements about their history and life together with bloody assaults upon them must have tended to strengthen rather than lessen their aversion to the entire pagan society in which they lived. There is a literature reaching back as far as Manetho in the middle of the third century before Christ which says hard things of the Jews—that they were driven out of Egypt as leprous and unclean, that they had an ass's head of gold in the Holy of Holies, that Antiochus Epiphanes found there a statue of Moses seated on an ass, that about this time they sacrificed a Greek annually in the temple and swore undying hostility toward hellenism, that the Jewish Feast of Tabernacles was not different from the Feast of Bacchus, and that the Jews drank on the Sabbath until they were drunk, that their religion was a barbarous superstition and destructive of all the bonds of society—these and similar charges made by reputable gentile authors were not adapted to draw the Jews toward

gentile ways of thought and life. But hostility toward the Jews scattered throughout the empire was not limited in its expression to literary forms. The rulers, indeed, as the Ptolemies, the earlier Seleucidae, and the Roman emperors, were in general favorable toward them. They never tried to destroy them as the Caesars tried to destroy Christianity. The radical policy of Tiberius and Claudius was temporary and ineffectual. But though the Jews were favorably regarded by the successors of Alexander and by the Roman emperors they had to suffer from time to time from outbursts of popular hatred, as, for instance, in Alexandria in the early part of the first century, when fifty thousand were slain, and later in Damascus when ten thousand fell. This pagan hostility toward the Jews, like the hostility of nominally Christian nations toward them in modern times, naturally reacted to increase Jewish exclusiveness.

But although the Jews of the Dispersion remained loyal to their religion and sought to win the gentiles to their way of worship, and although the Greek world, moved by envy at the privileges granted to the Jews, or by their exclusiveness and their contempt for idolatry, often did them evil, nevertheless they were deeply influenced by Greek life and thought, to a large extent no doubt unconsciously influenced, as a mountaineer is influenced by the milder climate and more luxurious life of the lowlands.

There was, first of all, a change of language, and therewith, in course of time, an inevitable change in thought, often slight, almost imperceptible, it may be, yet real. The provincial Aramaic tongue, devoid of great literary associations and ill-adapted to be the vehicle of fine culture or philosophy, was exchanged for the Greek language, which for several centuries was the universal speech, a language flexible and rich in itself, and permeated by the spirit of Sophocles and Plato, of Herodotus and Demosthenes. To acquire this language, as the Jews of the Dispersion in the second and subsequent generations did, whether in Alexandria or Antioch, Seleucia or Corinth or Rome, meant to some extent a change of thought, new points of view, a wider outlook, a manifold aesthetic and intellectual enrichment. A similar result is being produced today for the children and grandchildren of Jewish immigrants from southwestern Russia who take a university training at Columbia or Chicago.

To the Jews of the Dispersion the learning of Greek was a business necessity. If they were to succeed in worldly affairs, they must know the language of the world. In the West at least the Jews dwelt chiefly in the cities, and, entering into almost all the industries and callings of city life, they were in frequent contact with Greek-speaking gentiles. This industrial competition and association with Greeks was another agency by which the Jews were slowly hellenized. Weavers like Aquila and Prisca of Pontus and Paul of Tarsus must have studied the tastes of their patrons; generals like Onias and Dositheus to whom Ptolemy Philometer is said to have committed his whole kingdom are certain to have made a study of Greek strategy and also to have known something of the everyday religious beliefs and superstitions of their Greek soldiers; the money-lenders, merchants, and artisans of Alexandria, in order to compete with the Alexandrians, must have studied Greek character and life; the rabbis of the numerous synagogues of the Dispersion through whose efforts proselytes were made from the various pagan cults, cannot have been ignorant of those cults, or have failed to be influenced in the course of time by the nobler sentiments of Greek religion even as our Christian missionaries to India and China, to Persia and Japan, have had their own views modified by the views which permeate these ancient civilizations; actors like Aliturus of Puteoli in the time of Nero, sorcerers like Bar-Jesus and the sons of Sceva, and even the Jewish beggars of Rome whose entire household furniture was a rude basket containing some hay, could not have succeeded in their several callings without considerable knowledge of their environment, and with this knowledge came an inevitable coloring of their own minds.

But the hellenization of the Jews of the Dispersion prior to the New Testament era is most clearly to be estimated in the case of those who followed a literary calling, and whose works, or some fragments of whose works, have come down to us. In this Jewish-Greek literature, of which the translation of the Old Testament is perhaps the earliest part, and which includes writings historical, poetical, and philosophical, there are two features which in particular claim our attention.

First, the apologetic vein through which we see the desire of these

Jews to commend their sacred books and their history to the Greeks. This implies that they had learned to respect their pagan neighbors, that they had discovered elements of good in them and in their writings.

This apologetic spirit expressed itself chiefly in two ways. It is seen, first, in the glorification of Israel's history and laws. Thus Artabanus, as quoted by Eusebius, said that Abraham brought the science of astrology to the Phoenicians, also that Joseph was the inventor of the science of measuring, that Moses was the teacher of Orpheus and was the same person whom the Greeks called Musaeus, that he was named Hermes by the Egyptians because he interpreted the hieroglyphics, that he was the founder of the Egyptian state, having divided the land into thirty-six nomes, the founder also of the Egyptian religion, and the inventor of many things useful to mankind. Eupolemus made Abraham the inventor of astronomy and teacher of the priests of Egypt. Theodotus, who wrote a poem on the town of Shechem, spoke of Laban as the sole ruler over Syria, and Philo, another poet, made Joseph the king of Egypt. In like manner the poet Ezekiel said of Raguel that he was the sole monarch of Libya. Evidently these writers did not wish the Greeks to think less highly than they ought of the merits and achievements of Israel.

The apologetic spirit of the Jewish-Greek literature is seen also in the naïve assumption that all the truth of the Greek poets and philosophers was borrowed directly or indirectly from Moses and the prophets. It is evident, says the Alexandrian philosopher Aristobulus who flourished about the middle of the second century before Christ, that Plato closely followed the Hebrew legislation, and he supposes that he had done this with the help of a Greek translation of the Law which was prior to the time of Alexander. Pythagoras also, he says, transferred many precepts from Moses into his own system; Homer and Hesiod likewise borrowed from the Hebrew books what they said of the seventh day as holy. It is to be presumed therefore that, in the view of Aristobulus, the law had been translated into Greek before the time of Homer!

We meet with the same conception of the dependence of Greek philosophy on Moses in the writings of Philo, who regarded the Jewish

lawgiver as the perfect philosopher. Thus when the Stoics taught that there are four cardinal virtues, this according to Philo was only a reproduction of what Moses said when he spoke of the four rivers that watered the garden of Eden. Josephus also says that the earliest Greek philosophers, Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Plato, and "almost all the rest," in their actions and philosophical doctrines, followed Moses, and shared his notions of the nature of God. He does not directly suggest how these Greeks found out what Moses had taught, but seems to assume that they must have done so inasmuch as Moses was far more ancient than they, and contained all the truth which they have set forth.

This prodigious claim of the Jews, which was later repeated and enlarged by Christian writers, as Clement of Alexandria, and even by the Syrian philosopher Numenius who, as quoted by Clement, declared that Plato was simply Moses speaking in Attic Greek, shows most clearly that they who made it were willing to admit that there was a divine element in the Greek poets and philosophers. They did not rise to the view that the same God who had revealed himself to Moses had spoken also to Pythagoras and Socrates, but they were at least so impressed by the Greek writings that they could not deny a close kinship between them and their own law. Thus, they were to a certain extent hellenized.

But there is a second feature of this Jewish-Greek literature to be noticed. The hellenism of its authors is seen not only in their apology for their law and their history, but also in their interpretation of that law. Thus Aristobulus shows his Greek training when he says that God's "speaking" in Genesis means not words but the "construction of works," and that we see the same usage in Socrates and Plato, who, when contemplating the marvelous arrangement of the universe, say that they hear therein the "voice" of God. Again, the statement that God rested on the seventh day does not mean, says our philosopher, that he henceforth ceased to do anything, but rather that his arrangement of works, now completed, was final for all time. Nor is this all the significance he saw in the word. The seventh day is ordained to be a sign of our seventh faculty, that is, reason, and it is added as further confirmation of his interpretation that the whole world of living creatures revolves in sevens. It is

evident that this Jew was impressed with the Pythagorean doctrine of the mystic value of numbers.

Traces of a hellenizing tendency are apparent even in the Greek translation of the Old Testament. Every translation is to some extent an interpretation, and in this particular case the interpretation has a Greek coloring. Thus it was probably under the influence of the exalted conception of God held by the Greek philosophers that certain bold anthropomorphisms of the Old Testament were effaced in the translation. According to the Hebrew, Moses went up to *God* in the Mount (Exod. 19:3); in the Greek, he went up to the *Mount* of God. Again, according to the Hebrew, a slave when manumitted was to be brought to *God* (Exod. 21:6); according to the Greek, he was brought to the *judgment* of God. Such illustrations might be multiplied.

It is probably to be put down to Greek influence that the translators of the Old Testament dropped the covenant name of God, the proper noun "Jehovah," and in its place set the common noun "Lord" (*κύριος*). This was a momentous and far-reaching change, for through the use of the Septuagint by the writers of the New Testament it came about that this Alexandrian modification passed over to Christianity. Now the Greek word which we render "Lord" departs from the Hebrew "Jehovah" in a manner that suggests an approximation to Greek conceptions of God. Thus the Hebrew name was associated with a particular national covenant, but the Greek word on the other hand has no national limitation, and therefore suits the thought which the translators without doubt entertained, viz., that the religion of Israel was for all nations.

Again, the Greek term, unlike the corresponding Hebrew, names God in analogy with human relationships: he is the Lord, the Ruler, the one clothed with absolute authority. We reach him as we rise through a series including heroes, kings, demi-gods, and gods, somewhat as one approached the august majesty of an Alexander or a Cyrus. But the Hebrew word, if we define it by the dealing of God with Israel through the centuries, does not suggest a ruler after the order of earthly rulers, only higher and more powerful, and if we define it by the passage in Exodus, it seems to carry our thought away from man to that which is eternal and unchanging. The

God who revealed himself to Moses impressed him with the thought that his purpose—which the context shows to have been a gracious one—was above the mutations of time. The translators in dropping the covenant name lost this thought, and gave in its stead a term which any Greek might have used concerning any one of the gods of Olympus.

But the most extensive illustration of this hellenizing interpretation of the Old Testament is of course furnished by the works of Philo. Here we see Moses teaching the Platonic psychology and cosmology, the ethics of the Stoics and the elaborate Pythagorean doctrine of numbers. He is thought to have anticipated Plato's theory of ideas and the pre-existence of the soul. The demons and heroes of the Greeks are what Moses calls angels. The Greek doctrine of the Logos or Divine Reason, modified by Jewish speculation, is found by Philo in the Pentateuch. There was really no limit to the amount of Greek thought which could be quietly educed from the words of the Hebrew writings. The wonder was wrought by the use of a Greek mode of interpretation, that of allegory. The simple assumption that words have a second and mysterious sense which is to be obtained only by the ingenuity of the skilled interpreter was all that was needed in order to make the plainest of historical narratives, statistical and chronological statements, or even proper names, yield an endless wealth of profound thought. This assumption was made by Philo, not as something new but as an established and unquestionable dogma. With this mode of interpretation we have to associate, as a part of Philo's Greek equipment for the study of the Old Testament, his idea of inspiration. That the inspired person is in a state of frenzy, where the reason has little or nothing to do and the soul, unconscious of itself, is struck by the divine voice as a musical instrument by the hand of the player—this is an idea which Philo had absorbed from his Greek environment, not received from his forefathers.

The hellenization of the scattered Jews which we have now sketched reacted on the homeland. It is impossible to say concerning the hellenism of Palestine at any particular time how much of it was due to the presence of Greeks in the country and how much to the influence of those multitudes of Jews who dwelt abroad but who maintained

both a material and spiritual connection with Jerusalem. It is probable however that the latter influence far outweighed the former, that the hellenized Jews from Alexandria and Ephesus and other great cities, by their presence in Palestine and by their writings, did much more for the introduction of Greek thought among their countrymen than was done by the Greeks themselves who dwelt within the borders of the land.

These Greek-speaking Jews from abroad maintained their own synagogues in Jerusalem, and every such synagogue must have been a center of hellenistic influence for the Jews of the capital and to a less degree for Jews from the country who visited the temple at the great feasts. Alexandrians like Philo and the author of *Wisdom* could hardly have visited Jerusalem without leaving an impress of their broadened faith. And as these Jews of the Dispersion came back to Palestine, so must their writings also have come and must have exerted a leavening influence among those who were able to read Greek. In the case of the Septuagint we have evidence that it not only made its way to the home-land, but that it was widely used there. Palestinians like Peter, John Mark, and Matthew cited the Old Testament according to the Greek version, even when this departed perceptibly from the sense of the original.

In the *Wisdom* of Solomon also we see how a Jew, while still loyal, as he thought, to his religion, could be deeply influenced by Greek ideas. This book, so highly estimated in antiquity that it was made a part of the Greek Old Testament, seems to belong to the first century before Christ, and may have been composed in Alexandria. The author, like the translators of the Old Testament, departed from the idea of creation found in Genesis, and thought of the world as fashioned out of a formless pre-existing mass, thus agreeing with Plato. Akin to Plato's is also his view of the soul, which existed before it came into a body of flesh and to which this body is both a prison and a cause of sin. In agreement with the Stoics, the author thinks of the spirit of wisdom as permeating and inhabiting all things, and he knows of four cardinal virtues.

There is one other evidence of hellenization in Palestine—whether due to inner or outward influences, or to both, we cannot say—to which thus far we have made no reference. This is the party of the

Sadducees. They come into the light and into prominence in the latter part of the reign of John Hyrcanus (135-104 B. C.), they are mentioned by Josephus as having existed in the time of Jonathan (153-142 B. C.), and it may be conjectured that they existed, not as a party, but rather as a tendency, from a time long before the rise of the Hasmoneans. Less numerous than the Pharisees, who also appeared in the time of Hyrcanus, they were of higher dignity and were successful in persuading the rich to be of their way of thinking. But what we are here concerned to say of the Sadducees is that they were friendly to Greek civilization. Thus they rejected all those practices, sanctioned by tradition, which isolated the Jews from other people. They made a virtue of independence in thought, and here also seem to betray the influence of the Greeks. They were in favor with Aristobulus, son of the illustrious Hyrcanus, who was called a friend of the Greeks, and they filled the office of high-priest in the reign of Herod the Great who did more than any other ruler to introduce Greek customs into Palestine. But no high-priest in Herod's time or under the Roman procurators commands our respect. They were rich and worldly, ready to feign themselves Pharisees in belief in order to gain their ends. We may then regard the Sadducees as having appropriated the grosser elements of Greek civilization, while men like Philo and the author of *Wisdom* appropriated its spiritual elements. They were hellenized, but apparently not unto their own highest good.

Before leaving this subject of the reaction of Jewish thought, as found in the Dispersion, upon the thought of Palestinian Jews it should be said that, for at least a century before the composition of the earliest New Testament writing, the Jews of the Dispersion were quite as influential a body, quite as important for the development of Christianity, as those of Palestine. The Jews of Alexandria, says Mommsen, were equal to those of Jerusalem in numbers and wealth, in intellect and organization, and when we add to these the great colonies in the East, which were so widely represented at the Passover when Jesus was crucified, also the colonies in Cyrene and Rome and the numerous rich colonies in Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, and the islands of the Aegean and Mediterranean seas, we may well believe that the scattered Jews, in their totality, were fully equal

in numbers and wealth to the entire Jewish population of Palestine, while among them there were undoubtedly far more who had been deeply and permanently influenced by Greek civilization than there were in the home-land.

Alexander the Great, we remark in conclusion, inasmuch as he broke down the barrier between Greeks and barbarians and made his campaign of military conquest a campaign of Greek civilization, set in motion a current of hellenism which, through the medium of the Jews and then of the New Testament, still flows on in Christian thought.

Sources.—Agatharchides, second cent. B. C.; Alexander Polyhistor, 80-40 B. C.; Aristeas, Epistle of, 200 B. C.; Aristobulus, 170-150 B. C.; Artapanus, first cent., B. C. (?); Berosus, *ca.* 280 B. C.; Chaeremon of Alexandria, first cent. A. D.; Cicero, 106-43 B. C.; Clearchus of Soli, third cent., B. C.; Diodorus Siculus, first cent., B. C.; Eupolemus, *ca.* 150 B. C.; Eusebius, 264-340 A. D.; Hecataeus of Abdera, *ca.* 330-290 B. C.; Hermippus Callimachus, third cent., B. C.; Horace, 65-8 B. C.; Jesus Sirach, second cent., B. C.; Josephus, 37-100 A. D.; Justin, second cent., A. D. (?); Juvenal, *ca.* 100-125 A. D.; Luke, 50-100 A. D.; Maccabees (I-II), *ca.* 100 B. C.-50 A. D.; Manetho, third cent., B. C.; Mnaseas of Patara, third cent., B. C.; Nicolas of Damascus, *ca.* 6 A. D.; Philo, first cent., A. D.; Pliny, 23-79 A. D.; Plutarch, 50-120 A. D.; Polybius, 204-122 B. C.; Posidonius, *ca.* 100 B. C.; Quintilian, 35-100 A. D. (?); *Septuagint*, *ca.* 283-132 B. C.; *Sibylline Oracles*, second cent., B. C.; Strabo, 63 B. C.-21 A. D. (?); Suetonius, first cent., A. D.; Tacitus, *ca.* 61-117 A. D.

NON-RELIGIOUS PERSONS¹

EDWARD SCRIBNER AMES
The University of Chicago

There is ordinarily little question as to what is meant by non-scientific, non-musical, or non-social persons. And there is no doubt that many individuals belong to each of these classes. There are also numbers of people who are non-religious as judged by conventional standards. They belong to no ecclesiastical organization, they profess no creed and disavow having had any personal "experience" of religion. The practical religious worker usually does not hesitate to designate them as non-religious or as positively irreligious. The modern theologians and psychologists, however, have been slower to commit themselves to that position. The theologians of the newer school often assert that man is by nature religious, "incurably religious," in Sabatier's much-quoted phrase. They sometimes mean that the race has been endowed with a "sense of the infinite," with a religious faculty or instinct, which craves expression and makes one restless until it is given satisfaction. This religious endowment or experience is frequently regarded as something distinct from the moral nature or ethical character and as the fundamental condition of morality. With the psychologists there is more of a tendency to the view that man possesses no special instinct or endowment which makes him religious but that he is capable of developing the attitudes and habits which are religious. Such varying conceptions require a more careful analysis of the phenomena and more definite use of terms.

In primitive groups there could be no non-religious persons. The customs were imperative and inexorable. Anyone who would not conform was punished or expelled from the group and not infrequently was put to death. Even in the high civilizations of Greece and Rome whoever did not observe the prevailing rites was considered impious and dangerous. It has required a long and troubled his-

¹ A chapter from a forthcoming book, *The Psychology of Religious Experience*.

tory to develop any degree of tolerance for the dissenter and the non-conformist, for the free-thinker and the heretic. But with the individualism of the modern world there has come a loosening of the old group morality and religion until there are many persons in every civilized community who are not religious in the conventional sense of the term. Are such persons actually non-religious: and, if so, what are the psychological characteristics which they manifest?

If religion is viewed as participation in the ideal values of the social consciousness then those who do not share in this social consciousness are non-religious. The psychological criterion of a man's religion is the degree and range of his social consciousness.

It is of course often true that this participation is not direct. It is not always conscious of itself. It may nevertheless be real and powerful. The great majority of persons doubtless develop their social conscience, their patriotism, sense of justice, and vision of the future of society under the influence of custom and institutional authority. They could not explain why they are so deeply moved by the symbols of the aspiring national life. The flag, a popular song, or the name of one of their heroes, stirs them to enthusiasm and self-sacrifice. The symbol has become identical with the reality and the popular mind has little disposition to distinguish the hero from the cause he represents, or to analyze just how he is identified with it. The depth and urgency of a great national ideal are undoubtedly vaster than the achievement or intention of the persons who advocate and enact it, but for the mass of men the leaders are the embodiment of it. Professor Cooley has stated this with suggestive insight. He says,

To think of love, gratitude, pity, grief, honor, courage, justice, and the like, it is necessary to think of people by whom or toward whom these sentiments may be entertained. Thus justice may be recalled by thinking of Washington, kindness by Lincoln, honor by Sir Philip Sidney, and so on. The reason for this, as already intimated, is that sentiment and imagination are generated, for the most part, in the life of communication, and so belong with personal images by original and necessary association, having no separate existence except in our forms of speech.²

It is natural and quite indispensable that social ideals should be felt in this way. If one approves a leader who is vitally represen-

² Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order*, p. 83.

tative of his group one thereby shares in the inmost life of that group, though he may appear to himself to be devoted directly and solely to the individual leader alone. He who prides himself on following his own conscience or obeying a certain law of external authority may also in reality be accepting the standards of his immediate social environment or those remote in time and space which yet are vivid in his imagination. One's conscience or one's external authority is necessarily the living embodiment of some social system. The symbols which appeal to a man so powerfully may seem to him entirely beyond and above any human social origin. He perhaps resents the scientific conclusion that they are really products of the historical, social life of the race. He may conceive that his religious consciousness is significant just because it has no such natural origin and history. But to the psychologist it remains clear that the man is genuinely religious in so far as his symbols, ceremonials, institutions, and heroes enable him to share in a social life. It is also psychologically evident that the man who tries to maintain religious sentiment apart from social experience is to that extent irreligious, whatever he may claim for himself; while the man who enters thoroughly into the social movements of his time is to that extent genuinely religious, though he may characterize himself quite otherwise. Again, a psychological estimate of a given person may show that the interests and activities on account of which he considers himself religious do not in fact make him religious so much as do the benevolent, philanthropic, and civic concerns in which he engages without ascribing to them any religious designation. From this standpoint the classification of persons as religious or non-religious would not coincide with conventional distinctions. It would follow more closely the sociologist's grouping of persons according to their social attitudes and habits.

Non-religious persons are accordingly those who fail to enter vitally into a world of social activities and feelings. They remain unresponsive to the obligations and the incentives of the social order. They are lacking in the sense of ideal values which constitutes the social conscience. It is not possible to draw the lines of separation with great precision and it may not be easy to determine individual cases. But there are two or three classes of non-religious persons

not difficult to describe in the main features. One class includes those who lack the mentality or the organization of impulses necessary to enable them to share in the appreciation and effective pursuit of ideals. No one can doubt that this is the case with the defective and delinquent classes. Idiots, imbeciles, the insane, many paupers, and persons suffering from hysteria and certain other diseases are of this type. They are too unstable and inchoate to appreciate even in a formal, conventional manner the customs and controlling sentiments of society. The social life is a work of the imagination through which one is able to enter sensitively and intelligently into the experience of other persons and to maintain toward them consistent and dependable relations. This requires adjustment to many individuals, not only to those who live immediately within one's sense perception but also to those who move in memory and those who dwell in the realms of fancy. It is the imagination which makes any of these real to us. In this social world of the imagination exist the real commandments of the moral law and the duties of the spiritual life. To be a part of this society one must be able to form efficient habits, employ memory and foresight, and hold with some tenacity to ideal purposes. Without these qualities one cannot belong to the political state, to the company of artists, to the schools of the scientists, to unions of labor, to the corporations of business men, nor to the clubs of the professional classes. For the same reason, whoever is incapable of such reactions cannot be religious. The sociologists have not hesitated to draw this conclusion with reference to other social activities, and the same considerations make it pertinent to religion.

Men and women who are physically diseased cannot, as a rule, perform their social tasks efficiently . . . weak-willed, slothful, intemperate, passionate, depraved persons cannot be combined into normal families, and although some of them may perform certain tasks well, on the whole, these classes impair the health of all groups and organs to which they belong, and help to form and maintain institutions which are a constant menace to society.³

A second class of non-religious persons consists of those who are not defective or diseased, but whose mental life is not organized in accordance with the scale of values which is recognized by the morally

³ Small and Vincent, *Introduction to the Study of Society*, p. 269.

Sigh!

mature and efficient persons of the community. These are the irresponsible, inconsequential individuals who live in the present, largely controlled by their sensuous impulses, without comprehensive purposes or standards. They are found at all levels of the social world, not only among the idle rich but also among the improvident poor and the delinquents. The sporting element of the community, as described by Veblen, belongs here. He shows that habitual sportsmen represent "an archaic spiritual constitution," and "an arrested development of man's moral nature." Sportsmen are likely to credit themselves with a love of nature, a need of recreation, and to hide from themselves the real purposelessness of their sport. By these reflections and by other illusory impressions they convince themselves that there is some genuine purpose in their "dexterous or emulative exertion." Veblen states it thus:

Sports—hunting, angling, athletic games, and the like—afford an exercise for dexterity and for the emulative ferocity and astuteness characteristic of predatory life. So long as the individual is but slightly gifted with reflection or with a sense of the ulterior trend of his actions—so long as his life is substantially a life of naïve impulsive action—so long the immediate and unreflected purposefulness of sports, in the way of an expression of dominance, will measurably satisfy his instinct of workmanship. This is especially true if his dominant impulses are unreflecting emulative propensities of the predaceous temperament.⁴

Others of this class represent, if possible, still less organization of impulses than the sportsman. Where the natural means of developing instincts through the customary responsibilities of real tasks is absent the instincts are apt to appear in crude, unregulated excesses. This is seen in those individuals who by inheritance or sudden success in securing wealth seem to lose control and direction of their powers. The modern woman is frequently cited in illustration of the effect of withdrawing human nature from the restraining, supporting influence of real work and serious enterprises. Thomas shows that because man controls wealth and the substantial interests of society, woman is left to gratify her instinctive interest in display. She may even make marriage an occasion of more elaborate display, insisting on the employment of sufficient servants and other aids to make this possible.

⁴ *Theory of the Leisure Class*, p. 260.

The American woman of the better classes has superior rights and no duties, and yet she is worrying herself to death—not over specific troubles, but because she has lost her connection with reality. Many women, more intelligent and energetic than their husbands and brothers, have no more serious occupations than to play the house-cat with or without ornament.⁵

It is these women who are the habituées of the matinee and the afternoon musical and are devotees of card clubs. They occasionally allow themselves the further diversion of charity balls and the prevailing “devout observances.”

Still a third class of those who are non-religious have more definite intellectual and habitual organization and are consequently more powerful. These are the criminal classes whose chief psychological characteristic is that they conceive other persons and society in such ways as to subordinate all other interests to some one or few desires which are low and narrow. The confirmed thief, for example, regards individuals and communities with référence to the one point of the spoil they may afford. He becomes extremely clever in constructing in imagination the personal traits, habits, and surroundings of the victim. But instead of using this insight for social co-operation and for sympathetic devotion to objective interests, he subverts it to private ends. His knowledge of men becomes his strongest weapon against them. Such exploitation appears in its most appreciable form where the outrage is committed against the person of individuals with violence and blood. But the psychological abnormality is seen on a grand scale where the thief operates more indirectly and insidiously with the vast and complex social relations represented by the highly organized industrial and financial systems of the modern world. Such a robber, to be successful, requires even greater imagination for the motives and mentality of other persons than does the honest capitalist or manager: for he must not only use the legitimate methods of business but at certain points he must divert them from the proper channels and at the same time avoid detection. To escape with the plunder may require more brains than to seize it.

In the confessions of criminals this perverse manner of apperceiving persons is apparent. To the highwayman the citizen on the

⁵ *Sex and Society*, p. 240.

street is simply an object with a purse, and with more or less elaborate equipment for protecting the purse by resistance, flight, and outcries. The plans which the citizen may have for using the money to buy food for his children or to aid the unemployed are totally discounted by the robber and have no place in his image of the case. Even the pain incident to the "hold-up" is ignored through eagerness for the pelf. A thief recounting how he had told a society lady the method by which he might get her diamond pin, said: "It was fastened in such a way that to get it strong arm work would be necessary. I explained how I would 'put the mug on her,' while my husky pal went through her. 'But,' she said, 'that would hurt me.' As if the grafters cared! What a selfish lady to be always thinking of herself."⁶ The same criminal as he lay on his cot in prison reflected: "Yes, I have stripes on. When I am released perhaps someone will pity me, particularly the women. They may despise and avoid me; most likely they will. But I don't care. All I want is to get their wad of money."⁷

The studies of criminals show that such a rigid mental state, convergent upon some inadequate end or disproportionate desire is their chief psychical trait. Along with this there is naturally found less sensibility, fewer ideas, and lower intelligence than in normal persons.⁸ Crime is rare among scientists, and in general a developed mind, being better able to take in the various phases of the whole situation and possessing greater foresight, is restrained from such unsocial conduct. Or, on the positive side, an educated, cultivated, normal mind is usually more aware of the ideal claims of the human world and more sensitive to their appeal. The trained and socially sane individual is therefore best able to construct in his own imagination the interplay of motives and purposes in the members of the race at a given point and throughout history, and to hold tenaciously to those moral standards with which the highest religious life is bound up. Those who do not, either by reflective imitation and

⁶ Hutchins Hapgood, *Autobiography of a Thief*, p. 271.

⁷ See Gidding's description of the "anti-social class," *Principles of Sociology*, p. 127.

⁸ Havelock Ellis, *The Criminal*, chap. iv, pp. 130 ff.; MacDonald, *Criminology*, chap. iv.

assent, or by conscious volition, support and further these ideal ends are non-religious.

It follows from this functional manner of conceiving the matter that the religious consciousness is subject to the same variations, alterations, complications, and abnormalities as other forms of consciousness. It is marked by the same indefiniteness in estimating individual cases, and yet in the average and on the whole it is no more difficult to determine. It is frequently very puzzling to decide whether a certain person is sane or insane, whether he is a genius or a crank. But in general our working standards are sufficient. Religion, like art, science, and statesmanship is a matter of degree, and of variation. Like other attitudes it is subject to cultivation and to increment and also to neglect and deterioration. It is dependent upon attention, association, and habit, and in a growing social order a process of readjustment and adaptation is as necessary in religion as in any other interest. The "final perseverance of the saints" cannot possibly signify any greater stability than that represented by the persistence of habit and custom and by the ability to readapt habit and custom to meet the new demands of the changing social order.

The most intense and closely articulated expressions of the religious consciousness undergo radical modifications under the stress of new economic and social forces. Witness the rise of Protestantism, and more recently the appearance of modernism within Catholic Christianity. Still more crucial is the development of rationalistic and liberal social tendencies within Protestantism. New industrial conditions, new scientific and historical conceptions of nature and of human life, and manifold agencies, co-operating to expand knowledge, to furnish new measures of freedom and responsibility to the individual, are creating new types of value, different ideals of conduct, and unaccustomed goals of endeavor. The religious symbols of Dante and Milton belonged to the Ptolemaic order, but their incongruity with the Copernican universe is just beginning to be felt with full force by the popular mind. The result is that there is great confusion on every hand with reference to religious experience. The old forms and symbols possess an attractive familiarity and seeming simplicity. They appear so immediate and so venerable that it is with

the greatest difficulty that those who have employed them can give them the critical analysis and historical setting which is necessary to realize that they are the products of a passing social system. On the contrary the emerging world-order is so vast and intricate, so much a thing of cloistered specialists and of undisciplined democratic enthusiasts, that it is yet vague and crude, without adequate prophets in literature or art, to provide expressive and convincing symbols.

This transition period produces a variety of types of religious consciousness. Among the most characteristic are those who live in the new world of business and social concerns but cling to the old religious terms and notions. They simply illustrate the dual personality which modern psychology has found to be frequent even among normal people. Two or more sets of habits and mental reactions are kept quite distinct. This dualism is aided by the fact that religious observances are so much given over to special days, separate institutions, and socially segregated functionaries. The isolation of religion is also effected by the use of a special literature from a foreign age and people, translated into archaic forms of speech. This literature, elaborated in numberless commentaries and devotional books, supplies its own unique historic background, its familiar human characters and vivid incidents which furnish endless subjects for reflection and entertainment without necessitating any reference to the facts and problems of contemporaneous experience. It is therefore quite possible for a man, without conscious inconsistency, to be devoutly religious in the churchly sense, and at the same time to pursue his business or profession as if it belonged to another sphere. He may even employ methods which his religion does not sanction, and justify it on the ground that "business is business." Or he may be honorable in his dealings and charitably disposed to the community without considering such labor and charity among his religious virtues. He does not regard work on the board of the town library or hospital as part of his religious activity.

A second type resulting from the present situation is represented by many school teachers, settlement workers, philanthropists, and patriots who devote themselves assiduously to the relief of human suffering, and to the betterment of the conditions of life, but who stand outside the existing ecclesiastical institutions. Accepting the

narrow, traditional notion of religion, they allow themselves to be considered non-religious although their feeling for the big human situations is sometimes keen and heroic enough to constitute them a new order of saints. It would scarcely alter the fact that they are genuinely and practically religious, if they were openly opposed to the conventional beliefs and ceremonies. Religion, in a psychical as well as a scriptural sense, is a matter of the spirit rather than of the letter. The tithing of mint, anise, and cumin are not so important that their performance or their neglect is of much consequence. It is the weightier matters of justice, of sympathy, and of intelligence which determine whether one is religious in a vital sense. As a result of the prevailing confusion many persons are really religious who think themselves either indifferent to religion or positively opposed to it.

There is yet another type of mind which attains with difficulty, if at all, a thoroughly socialized consciousness. There is a tendency for specialists in highly organized occupations to work within their chosen limits and to lose sight of community interests. It is not alone the operator of a machine, or the workman who performs monotonously the same movements day after day who is in danger of losing appreciation of the larger task to which he contributes. His work is perhaps the most deadening just because it is so largely a matter of recurring, invariable physical reactions. But the scientific specialist and technical expert who exercises a highly developed mind may also absorb himself in his task and take no serious account of the community life which sustains him in the pursuit of his speciality. It is doubtful whether any justifiable labor does not somehow have such reference to the interests of others that it may be more effectively carried out with awareness of such implications. In any case the individual who concentrates upon a speciality to the neglect of social duties to that extent narrows his world of personal relations and reduces his sensitiveness with reference to the common ends of the social body. If the motor phases of consciousness have a determining effect upon ideational processes then the very fact of limiting oneself to the workbench or the laboratory will limit the perspective of one's outlook and of one's social imagination. This may account to some extent for the present indifference among

large classes of workmen, scientists, and artists to the problems of religion.

In one form or another the difficulty for most earnest persons with reference to religion is that the symbols and imagery which are at hand are not satisfying because they belong to an outgrown order; while the activities and conceptions which engage attention are not yet expressed in sufficiently definite and familiar ideals. Our modern ideals have not yet developed a sufficient history, richness, sanctity, and authority to give them religious value. They are not commonly enough recognized and accepted to furnish an outline and scaffolding in which the thought of men is organized with the objectivity and insistence of the old forms.

In times of intellectual unsettlement, like the present, the ideal may become disorganized and scattered, the face of God blurred to the view, like the reflection of the sun in troubled waters. And at the same time the creeds become incredible, so that, until new ones can be worked out and diffused, each man must either make one for himself—a task to which few are equal—or undergo distraction, or cease to think about such matters if he can.

The most casual inquiry among thoughtful people confirms this. In a questionnaire used by the writer, one of the questions was, Do you consider yourself religious, and why? About one-fourth of the respondents answered either that they did not consider themselves religious, or that they did not know whether or not they were religious. In nearly every instance the reasons given were that some traditional belief had been discarded or public worship discontinued. For example one says: "I presume I am non-religious because I cannot agree with any sect I know of and I have nothing definite to offer instead." Another replies: "I have for the past ten years considered myself non-religious, or rather this has been a growing conviction, because: (1) I am not interested in church activities of an intra-church kind; (2) I get no pleasant emotional reaction of a religious kind from attendance at church or from commingling with worshippers at church."

In the two following experiences there is definite renunciation of some central beliefs of the orthodox faith and yet an inclination to take the side of religion:

I honor Jesus Christ as a beautiful, inspiring example, but it seems impossible for me to think of him as divinity. I like to go to church because I believe that

the influence of all working toward the right and the moral is good. I like the thoughtful atmosphere. I consider myself religious because I think seriously of religious and ultimate problems. I do not believe in a personal God. Such a conception to me is illogical. I think that religious belief should be the natural growth of a man's experience.

This statement is from an active church worker and Sunday-school teacher:

I do not know whether I am religious or not. I have no practical faith in God. I get no strength outside of myself—except from human beings; and I have no desire for a personal life after death. On the other hand, I believe that a moral life is the only thing worth while, I desire to work out my own salvation, here and now; and I wish (in a half-hearted way) to see all people know the joy of right living. That seems to be religious—in theory.

Two who are doubtful about their being religious suggest the explanation that it is probably due to lack of attention to the subject. One of them says:

I do not know whether I am religious or not as I have never been able to define the term. Religion has never taken a deep hold of me and what has at times stirred this emotion in friends most violently has usually lacked point for me. I have given religious matters very little attention.

The other experience is this:

No, I do not think I am religious. I have never taken any interest in any church life nor have I ever done any work for the church—I have had no time for any religious work.

The three cases which follow indicate that the persons have worked their way farther through the problem and have nearly reached the point of calling themselves religious but from a radically different standpoint than that of orthodox teaching.

Since becoming a member of the church I have attended quite regularly but my faith in the church as an institution and in the Bible as the work of God has steadily decreased. I have tried to study honestly and fairmindedly, and my studies lead me steadily farther away from those beliefs. In other fields, the only instance I can suggest is in the matter of my profession. From childhood I was possessed of the desire to be a physician, and all my early work was toward that end. If by the term "religious" we mean a belief in the Bible and its teachings, a belief in God and in the church, then I am not religious. If by religion we mean a sincere endeavor to live up to a code of morals, to do right as we see it, to play the man in relation to our fellow-men, then I am at least trying to be religious.

If the standard of religion includes simply the idea of futurity and God, with its practical social application through the church, I consider myself religious.

But according to my former standard before being influenced by modern teaching I should not now consider myself religious; e.g., implicit belief in the infallibility of the Bible, the virtue of belief, and the idea of redemption through vicarious suffering would be essential.

Do not know about being religious but do know that there is a sincere desire to follow the highest ideals and do the most good one can in the world, for it is only this that makes life truly worth while. I believe in a religion of helpfulness and cheerfulness, trusting the Divine Spirit which is surely in his world and will somehow bring things around right.

The following experience is suggestive of a large class who incline to identify the religious and the aesthetic consciousness. There is little sympathy here for either orthodoxy or social interests.

The more I think about it, the more I have found it impossible to say whether I am religious or not. I have always felt a deep interest and a strong desire to support any movement toward breadth of interpretation, but this is due merely to a dislike of dogma. Personally I get no inspiration or religious value from Unitarianism or any religion which stresses the moral or rational side of religion. As far as I can see I have absolutely no needs which cannot be satisfied better outside religion than in it. Apart from its dogmatism, the personal, pragmatic attitude of all evangelical Protestant churches I have known arouses instinctive prejudices in me. On the other hand, participation in a service of an Episcopal or Anglican church puts me in a mood that might perhaps be called religious. The service impresses me as voicing but one need, and that an impersonal one, the need of worship. Sometimes the mood becomes definite enough to center around my own ideals; more often it is vague and without a definite object. In no case do I make any effort at reinterpretation of the ideas involved in the service. In my happiest times, they cease to be facts or dogmas and become real in the same way as the ideas of a beautiful poem. This value seems to me a little different from a purely aesthetic value. I do not know whether it is religious or not.

It may be of interest to note that two clergymen in an orthodox denomination, themselves liberal men, however, gave the following reasons for considering themselves religious: "A conscience that makes me trouble and a love of the right and the truth;" the other's reason was, "an abiding desire for the best in life."

This experience of a scientist is included because it describes so well the process through which many minds are finding their way to a constructive religious faith after the new order. It is a fair illustration of the religious consciousness of those who are yet too often considered non-religious:

I think most of us have passed through very much the same general experience regarding religious matters. As boys we were taught the elements of Christianity;

were brought up in one or another of the Christian sects; were told of God and of heaven and of hell, and generally given the idea that this was religion and the basis of morality. I think most of us accepted this as we accepted other things *told* us, or that we learned in childhood without reasoning or thinking about it at all, and that though it lay there in our minds as we matured, we paid small attention to it, finding it really touched our lives but little. We took our place in the world of men and facts around us, and our work and duties absorbed us more and more till this early religious training was quite overlaid. To the extent that we later thought of it we found it primitive and unsatisfactory. It was neither the basis of our own lives nor of the lives of those we met. Our code was not this code, our ethics not founded on any such system of future rewards and punishments. These things might be—but we, and others, acted as though they were not. Our lives were simpler, more direct and material. Certain things we felt right and did, certain other things wrong and tried to avoid. If we questioned the origin of these feelings there seemed to be a more immediate rational explanation of them than that they were taught two thousand years ago, or that the one way led to hell and the other to heaven. In short, we had outgrown the forms of our childhood, and religion and conduct were for us divorced.

But while we were outgrowing certain forms we were growing into certain perceptions and feelings. We were studying nature or life itself, and the immensity and grandeur of *what is* were laying their hold upon us. The immeasurable lapse of time, the infinitude of space, the mighty rush and swirl of cosmic energy, the infinite richness and variety of nature, the myriad forms of organic life, and, perhaps more than all else, the slow, sure march of evolution and the immobility of law, were opening our consciousness to new perceptions and emotions. It is these emotions which typify for me today religious feeling, as I think they do for many other scientific men, and I offer as my definition of religion what Haeckel has called “cosmic emotion.”⁹

If this experience had continued on to an appreciation of the social world as viewed from the standpoint of evolutionary processes and immanent ideals of the human moral order it would have expressed in fairly adequate terms the feeling for reality and experience which is coming to be recognized as the substance of modern religious faith.

⁹ H. B. Mitchell, *Talks on Religion*, p. 15.

THE WORKINGS OF MODERNISM

J. R. SLATTERY

Paris, France

Rousseau is reported to have first used the word "modernists" as meaning irreligious teachers. And Pius X walks in his footsteps. "Irreligious," as signifying inimical to religion embodied in creeds, is the proper word. The papacy battles for orthodoxy, which the onslaught of modernism at least undermines if it may not sweep away entirely. The Protestant churches also are alive to the situation, e. g., the cases of Briggs, McGiffert, and Smith in Presbyterianism and Crapsey among the Episcopalians. The whole structure of orthodoxy may go down before the movement which the *Civiltà cattolica* immortalized in naming it "modernism." The modernists were distinct workers in various branches, in different countries, ignorant in fact of one another's drift, but laboring for a common end, the reconciliation of church and science, and indeed out of love for that church, whose sons they claim to be. It is no wonder that Rome took alarm. The Pope describes them as members of a system. They are conspirators. But no one knew of this concerted aim till Pius X informed the world of it; just as no one recognized Americanism till Leo XIII branded it in his letter *Testem benevolentiae*. Or again, as under the ancient régime when the Papacy stamped Jansenism as the scourge of the church's children. The shibboleth—modernism—is fastened upon men, Catholics and loyal to the church, of whom every one when condemned recognized the authority that smote him, save the handful of Italians who wrote *Il programma dei modernisti*. These alone, countrymen of the Pope, brought casuistry worthy of the Jesuits into play to prove that even if banned they are still untouched and may exercise their priestly functions, all excommunications to the contrary notwithstanding.

The encyclical itself, however, is but one of several documents, all of which rehearse its teachings, e. g., papal letter to the bishops of Italy; syllabus of Pius X; the Pope's speech to the new cardinals, April 17, 1907; letter of the Jesuit cardinal Steinhuber, prefect of the Index, to Cardinal Ferrara of Milan, April 29, 1907, condemning

Il rinnovamento; letter of the Pope to the same condemning Bishop Bonomelli's pastoral on church and state; and so on. Now the encyclical seems first of all a new monkish quarrel registered in a pontifical document. It is a victory of the Jesuits, aided by the Franciscans, over the Dominicans. Of its writers, the Jesuit Billot and the two Franciscans, Langoyne, a Frenchman, and Marrani, an Italian, wrote the dogmatic part, while the historic is credited to Mgr. Benigni, an unknown nobody, who suddenly jumped into the limelight as editor of *Correspondenza romana*, the organ of Cardinal Dal Val. Benigni's veracity is so far questioned that if his paper makes a statement, the journals of Paris accept at once its contradictory as true.

But the letter on modernism is a great deal more. It is a defense of orthodoxy. It is the formal declaration of war against modern science, not indeed *quâ* science, but in all its methods and aims. It strikes a heresy within the church. Its blow levels the church's sons.

The Catholic church may be looked upon as a state—*un état postiche*, an irreverent Frenchman would explain—or as a society or whatever else we please. She is surely a living witness to her own identity. No doubt she has the right to say what she is, what are her parts, what is her constitution, who are her members. Such claims are inherent. Therefore when the Catholic church by her official mouthpiece—the Pope or his cabinet, the Roman congregations—declares that the doctrine known as modernism is not hers, and adds that its followers are traitors to her cause, we must accept her decision. No court of appeals exists to which we can go. Nor is there any appeal from the Pope to a council, although a future pope may ignore or forget the events of 1907.

We must not forget that Pius X has only drawn the conclusions which follow logically from the official teaching of the church and that, if his principles be true, they who accept them have not even the right to criticize the opportunity of the pontifical act. For *modernism*—such as really exists and which is neither *agnosticism* nor the philosophy of *immanence*—I say, *modernism* questions those principles, viz.: the mythological idea of external revelation, the absolute value of traditional dogma, the absolute authority of the church. So that the encyclical of Pius X was called forth by the circumstances; and Leo XIII would not have made one sensibly different, at least in essence and in the theoretical part.¹

¹ Loisy, *Simplex reflexions*, p. 275.

The many extracts from the encyclicals of Leo XIII, which Pius X quoted in his own against modernism is a proof of Doellinger's historical axiom: it is not always the same pope, but it is ever the same papacy.

Again the modernists prove completely that their case is falsely presented. This falsity is no relief to them, no bar to papal action. The Supreme Court of the United States may give a wrong judgment, there seems to be no relief. The matter may be reopened in one way or another; the Supreme Court however may uphold the old decision. The wronged citizen must either submit or expatriate himself. If there be another alternative in the state, there is certainly none in the church. To the credit of these men, Pius X, in the very document under discussion, bears high witness to their personal characters and virtues:

They lead a life of the greatest activity, of assiduous and ardent application to every branch of learning and they possess, as a rule, a reputation for the strictest morality.²

Now the papal document is lengthy. Its general import has been given in the press of the world. It is, however, important that we get some idea of its drift:

To proceed in an orderly manner in this recondite subject, it must first of all be noted that every modernist sustains and comprises within himself many personalities: he is a philosopher, a believer, a theologian, a historian, a critic, an apologist, a reformer.³

To grasp what then is meant by modernism, let the reader conjure up before his mind what he regards as needful to the make-up of those varied scholarships. Everything that, as he fancies, enters into his conception of a philosopher, a believer, and the rest, is denied and rejected by the papal encyclical.

Or again, instead of such conceptions, let the reader figure to himself some individual scholar, e. g., Huxley or James or Spencer as a philosopher; Channing or Francis Newman or Peabody as a believer; Edwards or Fairbairn as a theologian, Harnack as a historian, Renan as a critic, Aug. Sabatier as an apologist; Calvin or Luther as a reformer. Then let him form a mental photograph of them all. This picture is only a blurring of what the encyclical

² *Encyclical.*

³ *Ibid.*

Pascendi gregis acknowledges. Perhaps it is well here to remind the reader how the acquaintance is made of such writers. An excerpt is taken from a work now of one, again of another. It is given as the major of an objection to some proposition of philosophy or theology: a distinguishing minor is to hand and the ready conclusion follows that the writing is wrong. That any of the men who composed the syllabus or the letter on modernism read the great authors of the day, no one believes. The handy church textbooks suffice.

Or, again, let us take the view of leading anti-modernists. Calvalanti, one of the strongest writers on the papal side, declares that one must learn the religious, social, political alphabet not only from Billot, S.J., Pavissich, S.J., Cereseto of the Oratory, and a number of other preachers, but from the bishops themselves and the Pope. He warns his readers against the reprobated books of Loisy, Houtin, Laberthonnière, Rosmini, Harnack, Marx, Kant (*I veicoli del modernismo in Italia*, p. 14, 15). Later on (p. 87) he sums up the whole question in a sentence: *Con Roma e per Roma sempre*, "Right or wrong, Rome is right." And once more he gives a second list: Fogazzaro, Murri, Scotti, Sabatier, Tolstoi, Harnack (p. 118).

Il rinnovamento, the modernist review of Milan, puts the case thus: *O tutto o niente*—"All or nothing." Still another picture is offered by the Dominican friar Maumus, a former liberal of the school of Gratry and Lacordaire.

The foundation of scholasticism is nothing else than the whole of theological science, decrees, dogmas, knowledge of the Fathers, the pure spirit of tradition. To this science, the scholastics applied a clear, precise, severe method, which advances by propositions connected one with another by solid liens, excluding every vague or badly defined term and building up its affirmations upon irrefutable proofs.⁴

Hence, according to these Catholic authorities, the antidote of modernism lies in Rome, the episcopate, and scholasticism. To look beyond any one of them is to be a modernist. Therefore the reader's mind must be emptied of everything whatsoever that this curious medley does not include. This declaration, too, in the presence of the great results of modern scholarship!

With such a kaleidoscope before him, the reader will have a better idea of what the encyclical aims at than he could get from an analysis

⁴ *Les modernistes*. Paris, 1909, p. 171.

of its ponderous platitudes resonant with the air of mediaevalism, as Tyrrell christened the ultramontane position in his answer to the attack of Cardinal Mercier, of Mechlin.

Furthermore, a fact which must never be overlooked in papal documents is that they are also Italian. When an Italian says, *Credo in Deum*, his god is Imperial Rome, Italy united, and the papacy. Behold his trinity!

True philosophy at first and later on that of Christianity born ever in Italy is thence diffused into other countries where step by step it becomes corrupted. . . . Italy twice lost its supremacy. First when the northern barbarians wrecked the Roman Empire, and again when other barbarians annihilated the civil dictatorship of the Roman Pontificate. Twice political and intellectual anarchy stole in upon Italian domination and invaded Europe, substituting for the peaceful reign of human and divine reason a state of war between people and doctrines.⁵

In this year of grace Murri, modernist as he is, repeats the same sentiments in the January number of his review *Rivista di cultura*, once more resurrected, despite papal censures affecting, however, solely the diocese of Rome. We give a few extracts: "Il cattolicismo e una grande creazione latina di organizzazione e di cultura" (p. 2). Again he speaks of Leo XIII as justifying "La sincerità della sua vasta visione di grandezza romana" (p. 8); "La grande tradizione latina di un governo cattolico" (p. 15).

Papal documents are the charters and by-laws of a theocracy. Through them rings a note of religion. The Holy Spirit, Jesus Christ, the blessed apostles, Peter and Paul, the eternal happiness of souls, and so on are the chords upon which, under the stroke of the Fisherman's ring, is dinned ever the same theocratical slogan. And it is just this very political aspect which Rome labors to keep hidden from the English, and especially from the American, world. Englishmen need not be blinded as they are in close union with Rome in ruling Canada, Ireland, Malta, and the Portuguese churches of India. But Englishmen wilfully close their eyes, for as a branch of Christendom, they regard the church and state pretty much from the Roman standpoint. This is why in the writings that come to us from Oxford and Cambridge are discussed "The historic episcopate; the English church as a portion of the holy Catholic church; The church as the

⁵ Gioberti, *Del primato morale et civile degli italiani*, Brussels, 1845, *passim*.

national church; The Establishment; The powers and rights of the state; The mischiefs of disendowment and disestablishment."⁶

America is learning the same lesson. It found a good school in the friars of the Philippines and the church property in Cuba. The commission sent to Rome with Mr. Taft at its head, dealt with a state. There was no question of souls but of property. Give and take, demand and refuse, back out and insist, filled the minds on both sides. So also the same is evident from the rumors which were afloat during Satolli's residence at Washington to the effect that he desired, or even may have taken steps toward being an envoy plenipotentiary to the United States government of the South American republics.

Now the letter on modernism is a political document. The results of higher criticism had cut the ground from underneath papal pretensions. If scholarship be admitted Rome's supremacy is gone—a supremacy in papal eyes of the church over the state, the mistress over the handmaid. There was nothing else to do to save this supremacy but to repudiate modernism and modernists, root and branch.

The remedy should fit the disease. But yet, on turning to the papal letter and its remedies against modernism, we ask ourselves if the encyclical really hopes to work out its aim and help stumbling humanity.

That the proximate and immediate cause consists in a perversion of mind. The remote causes seem to us to be reduced to two: curiosity and pride. . . . Pride sits in modernism as in its own house. . . . Hence, venerable brethren [the bishops] it will be your first duty to thwart such proud men, to employ them only in the lowest and obscurest offices: the higher they try to rise, the lower let them be placed.⁷

What a peevish remedy to be given in the document among the causes! The great panacea is scholastic philosophy. Study St. Thomas; what matters it if all his arguments taken from astrology—fundamental though they be—have to be swept aside, or if his sacramental system and his plea for papal primacy rest upon forgeries, which his Dominican brethren in Asia Minor concocted. In spite of all scholasticism stands perfect.

⁶ Heads of a letter to his rural deans, *Letters of Bishop Stubbs*, p. 258.

⁷ "Encyclical," *Tablet Loudon*, September 28, 1907, p. 511.

Still another remedy:

The rules laid down in 1896 by the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars for the clerics both secular and regular of Italy concerning the frequenting of the universities we now deem to be extended to all nations. Clerics and priests inscribed in a Catholic institute or university, must not in the future follow in civil universities those courses for which there are chairs in the Catholic institutes to which they belong.⁸

As the chairs for clerics are limited, this remedy amounts to very little. Already Mgr. Baudrillart, president of the Catholic Institute of Paris has asked and received permission for its students to attend lectures at the Sorbonne, of course *salvâ fide et moribus*. A familiar sight even today is the *soulane* moving in and about the corridors of that great school.

Just how these young aspirants for the sanctuary are trained intellectually in church schools is well brought out in a serial now appearing in *The Irish Nation*, of Dublin. The speaker is an ex-Maynooth seminarian.

"If one could be stereotyped as Maynooth with its mighty system wants one to be—"

"You must not be disrespectful to Maynooth," said Maeve severely.

"I have no desire to be so. I have a certain affection for it, and I think with respectful awe of its tremendous schemes of milling and moulding, in which all types are fashioned into the one type, all minds regulated as one mind, cast-ironed as the mind of the Middle Ages. Year by year Maynooth calls in her conscripts, and trains them up to her grand-army standard, and when they are trained she sends them forth to post and outpost, to hold and regulate the body and soul of an untrained and submissive nation. And the marvel is how her grand army believes that it can do the work of heaven and England at the same time."⁹

In spite of this milling and moulding, the story of this ex-student shows how difficult it is to keep out the new thoughts. He got acquainted with "Darwin, Spinoza, Loisy." Some time ago we heard a Catholic bishop read a letter written before the Revolution of 1789, by a Parisian journalist to the provincial of the Capuchins at Toulouse. He bids him if he wishes to keep the novelties of that time out of the cloister to cut open the mattresses of the young friars; for he would be sure to find hidden therein Diderot and Voltaire.

Furthermore there is an almost universal literary effort, which

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 513.

⁹ *The Irish Nation*, Dublin, January 9, 1909, p. 2.

receives little attention at universities and is ignored altogether in seminaries as well as in the encyclical *Pascendi gregis*. It is the modern novel. To our own knowledge seminarians love to read it. Some six or seven years ago we called upon a teacher of the graduating class in an ultra-fashionable convent school. She told us, "I never make my confession during the annual retreat," i. e., during the week set apart for retirement, devotions, and prayer. "How long has that been going on?" was our question. "Four or five years," was the reply. "Why did you stop?" "Oh, the last time I went to confession, the Jesuit (by whom the retreat is always conducted) asked me: 'Do you read novels?' 'Yes,' I answered, 'Don't you?' The Jesuit was silent."

When from novels we pass to magazines and the daily press in which are discussed, in a loose and haphazard manner for the most part, the questions attacked in the letter on modernism, it is clear enough that the bishops will be unable to stem the tide. Above all is this true of the stage. The bishop is not a recognized play-censor.

As to three remedies: episcopal vigilance over publications and the sale of condemned books by Catholic book-dealers; censorship of books; and congresses, limited in number and scope, the uselessness of such remedies is seen at a glance.

Next the Pope orders as a remedy the creation of a spy system, "diocesan watch committees."

This remedy met an unexpected rebuff. The German bishops in session at Cologne, December, 1907, under the presidency of Cardinals Fischer and Kopp, refused point blank to promulgate the encyclical in Germany until this remedy was stricken out. And out it went for Germany. Rome wants no trouble with Prussian Germany. And it is good canon law, we believe, to regard this suppression as valid everywhere. *Favorabilia amplianda* is the canonical maxim. Spies are familiar enough in Catholic lands. In France they generally are pious women who are known as "guardian angels." But they represent a species of jesuitry, thoroughly distasteful to the nobler element of Catholics.

It is, however, in the last remedy that we see how cheap is the whole measure of repression:

It is our intention to establish and develop by every means in our power a special institute in which through the co-operation of those Catholics who are most eminent for their learning, the progress of science and other realms of knowledge may be promoted under the guidance and teaching of Catholic truth.¹⁰

No place and no time was assigned for this new institute. For two years there was no sign of its starting. Early in June, 1909, however, there was promulgated the apostolic letter, *Vinea electa sacrae Scripturae*, dated May 7, 1909, by which a higher pontifical school of biblical study is created. It is put in charge of the Jesuits and will be a branch of their university, known as the Gregorian. The rector will be chosen by the Pope from three Jesuits, whose names their general will submit to the Holy Father. The former also names the professors, subject to the Holy See's approval; next he will choose extra teachers who may become members of the regular staff. A feature of the proposed institute will be close and steady contact between the professors and the students. To be matriculated, the candidate must have made the courses in philosophy and theology and have gained his D.D. By this provision, lay youths are excluded. The library, created also by the letter, will be opened to outsiders by special permission. For the time being, the Jesuits will house the new institute in their Gregorian University, where during the present scholastic year a new course in Sacred Scripture has been in vogue under Fathers Fonck and Méchineau. The latter lost his health, thus leaving the former alone, who now stands a fair chance of being named first rector of the proposed institute. Fonck was formerly professor at Innsprück and, like the present general of the Jesuits, is neither Italian nor Spanish nor French nor English nor American. In inner clerical circles, this institute will doubtless be looked upon as a fresh victory of the Jesuits over their eternal enemies, the Dominicans, whose school of biblical studies at Jerusalem will now take second place. Scholars, however, the world over, should welcome this new departure inasmuch as its avowed purpose is to be "a remedy to the biblical theories of modernism." Here at last is a center of biblical scholarship, whence should emanate an intelligent appreciation of exactly what the Catholic church holds

¹⁰ The *Tablet*, loc. cit.,

in regard to the Bible, and how she proposes to stem the avalanche of biblical criticism that is within the church herself. But after all the new "Pontifical Biblical Institute," as it is called, is not the institute promised in the encyclical against modernism. It is merely the fulfilment of an idea of Leo XIII, which Pius X endorsed in his own letter, *Scripturae sanctae*, February 23, 1904, i. e., three years before the letter on modernism.

In a word, the encyclical emphasizes the fact that the movements of mankind are *hors de Rome*. She has lost, and lost forever, her once universal hold on the state, the family, the university, the school, and the workshop. Her face is toward the setting sun, and humanity faces ever the morning. She will die hard. Chiefly for the reasons given by Ihring in his *Spirit of Roman Law*. The learned scholar of Goettingen holds that the nations of Europe drew their law, their Christianity, their civilization, from Rome. These very reasons explain in great measure her hold. Our laws are Roman and "the papacy is the ghost of Caesar sitting on the ashes of the Roman Empire." Christianity came not indeed from Rome, but rather from the strong arm of the secular power; but the fact stands that Christendom accepts Rome as the source of its religion: so too our civilization is Roman, if not of origin, at least of adaptation. Bear well in mind that the old Romans followed the river ways in extending their empire. The Rhine, the Rhone, the Arno, and the Danube were their highways. In the countries washed by them, Roman culture flourished, which Catholicism inherited. The great exception, in Europe, of a country not under Roman domination, that remained Catholic, is Ireland. Probably the reason is that the Irish missionaries to Roman Europe, first Arian and Pelagian, gradually underwent the fascination of the imperial idea, till it was transplanted a rare exotic into Ireland, to take root, flourish, and finally crush out Irish nationality. Time and time again we read of fossils of prehistoric days being found, which, buried away for ages, still retain enough of their originals to serve as working hypotheses for the savant. In a similar way the old frameworks—law, civilization, Christianity—serve to keep Rome before the eyes of the world. Men put life where there is none. *Fili hominis, putasne ista ossa vivent?* Rome knows full well that she is at least moribund. But she ever

looks for that resurrection which seemed in sight under scholasticism, got its first set-back in the Renaissance, its defeat in the Reformation, and its divorce from the state in the American Revolution.

Yes, for the Roman church it is a question of life or death. The claims which Gregory VII has so strongly laid down, Innocent III so masterfully uplifted, Boniface VIII so clearly put forth in *Unam sanctam*, were and are universal. When Henry IV went to Canossa, and Philip the Fair sent his agent to Anagni, both Gregory and Boniface in a measure won, but in a larger measure lost. For from them—the first, chiefly—according to Lord Acton, sprang that movement of the masses which is still progressing and winning.

Let us now briefly study the effects of the bull on modernism throughout Europe and America. As already noted, it met its first defeat in Germany and its first exception in France. Shortly before the appearance of the syllabus, the church world was amazed to learn that there was a conspiracy among Germans against the Index. The *Correspondenza romana*, but then six weeks old, first announced this conspiracy. It was clear that the new journal had inside information. The innermost archives of the Vatican had been opened to it. Names of prominent German Catholics were given as members of this league, and documents reproduced with misleading comments. While it may be called a conspiracy inasmuch as it ignored the clergy, the episcopate, the Roman congregations, and appealed immediately to the Pope, still it was in fact a concerted public movement which the Germans attempted.

At the same time, the case of Schell of Würzburg was brought up. Schell had gone to his grave and his admirers determined to put up a monument over his tomb. Rome condemned this act and charged the subscribers as "heretics and ignoramuses," among whom were the archbishop of Bamberg, the bishop of Passau, Professor Funk of Tübingen, Baron von Hügel, and other notable Germans. Schell had been professor of dogmatic theology in the Catholic faculty of the University of Würzburg. Four of his works had been put on the Index. Sometime ago the *Augsburger Abend-Zeitung* published a number of letters from Schell who denied in them that he ever signed the retraction and charged his bishop, Schloer of Würzburg, with having signed it.

Following on this came an article in the *Internationale Wochenschrift* by Ehrhard, professor of church history at Strasburg. It was not the first time that Ehrhard ran afoul of Rome. While professor at Vienna he wrote a severe criticism of papal politics and followed it up by an answer to his critics worse if anything than his first effort. Vienna and Austria became too small for him, but the Emperor William named him to the same chair at Strasburg. He christened the anti-modernist movement as a *Kulturkampf* in the very bosom of the Catholic church.

Following Strasburg, came Munich. Dr. Schnitzer, professor of dogma in the University of Munich, in the same journal, only two weeks or so later, repeated and amplified the position of Ehrhard.

The condemnation of modernism could only cause surprise in circles where people do not or will not know the Roman Curia. Not only optimistic Catholics of the stamp of Schell, but many Protestants also love to depict an ideal Rome, entrusted with a sublime mission of higher culture, an incomparable shelter of thought and Christian life and brotherly love. They extol her enthusiastically. Then all at once, they run up against the Rome of the encyclical and are profoundly miserable at finding her so different from the Rome they have dreamt of in their lonely studies.¹¹

Ehrhard was in Prussian territory, Schnitzer in Bavarian. Pius X dared not hit the former; but he departed from all canonical forms by suspending the Bavarian over the head of the archbishop of Munich.

Then the professors of Munich met and petitioned the government to abolish the faculty of theology. Schnitzer was made titular professor. But even here papal hate followed him, and now, although holding his chair, he has a sabbatical year *ad libitum*. In March, 1909, Schnitzer came out in defense of the modernists in the supplement of the *Münchener Neuesten Nachrichten*. At once the nuncio demanded a formal retraction under penalty of being excommunicated by name. This threat has not as yet been carried out.

The modernist movement with its traces of Doellingerism in Bavaria led to an unusual departure on Rome's part. The Italian nuncio was found to be so grossly incompetent that Rome named in his place a German Benedictine monk, Frühwiller.

¹¹ Quoted by Sabatier, *Modernism*, Jowett Lecture of 1908, p. 107.

Next in Austrian territory came Wahrmund, professor of canon law at Innsbrück. In answer to the encyclical on modernism, he published a pamphlet *Katholische Weltanschauung und Freie Wissenschaft* and in April, 1908, *Ultramontan*. The former is a spirited defense of the freedom of science and the latter a strong attack on ultramontane morals and practices which ends with a list of the relics of the Scala Sancta and the Lateran basilica in Rome as also of the Benedictine monastery of Charroux, France. He lost his chair at Innsbrück and was transferred to Prague.¹² Last of all, the modernist review of Munich, *Das Zwanzigste Jahrhundert* has been suppressed.

France, however, has been the storm center, as it always is in Roman matters. In fact, the Frenchmen that are on the Index outnumber those from all the rest of mankind put together. In modernism it is the same. Of the 65 propositions which make up the syllabus of Pius X, about fifty are taken from the writings of Loisy and the encyclical shows about the same proportion.

With Loisy's writings before them, the authors of the syllabus in every single instance quoted the learned scholar wrongly. *Not once are they correct.* Surely Loisy has given abundant matter for condemnation. But why the men who sat in judgment upon him had to twist, turn, and alter his writings is beyond understanding.

To notice all the French writers condemned would demand a volume. "Loisy, Laberthonnière, Le Roy, Dupin, and Saintyves (both noms-de-plume), Houtin, Bonnefoy, Denis, Viollet, professor of the Sorbonne, Lefrance (pseudonym), Dimnet, and La Morin. Nearly all Catholic advanced journals have had to shut off their printing presses: *Quinzaine*, *Demain*, *Justice sociale*, *Vie catholique*, *Democratie chrétienne*, *La revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, *Revue catholique des églises*, and more. The last named died impenitent, for it welcomed the French translation of Tyrrell's "Letter to a Professor of Anthropology." Battifol was hunted from the presidency of the Catholic Institute of Toulouse, while the Abbé Klein, well known to Americans, was deprived of his chair at the Catholic Institute of Paris and retired as *un professeur honoraire*.

¹² The history of the Wahrmund incident was given in the *Journal of Theology*, April, 1909, pp. 238 ff.

The storm in France as far as the literary world goes, has about subsided, save that the unique sight of a bishop—La Croix—who is professor at the Sorbonne keeps the clericals chafing. The main troubles now are royalist outbursts around the Sorbonne and a bitter fight against the public school—*le terreur noir*—in the provinces, especially in Anjou, Normandy, and Brittany. The lectures at the College of France by Loisy, recently named professor there, were attended by no disturbances.

In England the ex-Jesuit Tyrrell was most conspicuous until his death. Cardinal Mercier, of Mechlin, so far forgot himself and his limitations as to attack Tyrrell in his pastoral letter for the Lent of 1908. We may all thank His Eminence for his slip as he proved the occasion of probably the most readable of Tyrrell's books and certainly the best handbook on the whole question.¹³

¹³ George Tyrrell, *Mediaevalism: A Reply to Cardinal Mercier* (Longmans). Father George Tyrrell died July 15, 1909, aged forty-eight, at Storrington, Sussex, England. He was an Irishman by birth and a cousin of Professor Tyrrell of Trinity College, Dublin, whose edition of Cicero's correspondence with learned essays in six volumes is well known to the scholarly world. At eighteen George became a Catholic and a year later joined the Jesuits. He was the author of many works, full of thought, but, to the writer at least, very hard to read. In his last work—*Reply to Cardinal Mercier of Mechlin*—Tyrrell declared that he got his first doubts from his meditations upon the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola—a fresh confirmation of the saying of Orestes Brownson that the Jesuits are the fathers of rationalism. It was his "Letter to a Professor of Anthropology." This professor holds a chair in a continental university. In his doubts he turned to Tyrrell at the suggestion, so it seems, of Cardinal Mercier. Hence the above-mentioned pastoral letter, which got Tyrrell into hot water. A translation, made, we believe, by Fogazzaro, senator of Italy, was published in a garbled fashion by *Il Corriere della Sera* of Milan, and brought the subject home to the Jesuit authorities. Several letters passed between the Jesuit General and Tyrrell. The upshot was his expulsion, in consequence of which he was *ipso facto* suspended *a divinis*. This suspension following on dismissal is one of the peculiar privileges of the Jesuits who are "clerks regular," and unknown to the monks and friars. To have the suspension lifted, Tyrrell would be obliged to submit even his private correspondence to the competent authority, viz., Cardinal Ferrara of Milan. Of course Tyrrell would not suffer such a degradation. So things jogged along during the past couple of years.

Stricken with a fatal illness while the guest of Miss Petre, several friends came to his bedside, among whom were Baron Von Hügel and the ex-Jesuit, Henri Bremond, of Neuilly, Paris. Tyrrell wished to die a Catholic and to receive the last rites of the church but refused to retract any of his writings and teachings. He received the last sacraments but was denied Christian burial by the Bishop of Southwark, acting under the advice of Archbishop Bourne of Westminster. The whole story of his death was

Tyrrell's own native Ireland is beginning to feel the modernist movement. The *Irish Nation*, a weekly of Dublin, is thoroughly up on the matter. While expressing the utmost loyalty to Rome, its pages are open to discussions which must make the Irish hierarchy stagger.

In Italy, however, the ferment is at fever heat. Curiously the storm in northern Italy centers round Tyrrell, and in Rome around Dom. Murri. *Il rinnovamento* of Milan is ever holding up the teaching of Tyrrell. In its January number, 1909, he published a paper: "Are the Churches Necessary?" He argues not for *a* church, or *the* church, but for churches with no special set of doctrines.

From Italy came *What We Ask* and *The Programme of the Modernists*. Both books are saucy and wanting in the respect which the age and office of the Pope demand. But they are incisive and no doubt widely read in the Peninsula. They have been translated into French and English. Dom. Murri, who seems a living thorn in the Pope's side, has once more resurrected his magazine. The Piedmontese party alleges a split in the movement in Italy, claiming that *Il rinnovamento* stands for the genuine modernist while *Nova et vetera*, now defunct, pleaded for a socialistic Catholicism or a Catholic socialism with Murri at its head. It explains the split thus:

Our modernism was and remains a criticism of Catholicism, or, to put it better, of certain concrete and relatively new phases which Catholicism has taken on: a criticism, however, inspired by faith in a greater Catholicism, by an ardent love of Christianity. Whereas the new modernism is a true and peculiar criticism of Christianity, intending by this word the religion of Jesus, or such as it is become in the various Christian churches.¹⁴

Here then is something new in Italian history, a distinction between Catholicism and Christianity. Curious line of cleavage! The new modernists—Murri and his school—in identifying Christianity with socialism laicize the former. In spite of this *Il rinnovamento* speaks of *La nostra civiltà e la nostra religione*.

sent to the *Times* of London (July 16) by Miss Petre and to *Il Giornale dell' Italia* of Rome (July 26) by Baron Von Hügel. Tyrrell died like a man, with his flag nailed to the mast.

¹⁴ January, 1909, p. 410.

In criticizing *Lettere di un prete modernista*, perhaps the latest essay on the matter, the Milan review declares that this priest might have dedicated his letters to the Jesuit Billot.

As far as we are concerned we would not be surprised if like himself they came forth from the Gregorian (i. e. the Jesuit) University.¹⁵

The hand is the hand of Esau, but the pen is that of Jacob. As in France Loisy in a rostrum of the College of France stands victorious, so on Monte Citorio Murri as a deputy is also a victor. He was excommunicated as *vitandus*, but in spite of it was elected to the Italian Parliament at the election of 1909 by the town of Monte Georgio—a former papal possession.

On turning, however, to America, we find a church that may be called modern from its cradle. The American Republic, which startled the world by the very fact of its existence, amazed men by excluding the church from its usual status in other governments, viz.: a constitutional or a legal feature. True, the state in her relations with the church, once the latter has accepted its legal civil status from the state, always deals with the church according to the latter's own laws and statutes, yet it is state officials who judge. Even today the relation of the United States to the church is so modern that France alone in Europe has accepted it. The Revolution of 1789 made the church part of itself in the civil constitution of the clergy, and when in 1871 Gambetta declared clericalism the enemy of France, loyal to his Italian blood he never thought of abolishing the Concordat.

Little commotion has the encyclical caused in America. We doubt, too, if the triennial sworn reports on modernistic infection of the hundred and odd American prelates will ever cross the Atlantic. The letter of Leo XIII on Americanism raised a tempest in a teapot and led to the condemnation of Elliott's *Life of Hecker*, but is long since forgotten. The year previous the book of Rev. George Zurcher, of Buffalo, on *Monks and Their Doctrines*, went on the Index, but his far more serious book, *The Apple of Discord*, which is the papacy itself, published anonymously, has thus far escaped.

When, however, the storm occasioned by the encyclical and syllabus was lulling and dying out in Europe, it suddenly crossed the Atlantic

¹⁵ January, 1909, p. 409.

and in a spent, fitful way reached America, hitting Chicago and Rochester. The *American Journal of Theology* is the first American review to be honored with a Roman disapprobation. In its issue of January, 1906, i. e., a year and a half before the syllabus of Pius X, Dr. Hanna of Rochester wrote on "Some Recent Books on Catholic Theology." He did not indeed receive the big stick; he merely lost the mitre. But his criticism and an article of his in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* on "Absolutism" are at least *piarum aurium offensiva*. And Dr. Hanna was denounced to Rome by a brother professor only when his name headed the *terna*, sent to the Holy See from which to select a coadjutor to the archbishop of San Francisco.

Kübel, in his valuable *Geschichte des Modernismus*, gives only a few lines to the United States. He quotes Ehrhart of Strasburg to the effect that there is hardly a trace of intellectual activity in the Catholic church of America. The chief response to the papal document is a pastoral letter of Archbishop O'Connell, of Boston, which totally brushes aside the points at issue and is mere rhetoric. The Catholic University sent a formal letter of adhesion, as did, so we are told, Cardinal Gibbons in the name of the hierarchy. In the New York Cathedral, an Advent course of sermons was preached against modernism. They afterward appeared in *The Catholic World*, of New York.

A professor at Dunwoodie—the seminary of New York—translated a French *Catechism of Modernism*, while the editors of the *New York Review*, published at the same seminary, quietly suppressed that monthly. Dr. Hanna had scorched it also with his heated pen-point. At the Catholic Summer School, Plattsburg, N. Y., three courses of lectures on modernism were given. In several dioceses the spy board was created. New York has its spies, but their names have not been published. So has Newark, where, we believe, the names were given out. The New York spies, however, have made a hit. During the midsummer vacation of this year, the very Reverend Dr. Driscoll was removed from the rectorship of this diocesan seminary at Dunwoodie on direct orders from Rome. He was charged with being in touch with a censured priest. This able scholar, a much-beloved pupil of Loisy, is now in charge of an obscure parish. In an article in *The Ecclesiastical Review* (February,

1909) Dr. Turner of the Catholic University, Washington, charges the modernists with being enemies of reason, and claims that mediaevalism and neo-scholasticism are buttressed by reason. Loisy, Hébert, Houtin, Fogazzaro, and the whole school of modernists must sit up, take notice, and rub their eyes in wonder. It took an American theologian to discover that they discard reason. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that among the many qualities distinctly applied to every modernist by the encyclical, such as philosopher, believer, etc., the charge of being a rationalist is overlooked. Not that the Roman compilers thought him non-rational, but because rationalism is the very basis of his studies and conclusions. Or did Rome omit "rationalist" just to give a text to writers like Dr. Turner? An advanced scholar among the Catholic clergymen of America is bringing out a book on the subject. Friends who have read it assure us that it is forcible and logical, covering the whole question of modernism and the American church. Not long ago this author, who was a Paulist, left the church and with him a second Paulist left.

Where, we may ask, are the great leaders of liberalism in the American church? The men who crushed Cahenslyism, brought the apostolic delegation to Washington, restored McGlynn, introduced American church ideas to Europe, e. g., O'Connell at Freiburg and Ireland at Paris and Orleans? They seem to have entered the lowly tomb of Brownson at South Bend, Ind., or of Hecker under St. Paul's fane in New York. For they are as silent as those two dead champions of the American church. Liberalism, it seems, died in the American church when Spalding of Peoria was paralyzed, and Fitzgerald of Little Rock, who voted against papal infallibility, died.

The attack on Dr. Hanna occurs in probably one of the best statements of the church's position in regard to modernism and all that it implies. They are two studies which appeared in the *Analecta Ecclesiastica* (May and July, 1908) by Rev. Alexius M. Lepicier, of the Servites, and professor of dogmatic theology at the Propaganda.

Lepicier states the whole antique position. How weak it is, appears from an admission of his own. He refers to the danger of

a *circulus vitiosus* in explaining how revelation is received on the authority of the church and the church herself as offered to us by revelation, but he appends a footnote in which he declares that the defense of revelation does not properly belong to theology strictly speaking, but to metaphysics. We give the Latin text of this extraordinary teaching of an anti-modernist and a propaganda professor:

Quapropter, quaestio de existentia revelationis non ad theologiam proprie dictam, sed ad metaphysicam proprie pertinet.¹⁶

But, if revelation is a metaphysical question and not a theological, the Catholic church begins in metaphysics, i. e., she has a philosophical foundation. Perhaps that is not a bad way to look at her, viz., as a system of philosophy. Give her place then as such. Let her stand or fall with the other philosophies.

Professor Foster seems much more orthodox than Lepicier, curial and religious as the latter is.

The question is whether this connection between Christianity and *special* divine revelation is not absolutely essential, that Christianity cannot be maintained without this connection. And the answer is that specific appreciation of Christ as revelation and the peculiarity of the Christian religion belong together, stand and fall together. Rob revelation of its supernatural character and it becomes stale, flat, and unprofitable. Christianity is the religion of a special revelation of God—that or nothing.¹⁷

In fact, Lepicier is much more in accord with Loisy:

The fruitful truths of the religious order, those which make up from the standpoint of theology, the substance of revelation, are formed by the union of ideas or images which antedate such truths in the minds of those who first conceived them. What made the beginning of revelation at a given moment, was the grasping, no matter how rudimentary, the relation which should exist between man, conscious of himself, and God, behind the visible world. The development of revealed religion was brought about by the perception of new relations or rather by a more exact and more distinct classifying of the essential relation, foreseen from the beginning, man thus learning to know better and better both God's greatness and the nature of his own duty.¹⁸

Lastly we may ask: What is the theological value of the syllabus and the encyclical on modernism?

¹⁶ *Analecta Ecclesiastica*, May, 1908, p. 209, n. 1.

¹⁷ *The Finality of the Christian Religion*, p. 47.

¹⁸ *Autour d'un petit livre*, p. 196.

In promulgating his syllabus, Pius X was prudent enough to omit applying any censure to any of its propositions. In the syllabus of 1864, to the several propositions Pius IX appended censures, viz., heretical, near to heresy, scandalous, offensive to pious ears, etc.

There are no such censures in the syllabus of 1907. The world at large christened it "The Syllabus of Pius X."

The propositions are "condemned and prescribed as they are by this general decree (viz., syllabus) condemned and prescribed."

Again, the encyclical on modernism (*Pascendi gregis*) attaches no theological censure. True, the Pope calls the modernists names and rather wantonly insults them, but these may or may not be outbursts of temper; they certainly are not censures.

What then is the theological value of the syllabus and the letter on modernism? They have no theological value. This is not merely our view, but the teaching of the Jesuit Billot, one of the writers of the encyclical on modernism.

When the congregations declare a teaching as unsafe, we must not conclude that this teaching is erroneous or false, etc., but simply that it is not safe, and we dare not hold it further.¹⁹

In practice, however, the syllabus and the encyclical are infallible documents like the Bull Unigenitus against Jansenism.

What then do the two amount to? They will prove big sticks to be used *tempore opportuno*, e. g., as in Dr. Hanna's case.

There was a day when the great universities of Oxford, Paris, or Bologna would hear the modernist. A day there was also when a synod of bishops would assemble, as they did, to see Bernard of Clairvaux and Abelard face each other at Sens. Again, in former ages, the modernist might go under a safe-conduct to a council as did John Huss to Constance. Today, however, all that is ancient history. Now the modernist can appeal only to the university of ideas. Both Loisy and Tyrrell, the two, although unnamed, most bitterly attacked, have so appealed. In touching tones, Loisy speaks of two persecutions; Tyrrell declared that he was hung in mid-air. Others like Murri, Hébert, Houtin also have laid their views before mankind. *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*.

¹⁹ *Tractatus de ecclesia Christi*, Rome, 1903, p. 444, quoted in German in *Index-bewegung und Kulturgesellschaft*, p. 115, Passau, 1908.

VERIDICAL ASPECTS OF MYSTICAL EXPERIENCE

BERNARD C. EWER, PH.D.
Evanston, Ill.

A prevalent attitude of religious philosophy toward the mystical experience regards it as a religious function possessing value for certain individuals, and even some measure of abstract truth, but no genuine intuitive character.¹ Judged by its ideals and by the best of its manifestations—as all great human functions and institutions should be judged—it is observed to produce “an enviable serenity of life,” which may not be desirable for all, but is doubtless commendable for some, i. e., for those who are temperamentally unfitted to use scientific concepts, or to plunge into the tide of human

¹ Several types of critical opinion are distinguishable. First, the psychological standpoint furnishes a group of views which in general regard mysticism as abnormal or pathological psychology, but with varying implications as to epistemological validity. Extreme antagonism holds mystical consciousness to be cognitively valueless. “The mystic mistakes sensual raptures for divine communion.” Less harsh is the critique which, while discrediting the sense of illumination as finally authoritative, yet leaves open the question of truth-possession. (Cf. G. A. Coe, “The Sources of the Mystical Revelation,” *Hibbert Journal*, Vol. VI, No. 2.) Or the abnormality of the psychological facts may be recognized, and the intuition nevertheless regarded as reliable. (W. James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, chap. xvi, xvii; Boutroux, *International Journal of Ethics*, pp. 193, 194.) A second group of views is primarily epistemological and shows similar inner variance, principally with reference to the significance of symbolism. Dr. Carus remarks “It is characteristic of the human mind at a certain stage of its development to formulate in mystical language philosophical conceptions which lie beyond the grasp of the intellect at that peculiar stage of growth. . . . Considered as science it is absolutely worthless; considered as a guide in life its worth is determined by the spirit of which it is born” (*Monist*, Vol. XII, No. 1, pp. 97, 98. Cf. also the article on “Mysticism” by the same author, *Monist*, Vol. XVII, No. 1). Much more charitable is the statement of Professor Royce, according to whom the mystic is skilfully reflective and, in his chosen field, intelligently empirical, “a reporter of the facts” (*The World and the Individual*, Vol. I, pp. 81, 83, and *passim*). Of symbols he says in another connection that they “are not in the least less definitely and, on occasion, less obviously, consciously, empirically true, or correspondent to their objects, than are, for their own purpose, the most vivid of mental pictures” (*op. cit.*, p. 310). The third kind of opinion proceeds from religious motives, and claims for mysticism, though with discrimination, the highest cognitive power. It is well represented by Inge (e. g., *Personal Idealism and Mysticism*, chap. v, “Thought and Will”).

struggle and find strength and sustenance therein. Its emotional character, also, often commands respect. Disregarding the extravagances of degenerate mysticisms, we observe sentiments of love and reverence, the purity of which is beyond question. This is true of many of the eminent mystical personages in history, and more familiarly true of a kind of everyday "Christian experience" which wins our warm admiration by its simplicity and inner power.² Mysticism in its best estate, therefore, may be impartially estimated as a valuable type of religious experience, a dynamic idealism of peculiarly individual significance and of real vitality.

When, however, we consider the nature of the mystical "revelation" we often find criticism becoming unqualifiedly adverse. Yet even here it must be admitted that the mystical utterances, taken by themselves, are entirely respectable examples of religious wisdom. That reality is unitary and divine; that ordinary experience is merely phenomenal, its content only imperfectly known; that its limitations and contradictions are transcended in true knowledge; that in such knowledge the soul, which is the key to reality, rises to identity with God and infinite vision; that the Divine Presence may be found hidden in the midst of daily life; that the real is ultimately good, and sin only negative, a privation, unreal: all this, whether or not we agree with it in detail, is most dignified. The resemblance of these propositions to the conclusions of rationalism needs no special elucidation. Indeed, the tendency of many a rationalistic mind to enunciate essentially mystical thoughts—Spinoza's cognition *sub specie aeternitatis* is a classical illustration—shows how philosophic extremes may meet. Objections to mysticism are therefore made, not so much to its wisdom as to its professed method. The latter, it is alleged, is inherently incapable of transmitting genuine revelation; its report is a misinterpretation of subjective mental and physiological conditions. The mystic makes his own experience, certainly does not receive it passively from a divine source. Skilful critics even indicate the special bodily and mental conditions which constitute the source of the supposed illumination, and explain the

² Cf. Professor Peabody's criticism, "The defect of mysticism is not its emotional exaltation, but its emotional isolation" (*Jesus Christ and the Christian Character*, p. 279).

psycho-physical connections which terminate in the spurious vision. Relaxed muscles and the exclusion of sense environment, it is said, will necessarily produce a feeling of the loss of personality, since the latter consciousness is essentially dependent upon the suppressed facts and relations; organic rest will appear as metaphysical peace and goodness and the whole psychical content will be defined in its general and specific characters, partly by imitation and expectant attention, partly by the individual peculiarities of the mystic. As a cognitive method his "intuition" often receives the condemnation "bogus."³

So trenchant is this critical attack that it would be useless to try to re-establish the concept of intuition which the mystical mind has historically cherished. Whatever the truth in mystical epistemology, intuition is no perfect revelation of absolute reality, no mental process essentially different from the normal cognitive processes of daily experience. The mystic's finite personality is not completely transcended, his characteristic apperception is revealed in his reports of his vision, and this remains true even when allowance is made for the exigencies of translating the unutterable into symbolic language. Yet there is a certain cognitive reach in mystical experience, a certain validity in its insight which survives criticism. In the last analysis the recognition of its religious value must be supplemented by the acknowledgment of a measure of genuine illumination. Small as this perception may seem to be, insignificant indeed as it is for most minds, it nevertheless has tremendous value for the mystical soul, *and has this value because it is essentially veridical*. The argument in support of these assertions may be stated as follows.

In the first place it is of the highest importance to limit the field of discussion and define the real issue therein. Mysticism is not a perfectly unique experience, but it is rather a general tendency of the

³ Cf. G. A. Coe, "In short, the mystical revelation can be traced down to the formal conditions, physiological and psychological, of the mystic himself. Let not this conclusion be misconstrued, however. The point is not that the mystic revelation has a physiological basis; even if there were a direct intuition of God, it would doubtless have law-abiding correlations with brain processes. What discredits the mystic's theory is that it accepts as immediate intuition what is palpably an interpretation" (*op. cit.*, p. 367). This statement has reference to "mystical experiences of the more extreme sort—those that approach or reach the condition of trance."

religious consciousness, which rises now and again in extraordinary peaks—trance, ecstasy, etc.—but for the most part expresses itself in a much more modest way, namely as a feeling, unostentatious but profound, of the present reality of a higher type of being and life. It appears also in degenerate and non-religious forms, especially in relation to art. The latter are their own condemnation; the former, i. e., the trance state, suffers from the investigations of scientific psychologists. What remains is that sense of Divine Presence, of spiritual contact with God, which has a large place and a vital function in the religious life. This paper is an effort to discover the validity of such experience. Its theses are that the transcendence of mystical consciousness is generically like that of other cognitive types, realistic and rationalistic, and that on its intellectual side it consists in approximately definite categories.⁴

Within this field, namely those states of the religious consciousness which, in their feeling of immediate contact with higher reality, are generically like mysticism in its ecstatic extreme, the special philosophic problem is the nature of "intuition." This term has many usages, with varying connotation, but its fundamental character is what is frequently called "self-transcendence," the direct cognition of reality other or larger than the cognitive state of consciousness itself. That is to say, the proper epistemological conception of intuition makes of it, not an absolutely peculiar kind of cognitive process, occult and totally different from the processes of ordinary

⁴ To call this commonplace fact mysticism may seem incorrect, especially as the latter term is gaining an unfortunate connotation in contemporary usage. But the logical and historical continuity of the indicated experience with more striking forms of mysticism, and the fact that there is no other term which refers unequivocally to it, afford some justification. Moreover, mysticism has had an exceedingly dignified place in religious philosophy, and the name ought not to become synonymous with pathological psychology or degenerate esthetics. There is a middle ground which properly deserves recognition and study. But whether or not this ground is designated as mysticism, or the term is assigned specifically to trance consciousness and superstition, we must not lose sight of the fact that the commonplace field is the really important religious field. It is the essential character of the best religious consciousness of the mass that we need to know, in order that such consciousness may be rightly controlled and developed. The purpose of this discussion, accordingly, is to show that there are characters genuinely transcendent, higher realities immediately known, in the religious mind. Further than this the matter becomes simply a choice of terminology.

experience, but rather a commonplace character without some measure of which no consciousness would be truly cognitive. No less important, however, is the accompaniment, permeation, and modification of this character by the correlative character of interpretation. Intuition is seldom if ever pure, but it may be genuine even when partial, imperfect, biased by apperception. This is not the most popular or the best-known historical concept, but it is the only one which is worth upholding or criticizing. It is based upon the following considerations.⁵

It must be granted that the generic principle of self-transcendence lies at the base of every sane theory of knowledge. However true it may be that the mind constructs its world, this truth does not imply that the world so constructed is merely the private affair of the individual. That we actually know reality around and above us, and in some measure know it directly, is a fact which may as well be frankly recognized at the start as introduced surreptitiously in the course of theory. The alternative to such self-transcending consciousness, namely pure solipsism, is sharp and final. Pervaded with interpretation, apperceptive embellishment, and error as are all our cognitions, they yet in general actually transcend themselves. All the force of Kantian tradition has never dislodged this conviction of the mind, and its failure has been due both to its own inconsistent realism and to the fact that the mind simply refuses to tolerate the only logical alternative. It is therefore more than a merely superficial analogy when mysticism is classified as empiricism. The epistemological principle in question cannot, a priori, be withheld from the former; there is at least a possibility of genuine revelation

⁵ "The root idea of this term is that of directness or immediacy in contrast to abstractive or representative knowledge, or, more frequently, to forms of knowledge which are mediated by a discursive process" (Baldwin's *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology*, article on "Intuition" by A. C. Armstrong). The contrast is not perfectly sharp, however. Stout, in defending the principle of immediacy in knowledge observes, "Apart from interpretation, classification, and description what is immediately given cannot constitute an object of thought at all. It is never an object by itself but only as part of a context" (*Mind*, N. S., No. 65, p. 27). "The immeditation of the mediate is just as indispensable as the mediation of the immediate. The two processes necessarily interpenetrate each other in essential correlation. . . . Our position is that immediate knowledge does not become less immediate by being mediated" (*ibid.*, p. 40).

in the mystical experience. Accordingly the issue becomes that of ascertaining whether this experience exhibits features which may be regarded as transcending the individual.⁶

A critical reply to this contention is that the object of the mystic's intuition is really his own organic physiological state, which he misinterprets in accordance with certain psychological principles. Such a position cannot be assumed, however, in any unqualified way. Just as in the case of space-perception we cannot assuredly affirm that it consists merely in muscular and tactual sensations, but may regard these as co-operative factors, while the originality of the space-intuition remains unresolved, so the indication of physiological conditions of mystical experience can at best create only a probability against its perception of a transcendent reality. In any case, unless we can apply some physiological criterion by which to distinguish between the organic basis of veridical, and that of illusory cognition, the presumption that mystical experience is essentially subjective should be avoided. Vast as is the proportion of absurd, fantastic psychology, and exaggerated, unreliable utterance which has flowed from mysticism, there is still a hope of finding there some intuitive truths.

That the mystical consciousness is not an absolutely pure revelation, but is pervaded by all sorts of subjective features, is a fact recognized with varying degrees of clearness by expositors, apologists, and critics alike.⁷ Differences of opinion occur in respect to the

⁶ Cf. Professor Royce's remark: "That the mystic is dealing with experience, and trying to get experience quite pure and then to make it the means of defining the real, is what we need to observe. . . . He gets his reality not by thinking, but by consulting the data of experience" (*The World and the Individual*, pp. 80, 81).

⁷ "The organ by which we apprehend divine truth is no special faculty, but the higher reason, which we distinguish from the understanding because we mean it to include the will and feelings, disciplined under the guidance of the intellect" (*Personal Idealism and Mysticism*, p. 5). The same writer acknowledges mysticism's liability to perversion, and shows that the mystics themselves exercised discrimination in giving credence to revelations (e. g., *Studies of English Mystics*, p. 105). Ormond emphasizes the homogeneity of mystical and ordinary cognition, implying unmistakably the liability of the former to error (*The Foundations of Knowledge*, Part III, chap. ix). Boutroux recognizes as psychological aspects of mysticism such explanatory facts as auto-suggestion and mono-ideism, but holds that real objectivity is presented in and through these (*International Journal of Ethics*, pp. 193, 194). Compare also Professor Coe's remark, "the present contention is simply that the mystic acquires

nature and relative prominence of the intuitive and accessory factors. One party emphasizes the objective, the other the subjective character of the mental process. If, then, there is agreement in regard to the general concept of intuition—and there seems to the writer to be some evidence of such agreement, as well as a demand for it in epistemological theory—the important problem becomes that of ascertaining what object or objects are actually known by the mystical consciousness. While the admixture of illusory and worthless psychical content is not in itself a complete refutation of the pretension to knowledge, while religious intuition is a genuine possibility, the burden of proof is with apparent reason thrown upon the affirmative. “After all,” the critic may exclaim, “mysticism has only to exhibit a genuine perception in order to end the controversy. Let it but indicate a fact which must be accepted as are the facts indicated in scientific exposition, and suspicion will be removed.” Here is the rub. The apologist must designate and define the objects thus intuitively perceived, must communicate the illumination or furnish satisfactory evidence that it occurs. And here are difficulties which are perhaps insuperable, certainly not disposed of by insisting upon the specific relation of the vision to the individual, or upon the legitimacy of symbolism. If, in the last analysis, some measure of scientific generalization and precision cannot be applied to the alleged cognition, this certainly has no proper claim to the name “truth.” *Value* may remain, but “knowledge” becomes a misnomer; whereas it is a truly cognitive character which the philosophy of religious mysticism ought not to surrender without further examination of the facts.⁸

What, then, is the transcendent reality perceived by the mystic? An answer is found in such utterance as Thomas à Kempis’ “Blessed his religious convictions precisely as his non-mystical neighbor does, namely, through tradition and instruction, auto-suggestion grown habitual, and reflective analysis. (*op. cit.*, p. 367).

⁸ “To argue that religious feeling conveys truth, and then to avoid the question, What truth? looks like a very direct method of discrediting the whole argument” (G. A. Coe, *op. cit.*, p. 371). Ormond declares that the test of mystical intuition must be that of congruency with experience and amenability to rationalization (*Foundations of Knowledge*, Part III, chap. ix). What seems to be needed is a painstaking effort to precipitate from the mystical literature those cognized principles which demand acceptance on other empirical and rationalistic grounds.

are the single-hearted; for they shall enjoy much peace." This is not mere rhetoric. It stands for a perceived fact or principle. Reality is known—and this cognitive character remains, however much overlaid by feeling—as free from the care, worry, struggle, and failure of life; conversely it is known as calm, peaceful, restful, refreshing. This perception or revelation has not, indeed, the absolute validity attributed to it by its possessor; the distinction between it as real, and daily life as unreal, is an unsound distinction. Both are real, equally so, and the accessory condemnation passed upon temporal order as merely phenomenal cannot be sustained. Peace may be found, as many a mystic shows, within the temporal order, rather than by leaving it. When, however, allowance is made for the characteristic expression of the absolutist mind, there is left an assurance just as certain as any natural law of mathematical or quasi-mathematical character, as certain as a law of chemical transformation or biological metabolism. Under definite conditions the self may free itself from irksome encumbrances and assume temporarily a new state. For example, the renunciation of impracticable ideals of life, a volitional contentment with what lies within reach, and a studious cultivation of one's powers of enjoyment and appreciation, all this is the acquirement of inner peace. To deny that in the process the reality of the underlying principle is intuitively perceived is as improper as to deny that vision through a lens may reveal a certain principle of optics, or that there may be in quiet moments the genuine perception of physical rest. How the psychical transformation is accomplished is no greater mystery than that of sleep. That it is accomplished, and that it is so perceived, is a fact from which the term scientific can be withheld only by an abstract and limited (though appropriate) definition of the nature of science. It may be confidently asserted that, whatever the content of the mystic's vision, his fundamental apprehension of the law of reality with which he may identify himself in the experience of spiritual rest, partakes of the nature of empirical truth.

The denial that this experience is essentially mystical, and the rejection of it as evidence of mystical intuition, is not permissible. The experience is indeed generically like that of common-sense which makes no mystical pretensions; its conclusion, stated abstractly,

is substantially that reached by rationalistic reflection.⁹ But in the first case the real implication is that common-sense contains a valid transcendence of which it is not explicitly conscious—and such transcendence is at least one essential claim of mysticism. While the mystic's religious interpretation of his experience differentiates it psychologically from the ordinary type, this apperceptive embellishment should not conceal the genuine elements of cognition underlying it, elements which, as little in this as in any empirical cognition, can be completely described in terms of the individual's finite consciousness. It is not mere subjectivity that is grasped. And in the second case the distinguishing feature of mystical intuition is the direct, rapid-transit accomplishment of knowledge which the rationalistic philosopher reaches by a more laborious and cautiously methodical pursuit. Daily observation shows clearly the wide range of personal differences in quickness and clearness of perception. The mystic's intuition is only an extreme case, under special conditions and in a special field. Its kinship with other types is legitimate. So to the charge that what is here indicated is not real mysticism, the sufficient reply is that this is a valid though much perverted character of mysticism, and that the investigation of this character is the really important critical task.¹⁰

The empirical perception of a transcendent rest-principle has been chosen for illustrative purposes. It is not, however, the only or the most important principle of mysticism. As a matter of fact the latter, if we take it in the broad sense indicated above, is not in general quietism, though in so far as it is really empirical it implies, like all empiricism, an attitude of relative passivity.¹¹ Indeed the same

⁹ Cf. W. James' comments on "moral holidays" (*Pragmatism*, p. 74).

¹⁰ Cf. Ormond, *op. cit.*, pp. 489, 490: "The concept of revelation must not exclude but rather include, the cognitive operation of our own faculties, and from this point of view it will be called revealed, because, owing to the extreme rapidity of our own processes it will present itself as more *completely objective*, and as seeming to come to us as a finished product."

¹¹ Much modern epistemology is based upon the principle of action, and represents the will or, in other cases, psycho-physical activity as the fundamental constituent of cognition. The vastly important truth in such theories ought not to blind us to the fact that the opposite principle of passivity is equally fundamental. If a subject *knows* an object, the latter must *reveal* itself to him. His activity is such as to receive the revelation; "taking" is at the same time "receiving." Accordingly when, as so

quality is exhibited in the opposite religious character. The volitional spirit which regards the ideal as progressively realized in the temporal order in which we live, is a spirit which not only makes but also finds this important fact. The reality of the fact is not entirely a private construction; it is discovered, it "comes home" to one. However much the attitude may be that of faith, it yet gathers strength from objective perception. Indeed, a faith which actually expresses itself in social service presupposes a valid perception of a transcendent ideal in the struggling, striving reality of submerged society. It is as inspiring as it is astonishing to observe the keen vision which these missionary workers possess for evidence of idealistic impulses around them. The very basis of their large faith is the cognition of an impressive fact. Whatever the terminology employed in describing such cases, a full account must recognize this truth: The actively minded religionist discovers an aspect of the real which transcends himself, but in which he naturally shares, and with which he is privileged to co-operate. The relation between this veridical perception and the apperceptive interpretation which he gives it is generically the same as in any case of perceptive cognition, and essentially the same as in mysticism of a more reposeful type.

Similar statements may be made concerning the mystical assurance of divine goodness. In this matter the best field of study is not the rare moments of perfect trance in the classic metaphysical and Christian mysticisms, but rather the more familiar experiences of the reflective Christian life—the patient discernment of victory in

often happens, facts and principles of experience are declared to be "assumptions," and the whole mental process of cognition is presented as experimental, there is danger of losing sight of the correlative truth. Problems concerning the passive character of intellectual processes are not settled by resorting to the will; and one of the main problems about mysticism is the nature and extent of its cognitive passivity. For example, Professor Coe's remark, "The mystic does not passively receive a revelation; he actively takes a religious attitude, actively gives himself the certainty that he believes to be bestowed *ab extra*," appears to treat the alternatives as mutually exclusive. This critical practice thoroughly permeates the history of philosophic criticism, but no less prevalent is the tendency to readmit, in one way or another, the excluded alternative. Witness Professor Coe's concluding sentence: "Yet when such a faith-philosophy has done its utmost, there will remain the question whether our will, after all, is merely ours; whether, indeed, communion with God may not genuinely occur in our religious will-acts, one of which is the auto-suggestion of religious beliefs" (*op. cit.*, p. 372).

moral struggle, of purification through sorrow, and objectively of love in self-sacrifice and in charity, especially of the unostentatious and discriminating sort. Can it rightly be said that these matters are not transcendent, but that their moral character is a mental synthesis worked by the observer's mind and ejectively thrown over them? No, for if conduct is really ethical it is not simply individual and subjective; through it run principles which are, technically speaking, "universal," and so are of the essence of transcendence. The extent and implications of this transcendence are matters for study, but this is only the problem of validity and error exhibited here in a special field. It offers no ground for refusing to recognize the intuitive cognition of transcendent reality of goodness. The good may not be absolute; reality has another and a darker side. But it is really though only partially, progressively though incompletely, good. Nor can it properly be urged that the absolutism thus omitted is essential to mysticism, so that the discussion has passed away from the genuinely mystical experience. The wide range of the mystical tendency has included not only many diverse conceptions of the absolute, but has sometimes ignored the matter altogether. *Philosophic* mysticism has indeed been largely absolutistic, but it may appropriately be said that absolutism has been the magnificent error of almost all philosophy, and that in no case is the validity of such philosophy entirely destroyed by removing or limiting this character. Physical atomism, for example, is not absolutely true, yet it contains an imperishable truth, imperishable because the facts of divisibility and analysis are actually perceived. Correspondingly, the essence of mysticism at this point is the direct perception of a real ethical character in the universe. All the strange philosophic vesture with which this experience has historically been clothed should not blind us to the real vitality and assurance of the experience itself.¹²

Two other categories may be explicitly mentioned as constituting

¹² It should be borne in mind that the purpose of this paper is not to advocate mysticism in general or any particular type of it, but only to maintain, in view of the continuity of mysticism with ordinary experience and of some commonly neglected considerations about the nature of knowledge, that in so far as certain characters appear in mystical experience the claims of the latter to intuition and revelation are sound.

mystic truth, namely, unity and the potential infinitude of the self.¹³

After what has already been said about other conceptions the position of this paper with regard to these may be briefly stated. Reality is full of unitary principles which appear in manifold different ways, physical and mental. It is particularly the moral aspects which are of significance for the mystic, the content of whose unity is sometimes pragmatic, frequently emotional, but in any case at least partially real. It is not, however, absolute. Furthermore, such unity, or rather unities,¹⁴ are not only a demand and implication of knowledge, but are based upon and justified by experience; the special unity, whatever it is, is actually found as well as held by faith. It is found in the knowledge of the connection between motives and conduct, found in the new insight that guilt is not hopeless but may lend intensity to reform, found in the consciousness of successful striving and the peace of moral victory. These unities are empirical facts. What characterizes the mystical mind is the intensity of the empiricism involved, the actual ascertainment of the transcendent principle in the facts of life.¹⁵

And so with self-knowledge as the gate to the higher world. The discovery of one's own spiritual nature and the vision of its larger meaning is a process which occurs with manifold shadings of emotion and philosophic interpretation, from the strange "That art Thou" of Sankhya philosophy to the college student's recognition of the "die-to-live" principle, directly known in his own physical or ethical life, as extensive throughout nature. This discovery, if held and dwelt upon with conviction, is of the essence of mysticism.

¹³ "The element of truth in mysticism is its keen realization of the metaphysical unity of existence, and, in particular, of the intimacy of the relation between the finite spirit and the infinite" (*Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology*, article on "Mysticism" by A. Seth Pringle-Pattison).

¹⁴ The remarkable chapter on "The One and the Many" in James's *Pragmatism* is excellently instructive in this matter. Significant also is the tendency of modern psychological discussion of the unity of the self to regard it as an incomplete but progressive unification of subordinate unities, e. g., memory (cf. Pillsbury, *Phil. Rev.*, Vol. XVI, No. 4).

¹⁵ Some touch of this generic empirical character appears to the writer indispensable to all religion. In so far as new points of view in their appeal for social service either ignore this need, or fail to satisfy it through the communication of sympathetic enthusiasm, they necessitate a further synthetic work.

In ways more special than the foregoing broad and fundamental categories we may observe the same mystical principle. When, for example, it is revealed to Julian of Norwich that "it is more worship to God to behold him in all than in any special thing"¹⁶ the important feature is not her visual imagery of Christ; the hallucinatory character of the latter does not affect the truth that came to her through the experience. Or again, Walter Hylton's "dark image," which is seen "all wrapped up and tied and bound with black and foul bands of sin," is not merely so much mental imagery; its *meaning* to him is the truth that "The body of sin and death is self-love or selfishness." Thus the mystics, as introspective observers of the religious mind, offer significant reports of what is real. Such apprehension of the transcendent—transcendent in no superstitious sense, but rather in that of truth which the individual may win and make his own—is a fundamental character of mysticism, identity with the Divine.

Two main obstructions hinder acknowledgment of the validity of mystical intuition. The first is a modern definition of knowledge which limits it to scientific cognition, and excludes from the title all cognitive processes and conceptions which lack precision and systematic structure. The extreme of this tendency, which designates as knowledge nothing but mathematics and mathematical physics, is not prevalent, but in a less pronounced form the tendency is strongly operative in contemporary educational culture. Quite repellent to its spirit are the pretensions of religious "knowledge." And there is justice in this. So grotesque has been much of this "knowledge" that we ought to sympathize with the effort to give cognition a fixed and definite meaning. But this may be done without denying cognitive character to the religious consciousness. What we need to observe is that transcendent power and peace and goodness are perceivable in and through the facts of ordinary experience. It is to be hoped that this may receive more recognition on psychological grounds than has hitherto been the case, and without relaxation of the legitimate demands of the scientific spirit.

The second obstruction is the monstrous amount of error which

¹⁶ I borrow these quotations from Inge, *Studies of English Mystics*, pp. 59, 90, 91.

has permeated and vitiated the mystical epistemology. So great, indeed, is this as perhaps to justify the charge that its removal leaves nothing essentially mystical in the facts. The mystic's absolutism is a fancy; his notion of his own processes is largely absurd; his total rejection of ordinary cognition is an inconsistent prejudice; his visions are often so morbid as to excite disgust: and these defects are found in some of the most eminent mystics. Hence it is not strange that they have created in the critical mind the impression of utter epistemological worthlessness. Yet it is still debatable whether there are not such valid principles of knowledge in mysticism as the foregoing discussion has sought to indicate, whether its empiricism is not genuine, its perception of God a true perception. To eliminate the error and thereby rescue this truth is a difficult task, and probably the result will be unsatisfactory to the mystics themselves; but neither difficulty is final. The philosophy of religion desires truth, and if mysticism contains a truth less tenaciously held by other religious types it should be appropriated. It appears to the writer that one great need of the religious mind of today is a clearer cognitive conviction of God's presence in our lives in certain definite ways. Mysticism has held this with much unfortunate connotation; purified, it is an ideal for all.

PRESENT-DAY RELIGIOUS TENDENCIES IN INDIA

HEM CHANDRA SARKAR

Calcutta

Modern India presents an opportunity for the study of religious thought to which there is scarcely a parallel to be found anywhere else. Here is a country where all the great historic religions of the world have met like the converging courses of mighty streams in a mountain gorge and the resulting spectacle has been one of absorbing interest and pregnant suggestiveness to all students of religious history. India has played a very important part in the religious development of the world. Someone has called her the mother of the world's faiths. That statement may not be quite substantiated; but her contribution to the world's faith may with reason be called unique. It will not be possible here to indicate, even in the briefest outline, the part which she has played in the evolution of religions. Nor is it possible to notice here the interesting history of religious development within her own boundaries, fascinating and fruitful though that study would be. For our present purpose we must restrict our vision to a narrower horizon.

In recent times India has been passing through a religious transition of a deep and far-reaching character, which might have had its parallel in the history of some other nations, but which in depth, in complexity of issues involved, and in the wide range of spiritual factors concerned, is almost unequalled. Roughly speaking this epoch may be taken to commence from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Communication with the West had been established some time earlier and the contact with the new world with its civilization, culture, science, literature, and Christianity awakened a new life in India. As in other departments of the country's life, in religion also it provided a leaven and an impetus of the deepest and most far-reaching character.

The first herald of this new age was Rajah Ram Mohan Roy who has been aptly called the prophet of modern India. This

wonderful man, who was born in 1772 and died in Bristol in 1833, inaugurated a new era of intellectual, social, and religious activity and reform in India. In 1830 he founded in Calcutta the Brahmo Somaj for the worship of One True God, irrespective of caste, creed, color, or nationality. This was the first definite manifestation of the beginning of a new epoch in the history of India. Since its foundation there have arisen several other religious movements testifying to the presence and working of the new spirit. We must content ourselves here with a bare mention of the principal activities which will suggest to our minds the present-day religious tendencies in India.

Next to the Brahmo Somaj stands the Arya Samaj of the Punjab which seeks a religious readjustment on progressive lines. The Theosophical Society, though not strictly speaking a religious movement has contributed much to the determination of religious thought, as has also the Vedanta movement which is usually associated with the name of the late Swami Vivekananda. These are the chief religious organizations, which have exercised an abiding influence on the religious ideals of the country. Besides these there have been a few minor movements of less definite character and restricted influence, while there has also been an effort to set up an orthodox organization for the rehabilitation of current popular Hinduism. This however, has not as yet had any practical influence on the minds of the people. I have purposely not included Christianity in this list, because Christianity is not so much a product as a cause of the religious tendencies of the present-day India. All the indigenous movements which I have named are more or less indebted to the Christian missions for their inception as well as their methods of work. Thus while Christianity has undoubtedly had a potent and profound influence in the religious movements of the country, for our present purpose it would be better to treat it as a mighty force working from the outside, than as an organic influence spreading from within.

A careful study of the history and development of these movements should give us a clear view of the present religious tendencies of India. Such a study, however, would require more space than is at our command. In default of that more minute and extensive method, we may try to estimate the underlying influences of which

they are all alike the outcome and manifestation. Taking for our present purpose this easier method, we may note, first, that there is a widespread and deep-rooted living religious longing in the country. This, we would say, is one of the clearest of the present symptoms. It is an epoch of new religious awakening. From one point of view it may, no doubt, be said that there is a growing religious indifference; that the descendants of a people, concerning whom it was truly said that they ate religiously, lived religiously, and died religiously, have almost banished religion from their life. One unmistakable effect of the contact with the West has been a growing secularization of life in India. It used to be literally true that every ordinary duty of life, rising from bed, bathing, eating, sleeping, birth, marriage, death, was for a Hindu a religious function, a sacrament. No religion succeeded better than Hinduism in spiritualizing life and its contents. Every Hindu rose in the morning with his first thought directed to things unseen, and went to bed with the remembrance of God and eternity. That state of things has certainly changed. Nine out of every ten of the Hindus today who are coming out of our schools and colleges may be said never, from morning to night, from week to week, and from year to year, to trouble themselves with the thought of God or of religion. And yet I think I may say that the present is one of the distinctly religious epochs in the history of India. The spirit of inquiry which Rajah Ram Mohan Roy inaugurated has spread from heart to heart; and the last century has produced some of the truest and most devout souls ever born in India. In the midst of the prevailing indifference and flood of materialism there has been a genuine religious awakening in the country, a revival of living religion, as opposed to the blind, traditional, dead formalism of the period preceding the interesting epoch which we are considering.

It was because the traditional piety of the old-world Hinduism, which, for good or for evil, is fast passing away, consisted to a large extent in mechanical matters of routine, not instinct with a living spirit, that it easily gave way before the new flood of western materialism. The mode of thought which has been generated by the contact with the West is pre-eminently rationalistic. The intellectual atmosphere in which the new generations are being developed is

entirely different from that of the past. The clear, quickening, but perhaps to some extent scorching, light of reason has poured in abruptly over Indian life, which previous to this epoch was like some ancient forest, reposing in an undisturbed calm shrouded in mystery, with a majesty and a beauty of its own. Suddenly, all the ideals and institutions of Indian life have been called upon to face this new light. In the religious thought of India, therefore, perhaps the most obvious and pervasive tendency for the last century has been that of rationalism. Indian religious thought and life, deep-rooted as it was in the authority of the *Shastras* and the priest, and securely armored by the wonderful caste-organization, have nevertheless been deeply permeated by the leaven of rationalism. Either avowedly or unconsciously all religious movements and organizations of the present have been compelled to establish themselves on a rational foundation. A process of critical readjustment of belief is visible everywhere. During the last few decades there has been an apparent check to the progress of rationalism, and an obvious tendency to cling to the creed and the faith of the forefathers; but the very methods of these revival movements prove how irresistible and widespread is the rationalistic tendency of the present day. Even those sects and communities which have tenaciously clung to the old dogmas and creeds have been compelled to give rational interpretations to them. The mere reference to a particular text of the scripture, the appeal to the authority of the ancestors, the priest, or the *Rishi* no longer satisfies the educated Indian. The *Mantras* of the uncreated eternal Veda, the injunction of the *Rishis*, the tradition of the forefathers must be shown to be in harmony with reason. Religious bodies which claim to base their faith on revealed scriptures have taken large liberties in the interpretation of such scriptures, so that though ostensibly they appear to be dogmatic the final appeal is undoubtedly to the reason and conscience of the individual interpreter. The demands of reason have made themselves successfully felt everywhere; the simple, unquestioning repose on the scripture, the implicit blind faith in the *Guru* or priest, if existing at all among the educated classes, is an exception and not the rule.

Thirdly, the trend of religious thought in India today is distinctly theistic, or to be more definite, monotheistic. The progressive move-

ments are avowedly theistic; and those who still have not yet given up polytheistic faith and worship, try to justify their conduct with the explanation that such worship is theistic in spirit or is a necessary preparation for theism, which is the ultimate goal and truth. It is seldom that polytheism is defended as polytheism. All that is being said or written in defense of the current popular faith and practice is of an apologetic nature. Consistent theism, indeed, is as yet not very common, but theism may be said to have been accepted as the goal toward which to strive.

Fourthly, the religious thought in India today is universalistic in its scope and direction. Salvation and revelation are no longer regarded as the monopoly of the Hindus. As everywhere in the civilized world religious exclusiveness is rapidly passing away. Hinduism has always been elastic; it has a wonderful genius for assimilating new light. The wider experience and fuller knowledge of the present has made the Hindu mind even more catholic. No thoughtful man today speaks of the exclusive privilege of the Aryan in the religious world. There is of course still a natural belief in the superiority of the Hindu scriptures or the Hindu ideal. This has possibly been to some extent intensified by the peculiar political situation of the country. The sensitive mind, at every point reminded of its inferiority in the material sphere, takes refuge and finds consolation in the thought of the spiritual superiority of the nation. In recent years, there has been an apparent trend toward nationalism as opposed to universalism. The national scripture, the national ideal, the national methods have been extolled and have exercised a fascination over the popular mind. It is this spirit which explains the rapid progress of the revivalistic movements of the recent years. The deep-rooted national sentiment, the natural pride in the indigenous and ancestral products, retards, indeed, the realization of the world's dream of one God, one humanity, one church, and this has made itself powerfully felt in India recently. But the grand conception of universal religion which so early dawned in India and was so nobly exemplified in the life and teachings of Rajah Ram Mohan Roy (who, as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century, could with genuine reverence study and draw inspiration from the Vedanta, Bible, Quran, and Dhamarapada and who has justly been called

the pioneer of the rapidly growing science of comparative religion) is destined to receive ever-increasing recognition in the congenial soil of India. The exclusive claim of any one nation or church or of any single prophet or scripture to the monopoly of God's revelation will never again receive much credence with the educated Indians. Though there is yet much racial and national prejudice in the country, the universalistic tendency is unmistakable.

Fifthly, the progress of religious thought in India during this momentous epoch has been pronouncedly ethical. There was a marked dissociation of religion from morality in India during the past few centuries. The principle of conscience was imperfectly developed in Hinduism in the Middle Ages. Stern, uncompromising loyalty to truth and righteousness was not a prominent feature of the Hindu character. His wonderful intellectual subtlety, and profound depth of thought were not accompanied by that strength of will and fidelity to the ideal which generate the temperament to "follow truth in scorn of consequence." Hinduism therefore was never fanatical; nor did it produce martyrs. Religion concerned itself more about intellect than conscience. A notable feature of the religious tendency of the new age however is its ethical earnestness. The principle of conscience occupies a large place. The sanctity and inviolability of truth, authority of the conscience, responsibility of the individual, reverence for private judgment, are conspicuous elements. Religion has been increasingly concentrating itself in the sphere of character. Emphasis is being laid on personal purity and integrity as the essential foundation of the religious life. The production of a high standard of manhood is looked upon by all religious bodies as one of the most important, if not the exclusive function of religion. Since the time of Buddhism, perhaps, the ethical side of religion was never more conspicuously recognized in India than at present.

And it is not on individual life alone that the influence of the ethical ideal is being felt; perhaps it has been even more conspicuous in the collective life of the community. There has been an earnest demand for the application of the principles of justice, righteousness, and purity in home and society which has led to a vigorous reform movement in the country. The religious movements of the present

day are pre-eminently reformatory and progressive. Even those movements which are ostensibly and avowedly reactionary and conservative have not been altogether able to resist this demand for social reform. It is gratifying to see what enormous progress has been made in this direction during the last half-century. Every department of life, individual, domestic, social, has been permeated with the new leaven. Deep-rooted ideas and practices, believed to be enjoined by the Shastras, sanctified by association with the memories of venerated ancestors, securely planted in the natural conservatism of the national temperament and influentially supported by powerful vested interests have given way before the advance of the new principle of the sanctity of the "still small voice within." The claims of justice, righteousness, equality are being rigorously pressed forward in the dealings and relations between man and man, class and class, sex and sex. Under the irresistible pleasure of the awakened moral sense, the disgrace of polygamy has been wiped out, the wrongs of womanhood have been largely redressed, the thousand barriers of free communion between sects and classes have visibly been demolished, and the cruel repression of the backward classes, if not relieved, has at least been theoretically condemned. The rapid progress of social reform is a noticeable feature of the modern epoch. Thus the religion of the present day is more practical, more active, more concerned with the happiness and misery of one's neighbor and fellow-men, more interested in the activities of the present world than in possibilities of a far-off heaven. It is more social and philanthropic, and less sentimental and theological than it was in the past.

In what I have said I have confined myself to the positive side. On the negative side it might be said in general that progress along all the lines indicated is not as rapid and powerful as one might wish. The religious awakening is still feeble and is surrounded by a widespread and stolid indifference. The rational theistic forces are as yet insignificant when compared with the surrounding mass of ignorance and prejudice. The emergence of the principle of conscience is very faint. Much can be said on the negative aspect of the situation. I will only refer to one ominous fact, which at times seems to me to neutralize much of the progress and advantage of the new epoch. The Hindus of the present day seem to be fast losing the

spiritual-mindedness of their forefathers. Nowhere in the world was a higher place given to religion than in Hindu civilization. Here religion occupied the highest place; the search after God, and the pursuit of knowledge were considered the highest, even the only worthy aim of life. A higher value of spirituality, a more sincere disregard of material gain has never been seen. Under this influence, generation after generation, a large section of the nation, the best and noblest, easily turned away from the seductions of comfort, wealth, or political power, and devoted themselves to the pursuit and knowledge of truth. That magnificent unworldliness of the Hindu, that high appreciation of the spiritual value of life, that unique example of plain living and high thinking, is becoming rare today. This seems to me so sad and serious a matter that though I have attempted to discuss only the positive side of the question I cannot close this short and imperfect sketch of the religious tendencies in modern India without this reference to it.

CRITICAL NOTES

NOTES ON THE FREER GOSPELS

In recent papers in the *Biblical World*¹ and the *American Journal of Archaeology*,² Professor Sanders has supplied fresh materials and raised new problems relating to the Freer collection. He is indisposed to connect the manuscripts with the White Monastery, and the important find of 1906. As already intimated in the *Nation*, December 31, 1908, Professor Sanders contends that the name Timotheus inserted in the Mark subscription which concludes the gospels manuscript, connects that manuscript with a church of Timothy, in the Convent of the Vinedresser near the pyramids, which is referred to by Abu Salih, a thirteenth-century writer. No other notice of a church dedicated to a Timotheus seems to have been observed. Butler's mention of a Nitrian Convent of Timothy, which he refers to Vansleb, proves mistaken. The statement of Professor Sanders as to this matter is an improvement upon Butler's discussion (*Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, I, 287), but is still hardly fair to that early traveler. Since Vansleb has been repeatedly misquoted, and his book is now rare, it is worth while to quote his own words:

J'appris d'un vieux manuscrit Arabe, que dans le desert il y avoit autrefois sept Monastères de conséquence; sçavoir 1. Celuy de *Saint Macaire*; 2. celuy de *Saint Jean le petit*, surnommé l'Igumène; 3. celuy d' *Amba Biscioi*; 4. celuy de *Saint Massime, et Timothée*; 5. celuy d' *Amba Moyse*, surnommé le Noir; 6. celuy d' *Amba Kéma*; 7. celuy de la *Sainte Vierge* des Syriens; et qu' outre ces sept Monastères, il y avoit encore trois cens habitations d'Hermites et Solitaires qui servoient Dieu en ce Désert.

Mais de tous ces Monastères, il n'y en a que deux qui sont aujourd'huy considérables; sçavoir, le Monastère des Syriens, et celuy d'Amba Biscioi.—*Relation* (1698), pp. 227, 228.

Without claiming that this passage is free from error, we may properly insist that the famous convent Al Baramus is by no means omitted from it, for the strict designation of it was *Maximus* and *Domitius*, to which saints it was dedicated. That Vansleb mistook Domitius in Arabic for Timotheus will surprise no one who has wrestled with Greek and Latin proper names in vowelless oriental transformations. Professor Sanders'

¹ May, 1909 (Vol. XXXIII), pp. 343, 344.

² Vol. XIII (1909), pp. 130-41.

most interesting problem however relates to the first quire of John in the gospels manuscript, which is in a different hand from the rest of the codex. Professor Sanders explains this as a remnant of the parent manuscript, to replace the other (probably outworn) quires of which the rest of the present codex except Matthew was copied.

The view that this odd quire at the beginning of John is a remnant of an earlier manuscript, and that the other quires were written to unite with it to form a complete codex of the gospels, is liable to several objections. A priori, it seems improbable that one should copy more than twenty quires afresh, and include with them one old one, thus making after all one's labor only a patched-out manuscript. Such an arrangement is without parallel in manuscript history. On the other hand, the supplying of one lost quire in a later hand is a familiar phenomenon. Do the hand and aspect of the odd quire forbid this easier explanation? On the contrary, both strongly invite it. The frequent projection of the letters into the left-hand margin, the irregularity in the alignment at the right of the column, the more frequent punctuation, an occasional large letter in the midst of the text, and especially the forms of letters, all tend to establish the late date of this odd quire, as compared with the bulk of the manuscript. The quire's itacistic spellings do not decisively negative this conclusion, or even seriously interfere with it, for late hands as well as early exhibit that tendency. On the whole, it is impossible to resist the conviction that the odd quire in John is intrusive, and was written a century or more later than the rest of the gospels manuscript, to replace a lost quire. The prolonged rulings of the odd quire, too long for the written lines, point in the same direction; the scribe apparently had some extra leaves, ruled for a wider column, which he applied to the completion of this defective manuscript. The greater thickness of these leaves, as compared with the others, also favors a later date, when parchment manufacture was declining, or points to some monastic scriptorium, where book-making on a large scale was not carried on. We can hardly suppose a whole gospel manuscript to have been written on quires misruled like this odd quire. There remains Professor Sanders' textual argument: the homogeneity of text exhibited by the strange quire and the rest of John, at least. This is a delicate matter; the spellings look in a different direction; but if the fact can be substantiated, surely we may as easily suppose one damaged or outworn quire to have been replaced, as twenty; or, if the old quire was quite lost, the exemplar or a kindred text may have been accessible. It is in short doubtful whether any objection of weight can be brought against the *prima facie* probability that this odd quire is not original but intrusive.

The Gospel of John stands second among the gospels in this manuscript, the order being, Matthew, John, Luke, Mark, as in D and X and Vercellensis (a). But the strangely worn and rubbed condition of the first recto of the Gospel of John recalls the fact that in some ancient orders, John stood first. Thus in the Old Latin Bobbiensis (k) of the fourth or fifth century, the order seems to have been John, Luke, Mark, Matthew (Nestle, *Einführung* p. 174), and in connection with the Egyptian versions the order John, Matthew, Mark, Luke appears. It would not be altogether surprising therefore if in an Egyptian copy, John stood first. It seems more likely, however, that John never stood at the beginning of the codex, but that from being most frequently studied and fingered, the first page of John has come to have its present worn appearance. Professor Sanders has not yet stated definitely how the quire numbers run in the Freer Gospels, although he indicates (*A. J. A.*, XII, 52) that some such numbers are still visible. Upon examination these should show what was the original order of the gospels in the codex.

The presbyter Timotheus from Dirshaba, "martyred in the town of Atriye," is celebrated according to the Coptic Arabic *Synaxarium* on Tut 8th and 9th, and connected with Diocletian's persecution.³ On Hatur 13th the Arabic-Jacobite *Synaxarium* commemorates Timotheus bishop of Antinoe; on Kihak 23d, the holy athlete Timotheus the ascetic.⁴ The same work mentions Timotheus, bishop of Keft.⁵ In the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, the twenty-second (380-85), twenty-sixth (458-80) and thirty-second (517-35) patriarchs bear the name Timotheus, not to mention the schismatic patriarch Timotheus who disputed the office with Timotheus II. A somewhat famous pseudo-Athanasian dialogue, between the Christian Timotheus and the Jew Aquila, confirms the impression that Timotheus was reckoned a familiar and representative Christian name in Egypt.

Egypt in the Byzantine period swarmed with convents and churches. Oxyrhynchus had twelve churches in the days of Rufinus, and in later times contained hundreds of monks and nuns. *The Conflict of Severus of Antioch* states that in the neighborhood of Alexandria there were in the time of Severus (†539) more than three hundred monasteries (p. 149). The *History of the Patriarchs* relates that in the patriarchate of Peter IV (567-69), there were in the same district "six hundred flourishing monasteries, like beehives in their populousness, all inhabited by the orthodox" and administered by the patriarch (p. 208). The fifty "tabernacula" which

³ Harnack, *Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, II, 170.

⁴ Basset, *Synaxaire*, pp. 210, 435.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 421.

Rufinus found in Nitria were probably not all organized monasteries; yet the regularity with which Christian visitors (Rufinus, Jerome, Severus) repaired to Nitria, and the frequency with which the Nitrian foundations of Macarius, John, Baramus, etc., are mentioned in connection with the Coptic patriarchs, show Nitria to have been one of the most notable monastic centers of Egypt. Making due allowance for the extravagant figures of monkish chroniclers, it is at least clear that convents abounded everywhere. Each of these contained one, two, or three churches or chapels, each with its particular dedication. Of these we cannot now recover a tithe. But since Timotheus was so common a name among Egyptian bishops, patriarchs, and saints, and so many churches and convents with their saints' names have disappeared from history, to argue from the name Timotheus in our subscription to the manuscript's one-time residence in a particular church of Timotheus is more than precarious. If three months of the *Synaxarium* yield three days devoted to saints named Timotheus, we cannot suppose churches or convents bearing his name to have been unusual in Egypt. Abu Salih mentions one such church, but any argument assuming that notice to be exhaustive builds upon a foundation of silence which may at any moment be withdrawn.

Nor does a mere church dedicated to Timotheus at all satisfy the conditions of the problem; a convent at least of that name must be sought. For it must be kept in mind that these gospels are remarkable in being free from lectionary markings; the daily church reading-lessons are not indicated in them; a fact which makes it in the highest degree improbable that they ever served liturgical purposes in either church or convent. The disturbing character of their text indeed would unfit them for such use, and the strong probability is that they have lain almost from the first in some convent where Greek was little used or known. Were Professor Sanders' theory established, however, it would import but little, for it leaves untouched the main question of the *immediate* provenance of the manuscripts; whence came they in 1906?

Professor Sanders holds that the dealer's report, that the manuscripts came from Akhmîm, should lead us to look anywhere but there for their actual source. There is of course some basis for distrust of the stories of Arab dealers, yet they are by no means so universally misleading as may be supposed. Some years ago, to quote a single instance, a group of Greek papyri was bought of a dealer at Asîût. He said they came from Ushîm, or Washîm, in the Fayûm. More than a hundred of these pieces dated in the second century, proved to bear the name of Karanis, a town the site of which was discovered by Hogarth and Grenfell in 1895, at Kom Ushîm in the Fayûm.

The dealer would seem to have spoken the truth. Not all Arab stories are of equal worth, or worthlessness. Indeed the history of excavation in Egypt has often been directed and furthered by the statements of Arab dealers, who are not after all so utterly different from other men. In the present instance, it must be recognized that while the dealer's story does not by itself suffice to connect the manuscripts with Akhmim, it by no means precludes such a connection, if other considerations make it probable.

Professor Sanders holds it to be most unlikely that the Freer manuscripts came from the same deposit with the manuscripts secured by Schmidt at Akhmim, three or four years ago, pointing out that the Berlin manuscripts are all on papyrus, and stating that they show absolutely no relationship to the Freer manuscripts either in content or style of writing (p. 140). It is clear that the Berlin codices are on papyrus and the Detroit ones on parchment. It must not be overlooked, however, that there is a very important resemblance between the two groups in date, and in date of discovery. The Berlin manuscripts range from the third or fourth to the eighth centuries, the Freer codices from the fourth to the eighth or ninth. The earliest Berlin manuscript, the Greek Genesis, is referred to the third or fourth century, the latest, the Festal Letter, to the ninth. The earliest of the Freer codices, the Gospels, is referred to the fourth or fifth century, the latest, the closing leaves of the Psalter, to the eighth or ninth. This fact is in itself a strong hint of a common source, for codices from those centuries are extraordinarily rare. That one such deposit should have come to light is remarkable enough, but that two such should have been found within a year or two is little short of incredible. What other such discovery of Greek biblical materials can be pointed to in the last fifty years? Nor are the two groups of manuscripts at all unlike in content. Both are biblical. Mr. Freer secured Deuteronomy-Joshua, Psalms, Gospels, and Paul's epistles, all in Greek. Dr. Schmidt bought a Greek Genesis, Proverbs in Coptic, and First Clement in Coptic, besides the Festal Letter. Now First Clement was practically a part of the New Testament in the time of Clement of Alexandria, found a place in the Codex Alexandrinus, a fifth-century Bible, and as late as Abu 'l Barakat (†1363) was reckoned in the Christian Arabic scriptures. The material on which the manuscripts are written and the fact that two of the Berlin ones are in Coptic are thus the only points to interrupt their resemblance. But this distribution of a large find into two parts, one including the parchments, the other the papyri, is just the course that would occur to any commercially minded Egyptian.

Professor Sanders' recent account of the last leaves of the Freer Psalter⁶

⁶ "The Freer Psalter," *Biblical World*, XXXIII (May, 1909), 343, 344, with plate.

recalls another recent discussion of that problem. Mr. Kenyon is among the latest to express opinion on the Freer manuscripts.⁷ He compares the hand of the gospels to that of the Akhmîm Enoch, but admits no more than that it may perhaps be as early as the fifth century. The manuscripts of the Psalter, Deuteronomy-Joshua, and Pauline epistles Mr. Kenyon refers to the sixth century. Most interest attaches to his verdict upon the seven leaves added to the Psalms manuscript, which Professor Sanders formerly assigned to the close of the sixth century, and more recently to the seventh or early eighth; Mr. Kenyon confidently refers them to the ninth, in which judgment most paleographers will probably concur.

Professor Sanders' recent papers have added little to our knowledge of the text of the Freer Gospels, which promises to prove so important and characteristic. He is disposed to emphasize its neutral, i. e., original character, and doubtless his grounds for so doing, as developed by his examination of the text, are strong. The striking Western traits exhibited by many of the readings he has published, however, strongly suggest that it is with the Western type of text that the manuscript will prove, when fully accessible, to have its most characteristic affinities. It is of course hazardous to attempt to classify a textual witness in advance of full examination of its text. But no phase of textual history is of more interest at present than the so-called Western text, and nothing could be more welcome or timely than a fresh uncial witness to set beside the much-discussed Bezan. If, as some things suggest, the Freer Gospels are such a witness, we may fairly hope to see textual criticism furthered by at least one important stage through their discovery and publication.

Leipoldt in the preface to his *Schenute von Atripe* (1903) expressed his confidence that much light would be thrown upon the details of that subject "when at length the rich manuscript treasures which today still lie buried in the White Monastery near Akhmîm, are made accessible to the world" (p. vi). "It would indeed be a blessing," he continues, "if these valuable documents should right speedily and fully be brought to light; not alone Egyptian philology would profit thereby!" Leipoldt's expectations have been realized in the manuscript treasures secured by Carl Schmidt in 1906 at Akhmîm; and until a more probable immediate source (possibly in Nitria?) for the Freer manuscripts is proposed, most scholars will doubtless, with Schmidt, Gregory, Crum, and Hunt, refer them to the same rich deposit—the library of the White Monastery. As to their place of writing, for the Gospels codex at least there is not a little to suggest those Nitrian convents, which Jerome visited in 386, and where he may have encountered

⁷ Egypt Exploration Fund, *Archaeological Report*, 1907-8, pp. 47, 48.

that curious reading in Mark 16:15 which he and the Freer Gospels alone exhibit. Professor Sanders' skilful and thorough studies of this and the other Freer manuscripts will be awaited with the utmost interest.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

JOHN MILL ON THE LATIN GOSPELS

At the end of my note on, "The Gospels in the Latin Vulgate" (*The American Journal of Theology* [1907], pp. 501 f.), I bespoke for my observation and conclusion, "*which appear to be new*" a thorough examination and if possible acceptance. I was not aware that quite the same observation had been made and the same conclusion drawn two hundred years ago by John Mill in his famous Greek Testament of 1707. It seems a fit memorial due to this biblical scholar (died June 23, 1707) to call attention to this fact. (See his *Prolegomena*, pp. l-lviii of the original edition; §§513-605 in the edition of Küster.) From § 377 onward, he treats of the "*Versio Italica*, edita circa tempora Pii P. ut videtur," §379, "*adhibita in consilium hodierna Vulgata, quae quantumcumque vitiata, haud exiguam certe partem retinet veteris genuinae.*"

§ 513: "Explicanda interim restat indoles, ut ita dicam & constitutio Versionis hujus Italicae. *Ea vero, quod ex stylo colligimus non unius erat, sed variorum*: qui in id unum incumbabant, ut sermone simplici ac plano, qualis Ecclesiis Occidentis jam in usu erat, textus Graecus caste & fideliter exprimeretur. *Interpres Matthaei fidus inprimis erat, & quidem superstitiose accuratus*. Apices Graeci textus scrupulose scitatus est." Mill describes his way of translating §§ 513-20 and concludes: "Ut proinde facile credam, Versionem hujus Evangelii confectam fuisse ab Auctore quopiam, cui nulla pars fuerit in transferendis caeteris."

In § 521-542 he treats of Mark beginning: "*Interpretens certe Marci a Matthaei illo diversum fuisse*, ex eo apparet, quod aliis omnino in eadem re exprimenda utatur vocabulis." The examples follow.

In §§ 525-32, speaking of Luke, he says: "In Evangelio *Lucae* Interpres (*qui et ipse alius videtur ab utroque priori*; unde enim aliter *κατάλυμα . . . καταμόνας . . . κεράμιον . . . διαφέρετε ὑμεῖς . . . γέννημα ἀμπέλου . . .*)"

In § 533 he begins on John: "Evangelii *Joannis* Versionem quod attinet, & ipsa quidem Auctoris fuisse videtur a caeteris tribus diversi: id enim ex diversa vocum earundem interpretatione colligo." There follow examples such as *λάβρα, νάρδου πιστικῆς, ἕμελλε*, etc.

Finally, § 537 on Acts: "*Actorum Apost. idem translator est, qui Evangelii Lucae*, id enim ex vocum quarundam utique Libro isti communium, interpretatione colligimus. There follow examples such as *ἄνωθεν, καθεξῆς, ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι, ἀπογραφή, πατριά*, etc.

It seems strange that these clear and explicit statements could fall into such oblivion that modern scholars should treat the New Testament Vulgate as a harmonious work, so that it appeared to me quite a new discovery when I hit upon the same observation and conclusion which John Mill two hundred years previously had expressed.

E. NESTLE

MAULBRONN, GERMANY

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

THE ORIGIN OF SACRIFICE

This difficult question is treated in two books recently published. The first¹ is by an Assyriologist already known by his studies in demonology. The author appears to maintain that religious institutions have been molded by belief in evil spirits rather than by faith in good divinities. He directly asserts it of the rite which he calls the atoning sacrifice, and which he sharply distinguishes from the burnt-offering. As to the sin-offering he says in so many words: "The priest first of all inveigled or drove out the demon from the sick man into a wax figure or slaughtered kid and was then able to destroy it" (p. xii).

It is not difficult to show that the belief in evil spirits has existed in the East from the earliest times and still exists there. The evidence which the author marshals on this head is drawn from a great variety of sources, some of them well known to all students of the subject. For Hebrew antiquity direct evidence is scanty, but there is no reason to suppose that the common people in Israel differed much from their neighbors. Spooks and goblins swarmed in their world. *Incubi* and *succubae* were perhaps as familiar to Hebrew antiquity as to mediaeval Europe. Cripples and abortions were the result of demonic lust, as the *nephilim* sprang from the marriage of angels with the daughters of Adam. Disease was demonic in origin and the healing art consisted in exorcism.

All this is familiar to us. The specific question which interests us comes into view when we consider the connection of sin and disease. Is every case of sickness the result of sin? If so is it because the sin is a breach of taboo, putting the transgressor into the demon's power? Or is the sickness a direct act of God, punishment for a crime? The Hebrew authors nowhere tell us clearly, perhaps because the matter was so clear to them. The prominence given to unwitting sins (which, of course, are not sins in our sense of the word) in the Levitical legislation and the treatment there accorded them favor the view that they were breaches of taboo.

Mr. Thompson properly points out that the Babylonian theory of unwitting sins is the same as the Hebrew. The sources of contagion—dead bodies, women in childbed, and the others—are the same in the

¹ *Semitic Magic, Its Origins and Development*. By R. Campbell Thompson, M.A. (Cantab.). London: Luzac's Oriental Series, 1908. lxviii + 286 pages. \$2.50.

Babylonian tablets as in the Pentateuch. Contact with any of them was defilement. The incantations which have come down to us show that a man taken ill attributed his affliction to unwitting defilement of this kind and that he inquired anxiously wherein he had transgressed. The priest was supposed to have power to banish the demon through the help of a beneficent deity. In this respect the parallel with Hebrew liturgy is not exact, for the ritual which cleanses the leper is not an incantation for the cure of his disease; it prescribes the method in which *when cured* the man may be admitted to the community of worshipers.

Supposing, however, in default of evidence, that the treatment of disease was the same among the Hebrews as in Babylonia does it follow that the sin-offering was simply a rite of exorcism? Mr. Thompson's theory is that the demon of disease was conjured into the slaughtered animal, carried away, and destroyed. In this sense the animal was a real substitute for the man. The Babylonian theory is attested by direct assertions of the tablets. The Hebrew parallel of the scapegoat and of the bird let loose in the cleansing of the leper will occur to everyone. Are these fair examples of the primitive sin-offering? It would be rash to assert it. For the striking thing about these "cathartic" offerings is that they are not sacrificed. The essential thing about the sin-offering is that its blood must be shed at the altar.

It is not probable therefore that the sin-offering took its rise in exorcism. Mr. Thompson's theory fails us when we attempt to explain the use of the blood. He makes an attempt at explanation in the following words:

The "blood" question is, I think, to be explained thus: If we go back to the most primitive ideas, dissociating our views from the later (and probably corrupt) customs of the Old Testament, we find that the magician has to inveigle the demon out of the sick person into the substitute. Since he knows that the evil spirits are particularly attracted by blood he cuts the throat of the beast which is to be the receptacle of the demoniac influence (p. 195).

But this ignores the most important fact that in the Hebrew ritual the blood is sprinkled on the altar or even in the inner sanctuary where of course the demon could have no place. Mr. Thompson's theory therefore breaks down at a vital point. Limited space forbids further discussion of many things of interest suggested by his book.

The second work is the joint production of two French scholars* whose

* *Mélanges d'histoire des religions*. Par H. Hubert et M. Mauss. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1909. xlii + 236 pages. Of the essays here republished the "Essai sur la nature et la fonction sociale du sacrifice" first appeared in the *Année sociologique*, Vol. II (1897-98).

collaboration in the department of sociology has already shown important results. Their inquiry into the nature and function of sacrifice begins with a note of dissent. Giving due credit to W. Robertson Smith and J. G. Frazer for their investigations the authors yet find the theories of the English school inadequate. The totemic sacrament—that is, the slaying of an animal regarded as divine in order that the community may partake of the divine life—does not seem to MM. Hubert and Mauss to be a sacrifice at all. It lacks just the element of oblation which is an essential feature in what we know as sacrifice. To put it succinctly: sacrifice of a god is not sacrifice *to* a god, and it is the latter which as an almost universal institution is of prime interest to the investigator.

To explain sacrifice (that is, sacrifice to a god) our authors have recourse to the fundamental conception of sacred and profane. Their thesis is: *Sacrifice is a means by which the profane attains communion with the sacred.* For proof they rely upon two widely separated liturgical literatures, the Hindoo and the Hebrew. The choice of these two is explained by the fact that these are the only ancient liturgical monuments which have come down to us in anything like completeness. If it be objected that modern criticism shows the Pentateuch not to be very ancient, the reply is that the antiquity of the rite is certain, no matter when the documents were written. The division of things and persons into sacred and profane is in fact one of the most constant phenomena in the history of religion.

The act which removes a person or thing from the profane to the sacred class is consecration, and consecration lies at the basis of the whole Hindoo liturgy:

Sacrifice is a religious act which can be performed only in a religious environment and by religious agents. Before the ceremony neither the offerer, nor the priest, nor the place, nor the victim has this character in the proper degree. The first phase of the sacrificial service is designed to give it. They are profane and must change their state. Certain ceremonies are therefore necessary to introduce them into the sphere of sanctity. . . . This is what constitutes, adopting the expression of the Sanscrit texts, *entrance on the sacrifice* (p. 23).

To verify this statement one of the most elaborate sacrifices is described in detail. We see how the offerer (not the priest, but the man who furnishes the victim, and in whose interest the rite is performed) undergoes a long initiation which (as the texts assert) elevates him to the sphere of the divine. The place of sacrifice is consecrated by rites equally complex. Within the sacred area there are degrees of sanctity, the highest being possessed by the sacrificial stake. The victim is sacred by nature, belonging to a sacred species, but it must receive an additional consecration by lustration and

unction. In this way its religious quality is so intensified that when it is tied to the sacred stake the priest must not touch it with naked hands. The sanctity of the implements employed is indicated by the fact that after the ceremony they are destroyed or else carefully deconsecrated before being put to common use. The persons who take part also are deconsecrated before entering on their ordinary life.

The authors of this treatise believe that the Hebrew sacrifices are fundamentally similar to the Hindoo. Their theory of the sin-offering is exactly opposed to the one advocated by Mr. Thompson. The latter thinks the kid which is slain is simply a *corpus vile* into which the demon may be enticed or conjured, so as to free a man from disease (or guilt which has brought the disease). The French investigators believe the animal victim to be a sacred thing whose sanctity passes over to the man for whom it is offered and obliterates his guilt (guilt in the ritual sense). At the same time they think that in the case of the scapegoat, the bird of the leper, and the sin-offering burnt outside the camp, the impurity is carried away by the victim, as though there had been an exchange of its sanctity for the opposite taboo (pp. 74-78).

The French authors seem to me to be correct in emphasizing the consecratory features of the rite. The central feature in the Hebrew sin-offerings is the use of the blood. This mysterious fluid partakes of the quality of sanctity in a high degree. It is the portion of the divinity; it is sprinkled on the altar or poured at its base; it is applied even to the inmost sanctuary; it consecrates priests and implements; it purifies the leper. It could not be effective in all these cases unless it were sacred and imparted sacredness to others. Hence its power to restore to communion the one excluded for defilement, for this is what the sin-offering effects. The Hindoo ritual is more elaborately developed than the Hebrew, but the underlying idea must be the same. The Hebrews had no need to consecrate a place for the ceremony, because the temple was permanently sacred and its fire was constantly burning. The sanctity of the place was such that we may suppose the victim to be made sacred by its presence there—it already belonged to a special class of clean (that is, sacred) animals; its unblemished physical character showed that it was under no hostile taboo. In these respects the Hebrew sacrifice conveys the same idea as the Hindoo. The conclusion is obvious: the sin-offering is effective in that, being sacred, it conveys sacredness to the man on whose behalf it is offered, and thus restores him to the communion of Yahweh.

The question remains: When the sanctity of the victim thus passes over to the offerer, does the defilement of the latter infect the victim so

that it must be destroyed? The scapegoat has already been alluded to and it is expressly said to carry away the sins of the people. But the scapegoat was not a sin-offering: its blood was not brought to the altar. If an offering at all it was an offering to Azazel who received it, blood and all, in his wilderness home. The regular sin-offerings were sacred, the flesh of some of them was eaten by the priests. It does not seem that this could have been done had they been infected by uncleanness. The Hebrew authorities themselves were not altogether clear in their own minds about the proper disposition of other sin-offerings, for we read of a dispute between Moses and Aaron on this point (Lev. 10:16-20). Had there been a clear tradition of demonic taboo passing into the flesh there could have been no such debate. We are naturally led to think that in the cases where the flesh was burned outside the camp this was because it was too sacred even to be eaten by the priests. In this case parallel with the Hindoo rite would again be obvious, for at the conclusion of that rite, as we have seen, the implements must be destroyed or deconsecrated. The central point in the sin-offering was the sprinkling of the blood. When this was accomplished the flesh which was left over must be destroyed, not because it was unclean, but because it was too sacred to be used in any way.

Enough has been said to show that the books before us deserve the careful attention of students.

HENRY PRESERVED SMITH

MEADVILLE, PA.

OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY

Mr. Cook's suggestive *Notes*¹ originally appeared in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, and have grown out of critical studies upon II Samuel. Recognizing "that many of the older narratives that have gathered around the first king of Israel were not trustworthy, and that in their present form they are the result of certain processes of redaction," the author has endeavored to find definite indications of the various stages in the development of the traditions. Such effort inevitably involved a further analysis of older epochs.

Mr. Cook thinks the Davidic stories and those of Saul show points of contact with the Joshua cycle: so much so that he seems disposed to question the existence of such a person as Joshua, and to conclude that he is a sort of collated character—like the Greek tale of Sesostrius in Egypt.

¹ *Critical Notes on Old Testament History*. By S. A. Cook. London and New York: Macmillan, 1907. xviii + 160 pages. 3s. 6d.

This is not definitely asserted, but the general trend of inquiry leads that way.

Mr. Cook concludes also that a twofold view of the origin of Israel is demonstrated in the older tradition: that in one Kadesh is the case, and the movement is into Judah from the south—the Calebite element is here to be considered. This southern tradition is to be called S. A second tradition is the dominance of an eastern movement, coming into central Palestine—to be called the C tradition. The Levites are made to be Calebite or Kenite.

Now neither of these traditions, nor both together, adequately account for some problems of the center and north. The recognition of the two lines of tradition is well: it should be supplemented by a consideration of the independent traditions of the Josephite clans, claiming descent from Egyptian priestly families and probably resident in Palestine where S and C entered. The threefold division of the Levitical clans is not adequately explained by Mr. Cook's suggestions; nor can this problem be considered independently of the "Levites" discovered in Arabian inscriptions. Mr. Cook merely stimulates inquiry—he rightly recognizes that he does not reach finality.

Some points appear well established: (1) that Kadesh, and not Sinai, is the scene of much early legislation; (2) that Geshur, Absalom's place of refuge, is at least as likely to be south Palestinian as Syrian; (3) that Absalom's revolt must have been at a much earlier period than is usually supposed, and was only a Judean movement; (4) that Judges, chap. 10, contains the misplaced preface to Saul's Ammonite war—though this does not require us to follow Mr. Cook in his "exceedingly bold" removal of all narratives between Judges, chap. 11 and I Sam., chap. 9; this introduction is considered an attempt to credit Samuel with the same achievement that an older tradition attributed to Saul; (5) Saul's activity in Gilead and his capital there, Mahanaim, make the stories of his Benjamite origin and activities more than doubtful; the narratives as they stand are irreconcilable; (6) Saul's actual achievements and esteem in early Israel were much more than allowed him by late prophetic redactors.

It is not possible to present here the many questions raised by Mr. Cook. We think, however, that he should make more allowance for simple lacunae, or ellipsis. For instance, the conquest of Hazor by Joshua, the conquest of the same region by Danites, the later conquest of the same territory by David from Hadadezer, do not seem "plausible" to him, nor that the region should have at an early period become part of an Aramean state. This is very inconclusive. Assyrian and Egyptian royal inscriptions show that

Oriental monarchs are not given to recording their defeats; these have to be inferred between successive conquests of the same district. The primal difficulty in historical reconstruction of the periods Mr. Cook considers is found in the paucity of the data. However helpful the many questions propounded by the author, most students will feel that we are in sore need of further services of the spade and pickaxe in Palestine ere finally defining its historical outlines in detail. Mr. Cook has indicated pretty clearly the composite character of the Davidic stories, and some of the steps in the development of the traditions.

ALLAN H. GODBEY

MORRISVILLE, MO.

GREGORY'S INTRODUCTION TO THE NEW TESTAMENT

Introduction is here taken¹ in the broadest sense of the term. Three subjects are treated: the rise of the canon, the preservation of the text, and the character of the individual writings. The last of these topics is one to which chief attention is usually given in an "introduction," but this subject is here dismissed with less than 150 pages while about 400 pages have been given to the canon and about 250 to the text. Most readers will probably feel that this arrangement of material is unwise, but the reason for it is evident. The first two divisions of the book reproduce in the main the same author's *Canon and Text of the New Testament* which recently appeared in the "International Theological Library Series." To have discussed the additional topic at proportionate length would have doubled an already bulky volume.

As the *Canon and Text* was reviewed in this journal for April, 1908, the present review will deal chiefly with the supplementary matter in the new German edition. To the first part footnotes have been added giving quotations from the ancient authorities cited, and in the discussion of the text the author employs his new system of manuscript notation which he recently explained in his *Die Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (Leipzig, 1908). His method in brief is this. For 45 uncials already well known by letters, as Codex Sinaiticus designated by the Hebrew Aleph, the old notation is retained, and other uncials are indicated by numerals in heavy type, 046 to 0161. Fourteen papyrus fragments are designated P¹-14; for cursives ordinary numerals are used, 1 to 2304. Lectionaries are indicated by the letter l before numerals as l1-l1547.

¹ *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*. Von Caspar René Gregory. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909. vi + 804 pages. M. 11.20.

Textual critics who have for some time felt the need of a new scheme of manuscript notation are now presented with two possibilities, that of von Soden in his *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* and that of Gregory. Gregory's system is the simpler but von Soden's, when mastered, conveys more information.

The reader who wishes help upon the critical problems of New Testament literature will find very little to meet his needs in the present discussion. The author seems often to have quite ignored current critical difficulties. For instance, unless the reader was otherwise informed he would scarcely imagine that the authorship of II Thess. might be seriously questioned, or that there is a south Galatian theory, or that some reliable scholars doubt the integrity of II Cor., or that it is often doubted whether I Peter can have been written by the apostle, or that good reasons may be given for thinking James, Jude, and the Pastorals unauthentic. At other times the author is content to state his own opinion upon a critical point and to pass on without giving the reader reasons for the opinion. Many of these questions are now so important that even the general reader (for whom the present work seems to have been prepared) demands that the problems be discussed adequately.

If the present work receives any critical recognition it will have to be found chiefly in the writer's statements of his own opinions rather than in his arguments. He regards I Thess. the earliest of the Pauline letters, written from Corinth about 48-49 A. D., or possibly a year earlier. Paul wrote to the churches in *north* Galatia. At what time he preached there is not certain, but he may have made a detour into this territory from Lycaonia on his first missionary tour. The letter, however, was written from Ephesus soon after Paul's arrival there on his third journey about the year 50. The last chapter of Romans is perhaps a letter of introduction carried by Phoebe who, on her trip from Corinth to Rome, went by way of Ephesus. Thus it became attached to the longer letter and served also as a note of recommendation for her in Rome. First Peter has not been influenced by the Pauline letters but was written by Peter between 45 and 60 A. D., and there is no serious objection to supposing Peter to have been in Babylon. Colossians, Philemon, and Ephesians were written while Paul was in prison in Caesarea during the years 54-56, but Philippians was sent from Rome toward the end of the year 58. The Epistle of James is by James the "Lord's brother" who wrote from Palestine some time before the Fall of Jerusalem, and both James and Peter had some person near at hand who helped them with their Greek. Jude also is authentic, and only II Peter is pseudonymous. Hebrews is dated in 66 A. D., and was composed by

Barnabas at some place in Asia Minor, Greece, or Macedonia and probably for Christians in Palestine. The Book of Revelation is from the hand of the apostle John about 70 A. D. The gospel's origin is explained on the two-document theory. Mark probably appeared before the year 70, Matthew about 72-75, and Luke about 80. The third evangelist, who was Luke the "beloved physician" and companion of Paul, may have known the First Gospel, not at first hand but by report. Acts was written about 85 A. D., and the contradictions between it and the Pauline letters which are sometimes noted are thought to be mainly imaginary. The apostle John is also the author of the Fourth Gospel and the three epistles all written near the end of the first century. While Professor Gregory's opinions command a hearing because of his reputation as a scholar, it is very doubtful whether some of them could be critically defended.

SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE COMPOSITION OF MARK'S GOSPEL¹

Wendling's work on the Gospel of Mark has scarcely received the attention which it deserves. His previous volume (*Ur-Marcus*, 1905) exhibited a somewhat mechanical theory of first, second, and third hands (M^1 , M^2 , M^3) contributing their respective parts to our canonical gospel, when the student public was but just aware of its success in demonstrating that Mark as we know it is the synoptic *Grundschrift*. A century of critical conflict calls for a breathing-spell, after the achievement of so important a stage as this, before being urged to new labors of analysis. It would be so comfortable now to rest quietly at the point where Papias' Elder leaves us. Mark, having attended Peter as his interpreter, wrote down Peter's discourses as he remembered them. His order is imperfect because the discourses of Peter were occasional, and writing only after Peter's death he could not learn the true sequence, but for the rest Mark is a faithful transcript of Peter's discourses. This account of differences between Mark and other gospels satisfied the second century. Why not the twentieth? Wrede and Wellhausen, Loisy and Nicolardot are disturbers of the peace, and must expect even those who accept critical results up to the point above defined to manifest impatience when they tell us that even our earliest canonical gospel has between it and the real *beginnings* a long history of development through many stages, both oral and written.

¹ *Die Entstehung des Marcus-Evangeliums*. Philologische Untersuchungen von Prof. Dr. Emil Wendling. Tübingen: Mohr, 1908. 250 pages. M. 8.

And yet who questions today the evidence of redactional recasting and adaptation afforded by the shorter and longer endings of Mark, and the blank of accident or cancellation which they were written to replace? Some redactional work has been done upon Mark; this is undeniable. And the admission justifies the attempt of Wendling and others to trace its history.

On the whole we must accord to Nicolardot the palm for logical method. Comparison of the redactional treatment of Mark by Matthew and Luke respectively is a needful school for the determination in a truly impartial and objective spirit of the actual "process of redaction." Comparison of their respective treatment of the teaching-source common to them, but comparatively unknown to Mark, is the next step logically. Lastly should come application of the results to Mark. It is surprising, in view of the broad differences of method to how great a degree the different critics achieve identical results. The present writer found it necessary in his recent *Beginnings of Gospel Story* to insert a statement in the Preface, after the work had been placed in the publisher's hands, that his own results in the analysis of Mark into Petrine narrative, embellishments drawn from the teaching-source, and untraceable or redactional material were quite independent of Loisy's. Practically the same would have been said of Wendling's had the present volume appeared in time. The degree of coincidence can hardly be accounted for without some basis of real fact.

Wendling's study displays German philological criticism at its keenest. The minuteness of his study recalls that of Spitta. We commend especially its bearing on the question of the Paulinism of Mark so defiantly denied by Schweitzer. The book will appear most open to criticism in the rigor with which the author seeks to carry through his own somewhat mechanical theory of composition of the gospel. Its strong point is philological discrimination whereby even those who dissent from the theory may be greatly profited.

BENJAMIN W. BACON

YALE DIVINITY SCHOOL
NEW HAVEN, CONN.

STUDIES IN THE ORIGINS OF CHRISTIANITY

The perennial interest in primitive Christianity and the strenuousness of the efforts of modern historians to work back from beneath the accumulation of customs and beliefs which we now call Christianity to the origins of the faith are well illustrated in Windisch's exhaustive work on the early

doctrine of baptism and sin.¹ His studies on the subject were occasioned by the contention of Wernle, following the suggestions of A. Ritschl and Hermann Schulz, in his recent work on *Paul's View of the Christian and Sin*, to the effect that the Apostle Paul held that Christians were obligated to sinlessness and capable of it in the interval before the Parousia. The traditional exegesis represents a different view. Windisch feels that the question needs a broader treatment than these writers have given to it.

Beginning with the Jewish prophets the author traces the history of the idea of the removal of sin down to the time when the neo-Platonic view prevailed. The examination of Paul's epistles occupies about one-fourth of the book. It is interesting to note that the author's theory of the development of the idea leads him to class the Epistle of James, Hebrews, and the Apocalypse with the epistles of Clement, Barnabas, the Didache, Ignatius, and Polycarp as sub-apostolic. Hermas, the Apologists, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, and the Alexandrian theologians, Clement and Origen, all come in for discussion. No pains are spared to master the subject. It would seem that every pertinent passage of value in the works mentioned has been ferreted out. Quotations are made from the originals, every text receives minute attention and the influence of traditional interpretations is rigidly excluded. There are full discussions of authorship, date, and such like, which help to swell the book to an inordinate size and make the reading at times rather tedious. On the other hand, the author never slurs over a difficulty. This masterly work constitutes a serious challenge to the upholders of the common view of the New Testament teaching on the subjects in question.

In the prophet Ezekiel are found already the essential factors in the later view of the necessity of sinlessness—repentance in view of the imminent final judgment, a divine cleansing symbolized by a ritual washing. Only those who have become sinless are saved. Jeremiah, Daniel, and Zechariah have the same view of freedom from sin. In the Psalms and the Wisdom literature the pious fulfil the law, but on the other side man's inherent weakness becomes a reason for the divine compassion. The Son of Sirach and the Jewish apocryphal books down to the Psalms of Solomon emphasize the need of repentance in view of the righteous judgment of God. On the other hand the observance of a fixed recurrent day of repentance proves that even then the theory did not correspond with empirical fact. The Jewish apocalyptic writings promise an opportunity for repentance "at the end of the days." Enoch calls for the removal

¹ *Taufe und Sünde im ältesten Christentum bis auf Origenes*. By Hans Windisch. Tübingen: Mohr, 1908. viii + 554 pages.

of sins by the extermination of the sinners and yet inconsistently promises the removal of the sins of the righteous. Baruch makes the removal of sin God's work and while the impenitent are to be destroyed at the advent of Messiah, the righteous are to be inwardly and outwardly transformed. It is concluded that the idea of a sinlessness attained by a sudden conversion is fundamental to Jewish piety and involved in their eschatology. It is the foundation of their practice of baptism.

The author has no difficulty in showing how intimate was the connection of the preaching of the Baptist and Jesus with these views: repentance demanded in view of the near approach of the kingdom of heaven; baptism ministering repentance and forgiveness; the baptised to sin no more. Yet Jesus did not regard sinlessness as actually effected in the baptized, for he taught his disciples to pray daily for forgiveness. He proclaimed God's holiness and God's graciousness at the same time without attempting to mediate between them, but he always taught that reception into the kingdom was by grace. The preaching of the first apostles was not different, only they preached a new repentance grounded on Jesus' death and they held that the Spirit enabled men to do extraordinary things. The story of Ananias and Sapphira seems to show that early Christians held the stern view of the writer of Hebrews that post-baptismal sins are unforgivable.

Did Paul, as one who had experienced conversion, believe himself to be sinless? Did he admit that Christians still commit sin and that it endangered their salvation? Windisch with great care works out his answer. With Paul, conversion is fundamental; with it comes freedom from sin; the standing of Christians is determined by reference to the Parousia; God's grace is the guarantee of salvation. But Paul never loses sight of the plain facts of experience and hence in the end sinlessness becomes an ideal to be gradually approached. The recognition of the imperfection of believers is most marked in the later epistles and its inconsistency with the doctrine of sinlessness taught in Romans Paul does not attempt to remove. Windisch thinks that Paul never entered fully into the hellenic world of thought and that the presence of unreconciled antitheses in his doctrine of sinlessness is partly owing to the poverty of theological conceptions which was the result of his dependence on Jewish modes of thought.

When we turn to the Pastoral Epistles and John's writings we find a growing recognition of the continued need of forgiveness among Christians, until in Origen at length the Christian life is definitely conceived as a process of graded release from sins. It is conceived as beginning in baptism. Naturally the result was a final recognition of the validity of infant baptism.

Windisch has not said the last word on this subject. His work, however, shows the importance of a thorough review of the late pre-Christian and early Christian ages if we would know what new teaching it was that came to the world with Christianity.

GEORGE CROSS

NEWTON THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTION
NEWTON CENTRE, MASS.

The English chaplain at Venice has already made scholars his debtors through his publication of the *Gospel of Barnabas* (1908). His study of the primitive church shows him to be a well-read and discriminating scholar with a strong literary sense. He has produced an attractive and comprehensive sketch of early Christianity,² not neglecting the Christian writings which did not find a place in the New Testament canon. Mr. Ragg indorses the results of Harnack and Ramsay. The somewhat geographical treatment of gentile Christianity, under chapters on the "Levant," "Asia Minor," "Rome," etc., is a helpful one, and shows the influence of Harnack's *Mission and Expansion*. The historical materials have been discriminatingly and interestingly enriched with legend and tradition, with which Mr. Ragg shows wide acquaintance. The indices are full and useful. On some critical matters Mr. Ragg's positions do not altogether satisfy. He is a little too confident that a personal follower of Jesus wrote the Gospel of John, and that the Pastoral Epistles are from the hand of Paul. He finds in early Christianity rather too much that is ecclesiastical. It should hardly be said, as Mr. Ragg seems to say (p. 14), that the Apocalypse is "almost certainly" "by the same hand as the Fourth Gospel," or that Aristides addressed his *Apology* to Hadrian about 125 A. D., (p. 172); the *Apology* itself declares that it was addressed to Antoninus. Mr. Ragg still knows of but one politarch inscription (p. 169), notwithstanding the large group of them published in this *Journal*, II, pp. 598 ff. The "approximate dates" given on p. 7 for the Synoptic Gospels—Mark, *ca.* 65 A. D., Matt., *ca.* 80 A. D., Luke, between 80 and 90 A. D.—are strangely different from those given on p. 284—Mark, *ca.* 62, Matt., *ca.* 69, Luke, between 70 and 75. A curious misprint (p. 4) makes "the first eighty years" of the church's existence 29-99 A. D.

Professor Bigg's last work³ is a substantial volume, dealing with Chris-

² *The Church of the Apostles*. Being an Outline of the History of the Church in the Apostolic Age. ("The Church Universal," Vol. I) By Lonsdale Ragg. London: Rivingtons, 1909. xii+336 pages. \$1.40.

³ *The Origins of Christianity*. By Charles Bigg. Edited by T. B. Strong. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1909. viii+518 pages. \$3.00

tian literature and history from the founding of the church at Rome to the death of Licinius, A. D. 325. Professor Bigg has sought to exhibit the history, literature, and theology of the church in their relations to the history of the empire in these interesting centuries, and this he has done with a good measure of success. The life of Jesus and the ministry of Paul belong to an earlier time than that which Professor Bigg describes, and to this extent the book's title is a misnomer. The style is terse, concrete, original, and often abrupt. But the story is full of interest, and exhibits a wide acquaintance with Christian and pagan literature. While the work will have no little value and interest for the student, the general reader will find it a useful introduction to the early history of the church. Professor Bigg's views on Christian literature are not always critically based. He seems to build confidently on the Pastorals as sources for the trial of Paul, and dates the Epistle of Barnabas in the reign of Vespasian (p. 56). That the Greek text of Aristides was discovered by Dr. Robinson in *Barlaam and Joasaph* (p. 321) is true, but does injustice to Dr. Rendel Harris who had previously discovered the Syriac and thus opened the way for the other and less significant identification. The index is far from complete, which is the more unfortunate in view of the large range of subjects, persons, writings, and events treated. It is strange to read that Irenaeus wove together "Paul, Hebrews, Peter, and John into a doctrinal harmony" (p. 209); for it is generally agreed that Irenaeus did not accept Hebrews. Certain topics like the rise of the canon and the founding of the Catholic church might have been more definitely and fully treated. Yet this last work of the Oxford historian is an important and comprehensive historical study, and will interest a wide circle of readers.

On the day on which he had sent the work to the Clarendon Press, Canon Bigg fell sick, and a month later he died, July 15, 1908. The task of seeing the book through the press thus fell to the dean of Christ Church, T. B. Strong.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE INFLUENCE OF GREEK THOUGHT ON CHRISTIANITY

The group of books reviewed in this article¹ with the exception of the first, which is a very compact and comprehensive, yet readable, sketch of the Jews of Palestine from the destruction of Jerusalem down to the

¹ *Die Geschichte der Juden in Palästina seit dem Jahre 70 nach Chr.* Ein Skizze von G. Hölscher. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909. 64 pages M. 1.50.

Fragments from Graeco-Jewish Writers. Collected and edited with brief Intro-

modern Zionist movement, have this in common that they deal more or less directly and fully with the influence of Greek thought on Christianity.

The little volume by Dr. Stearns stands at the farthest remove from this particular subject, and yet it can properly be classed with the three following inasmuch as it gives the text of certain Graeco-Jewish writers—Aristeas and Aristobulus among them—who are of importance for the study of that contact of Greek and Jew which prepared the way for the entrance of hellenism into Christianity. The text of these writers, which is carefully printed, is accompanied with helpful notes and bibliographical references.

The work of Mr. Fairweather is based chiefly on the Cunningham Lectures which he delivered in Edinburgh in 1907. It is an attempt to popularize the results of many students' labors in the wide field of Jewish history and thought from the close of the Exile to our era.

The title, *The Background of the Gospels*, with the subtitle, *Judaism in the Period between the Old and the New Testaments*, seems open to criticism. For the Judaism of this period was only a *part* of the background of the gospels, and that not the most essential. The heart of the gospels is of course the character and teaching of Jesus, but for the understanding of Jesus the old prophets are of much greater significance than, for example, the Maccabean struggle, the Wisdom movement, or the apocalyptic literature.

It is open to question whether the author's view is not fixed too largely on Palestinian Judaism. Only one chapter of the eight is given to hellenistic Judaism, and in that only a dozen pages to Philo. Now if we measure the relative importance of Palestinian and hellenistic Judaism by their respective contributions to New Testament doctrine, it would seem as though the attention given to the latter phase of the subject ought to have been much more extended. Whether, in speaking of the background of the gospels, we mean exclusively the four gospels, or mean the New

duction and Notes by Wallace Nelson Stearns. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1909. 216 pages. \$0.75.

The Background of the Gospels, or Judaism in the Period between the Old and New Testaments. By William Fairweather. Edinburgh: Clark; New York, Scribner, 1908. 455 pages. \$3.00.

Vom Zorne Gottes. Eine Studie über den Einfluss der griechischen Philosophie auf das alte Christentum. Von Dr. Max Pohlenz. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1909. 156 pages. M. 5.

Die Frömmigkeit Philos und ihre Bedeutung für das Christentum. Von Hans Windisch. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909. 140 pages. M. 2.50.

Testament, as is sometimes the case with the book before us (see p. 59), the Judaism of the Diaspora is surely not less important than that of Palestine. The study of Philo throws more light on the explanation of various parts of the New Testament than the history of the Maccabees, or the history of the Sadducees and Essenes.

At the close of chap. ii the author speaks of the Wisdom movement, and we may perhaps regard the following statement as his justification for treating this movement as a part of the background of the gospels. The conception of the hypostasis of Wisdom constitutes "the link between the Palestinian and the hellenistic development of Judaism, represents the contribution made by Wisdom to the Christology of the Old Testament, and has greatly influenced Christian theology." Now even if we could accept these statements, still it would not be clear that the Wisdom movement is a key to the understanding of the New Testament. Doubtless Christian theology has been influenced (far too much!) by the Hebrew doctrine of Wisdom, but it does not follow that this doctrine was of influence with the writers of the New Testament. But to go back a little. We do not know just what is meant by "the link between the Palestinian and hellenistic development of Judaism." If it is meant that they were bound together by the doctrine of Wisdom, that is only partially true. Indeed, they were far from being closely bound together. They had a common ground in the Old Testament, but hellenistic Judaism differed from that of Palestine much more deeply than it agreed with it.

But while offering thus some general criticism on Mr. Fairweather's work, we recognize the author's industry and the admirable spirit of his discussions.

The studies of Pohlenz and Windisch are more immediately concerned with the influence of Greek philosophy on Christian doctrine, that of Dr. Pohlenz treating the "Anger of God" and that of Dr. Windisch the "Piety of Philo and its Significance for Christianity."

The former of these monographs is published in the series of *Forschungen* edited by Bousset and Gunkel. It grew out of investigations on the influence of the Stoic doctrine of the passions (*Affekte*). It deals not only with the anger of God but also with the passions of Christ. The field of investigation is the Christian writings of the first four centuries.

Regarding the change of view on the anger of God the author sums up his investigations in the following words: "The philosophers' God of Marcion, who was at first regarded as a stranger, soon not only acquired home-rights in the Christian church, but also wholly expelled the passionate God of the Old Testament whom Marcion had opposed." It is added

that Marcion's consequences were *not* accepted; that, on the contrary, thanks to Origen's exegesis, the authority of the Old Testament was maintained. That exegesis was Greek and Marcion's opposition to the Old Testament conception of God's anger was also Greek.

Dr. Windisch is a *privatdozent* at Leipzig, and the basis of his monograph constituted his inaugural address there in February, 1908. The author's aim is to describe Philo's piety as far as possible in Philo's own words, and his wish is to make Philo better known in theological circles. His book is well fitted to secure the fulfilment of his wish. It could be used more conveniently if it had a table of contents and an index.

Philo's piety was based on the Platonic dualistic conception of the world, and its two fundamental characteristics were longing for knowledge of God and longing for imperishable being. At one time he seemed to condition man's fellowship with God on a delivery of himself from all sin, and again he denied that self-delivery was possible. These conflicting views are harmonized in the paradox that when man recognizes his own nothingness he begins to comprehend the being of God.

Philo had much to say of faith, regarding it as the most perfect and the firmest of the virtues, the only sure good. His conception of it was thoroughly ethical and religious.

The piety of Philo departs from that of Jesus in no point, perhaps, more noticeably than in his conception of ecstasy. This is the crown of a man's religious experience in this world. In ecstasy a man leaves his body, leaves even his self-consciousness, and is lost in God. He sees God, and unspeakable joy fills his being. Ecstasy is the full realization of the power of faith. But this is widely unlike the conception of Jesus, who would have man commune with God continually, and in whose life a great calm of spirit, complete self-control, and self-consciousness take the place of Philo's ecstasy.

The author regards it as difficult to say whether Philo's piety shows more of hellenic or of Hebrew elements.

The concluding section of the book on Philo's relation to Christianity is marked by clearness and comprehensiveness. There is a suggestive parallel between Jesus and Philo, also between Paul and Philo, and the influence of Philo on Hebrews and John is sketched. Finally, the influence of the Alexandrian is followed rapidly down to modern times. "Philo," says the author in conclusion, "keeps his significance as hellenist and biblicist, as theologian and as a pious man. History recognizes him as a lofty point in a great historical development of religion, which, proceeding from unknown sources in the Orient, leads by Plato and Posidonius,

through Greece and Egypt, penetrates into the realm of the church, and which, fructifying the piety of Christendom, has maintained itself to this day."

GEORGE HOLLEY GILBERT

NORTHAMPTON, MASS.

TWO USEFUL BOOKS FOR THE STUDY OF CHURCH HISTORY

To the student of the history of religious thought who wishes to familiarize himself with the period of the Reformation and who knows how indispensable to a knowledge of the theological conflicts of those times are the works of the Jesuit father, Cardinal Bellarmine, the sight of the ponderous tomes in Latin written by that famous controversialist is almost enough to fill him with despair. For a period of sixteen years (1576-88) Bellarmine was closely occupied in making a formal defense of the canons and decrees of the Council of Trent in reply to Protestant assailants. Portions of his works were translated into many languages and drew out hundreds of replies. There is a wilderness of material which has to be assorted and examined in order to obtain a summary view of his theology. Professor Servièrè has come to our rescue by presenting in a single volume a condensed statement of the doctrinal arguments of Bellarmine.¹

The method of our author is to state first the contentions of the Protestants on each of the topics discussed and then to give, in neat translations, the cardinal's reply. In most of the important instances the citations in the original Latin are added in footnotes. The whole appears in good readable form and is written in an interesting style.

The arrangement of subjects is significant. The first three chapters relate to "The Word of God," "Christ the Head of the Church," and "The Sovereign Pontiff." These present the arguments of Bellarmine in support of the Church's claim to authority. The four following chapters are headed, respectively, "The Church United in Council—the Church Dispersed," "The Members of the Church Militant (=clergy, monks, and laity)," "The Suffering Church—Purgatory," "The Church Triumphant—the Saints." These support the universality of the church. Then follow four chapters on the sacraments, which exhibit the holiness of the church. Finally, there are four chapters on the doctrine of sin and grace. The whole tends to make impressively clear to the reader the Roman church's identification of religion with institutionalism and of Christianity with the

¹ *La théologie de Bellarmine*. Von J. de la Servièrè. Paris: Beauchesne & Cie., 1908. xxvii + 764 pages. Fr. 8.

church. Bellarmín was a professional controversialist, and, like men of his class, treats truth as formal rather than vital.

We are also impressed with the method of his discussion—the assumption of far-reaching major premises, and such a skilful application of them that logic appears on the side of the Catholic. The Scriptures are treated in a legalistic way and often quoted in support of doctrines to which the biblical writers were strangers. To this must be added that the controversial writings of Bellarmín bring out the fact that the Protestant writers by taking over from Catholicism some of its fundamental religious conceptions and theoretical assumptions were often entangled in logical error, even when they were morally and religiously in the right. We owe Servièrè thanks for bringing out the weaknesses of both sides.

Dr. Heussi has published the first division of the second half of his manual of church history in a volume devoted to conditions in Christendom from the time when the mediæval church was at its height to the close of the Counter-Reformation—eleventh to seventeenth centuries.² The work takes a wide range and aims at supplying information relating to every part of the Christian world. It is hardly surprising to find that continental and, particularly, German affairs receive the emphasis. A little more than a page suffices to tell of English Christianity and its relations with the papacy during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. The author's commendable fondness for inner religious and intellectual changes and for the work of great personalities leads him to devote nearly two pages and a half to Wycliffe and the Lollards; but when we come to humanism in England we find only the bare mention of the names of Colet, Erasmus, and More and the two brief remarks that it was ecclesiastically conservative and for its philosophic character dependent on Marsilio Ficino. When we reach the Reformation we find the disparity still more marked. The early German Reformation gets more than fifty pages, the early English less than four. Again, while Heussi's judgment of the early Anabaptists and his severe verdict on the persecutors are just, nevertheless he pays very little attention to this great movement so fraught with important consequences for the Christian world. For example, all that he records of Balthazar Hubmaier and his teaching is this: "Originally pastor in Regensburg, later in Waldshut, then in Zurich and Nicholsburg, burnt in Vienna 1528." The author's provincialism betrays itself in this want of perspective, but it is partly offset by the fulness of his accounts of Lutheran and central continental affairs. The *Compendium* is a mine

² *Compendium der Kirchengeschichte*. By Karl Heussi. Zweite Hälfte. Tübingen: Mohr, 1908. 193-448 pages. M. 4.

of information of extreme value for purposes of ready reference, but it can hardly be called history; it contains an immense quantity of materials for a history. Works of this kind are probably indispensable, but they ought not to be multiplied.

GEORGE CROSS

NEWTON THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTION
NEWTON CENTRE, MASS.

ANSELM'S THEORY OF THE ATONEMENT

Professor Foley has given what is on the whole the most satisfactory presentation and criticism of the Anselmic view of the atonement in English.¹ Its chief excellences are its historical approach to the subject with its recognition of the influence of the social mind in the formation of Anselm's view, his lucidity of exposition and his ability to trace the influence of the theory in later theologians. In other words, Professor Foley has given us a thoroughgoing and a methodical historical study. In the first of the four main divisions of the volume he discusses the patristic teaching as to the atonement. In this field he is less a master of his material than in later portions of the book, yet he has used the Fathers at first hand. As every student of the matter knows, the patristic material is thoroughly unsystematic. The pre-Anselmic church does not seem to have been committed to any one exclusive theory as to how Christ's death was involved in his work as Savior. Professor Foley has been faithful to the various metaphorical expressions in which the value of Christ's death is set forth, but he has not attempted to force the Fathers into any doctrinal unity. A particularly commendable aspect of this phase of the treatment of this subject is his recognition of the fact that the ancient Fathers were ready to use a variety of interpretative concepts in order to make clear the significance of the death of Christ. One particular of considerable importance he seems to have overlooked, namely, that as long as sacrifice was universally practiced throughout Roman society any theory of the atonement was unnecessary. It was enough simply to evaluate it in terms of a social practice.

In Part II Professor Foley's treatment is more satisfactory in this particular. He shows in detail the various elements of the social mind which may be said to be presupposed by Anselm's thought. His work at this point is carefully analyzed, but it is somewhat surprising that the literature which he uses on feudalism is of such a popular sort. Even here his treatment does not make the impression of a first-hand knowledge of the great

¹ *Anselm's Theory of the Atonement*. The Bohlen Lectures, 1908. By George Cadwalader Foley. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. xi + 327 pages. \$1.50 net.

social and political institution of the Middle Ages. This impression, however, might very likely be due to the rapidity of treatment and it does not affect materially the discussion. It is, however, unfortunate that in treating the elements of the social mind from which Anselm's view arose Professor Foley has not more effectively handled some of the ideas of chivalry. He has, however, given full weight to the *Wehrgeld*. The most original and valuable work of the book is its exposition of *Cur Deus Homo*. Professor Foley follows the lead of Harnack and of Stevens but has obviously done original work. An interesting feature is the tracing of the influence of Anselm upon scholastic theology, for it is a field which the ordinary student of theology does not often till; yet it is of the utmost importance to the man who would trace the development to that body of doctrines which Protestantism inherited. The latter part of his discussion, which deals with the value of Anselm's work, is admirably discriminating, and is to be commended to all those mechanical theologians who like to play with the words, "satisfaction" and "debt."

Professor Foley adds to the volume an interesting appendix composed of the views of a large number of writers on the atonement. This collection of opinions is valuable theological anthology and ought to be read by all those who think there is a universally accepted view of the atonement.

Taken all together, the volume is one that ought to be read not only by teachers of theology, but by all ministers. It is one of the anomalies of our theological situation that there is no consistently and uniformly accepted view of the atonement. The reason for this will be, if not altogether apparent, not difficult to infer from a study of Professor Foley's work. It is in brief this: the Anselmic view of satisfaction for the injury done by sin to the honor of God was so thoroughly mediaeval as to become unintelligible or perverted in the same proportion as it has persisted in a non-feudal age.

SHAILER MATHEWS

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE MORAL SYSTEM OF DANTE'S "INFERNO"

Even the casual reader of the *Divina Commedia* cannot fail to note a similiarity and a contrast between the classification of sins in the "Inferno" and the "Purgatorio." In the "Purgatorio" there is no room for confusion. The seven ledges of the Holy Mount distinctly classify the seven capital vices or dispositions which keep the soul from God. Pride, envy, wrath, sloth, avarice, gluttony, lust—one above another they are limned by the great artist. But in the "Inferno" there is no such lucidity of meaning.

Unchastity, gluttony, avarice, wrath are unmistakably indicated; yet pride, envy, and sloth are not in evidence. Was the poet following a different moral system in the "Inferno," or for artistic purposes did he conceal the three last-named sins in some disguise? This difference in design between the two parts of the *Comedy* has given rise to much learned debate. Moreover there is the sin of heresy which is punished in fiery tombs in the sixth circle of hell, and which Dante himself fails to classify in his famous description of the plan of the lower world given in the eleventh canto of the "Inferno."

In a very suggestive essay appearing in *Dante-Forschungen* thirty years ago Dr. Karl Witte contended with great plausibility that the penal codes of hell and of earth are analogous in taking account of deeds only, not of propensities. "When there is an overt act, the essential significance of the deed itself receives a terrible emphasis from the fact that, in principle at least, the punishments of Dante's hell consist in the unceasing continuance of the sinful activity itself." "It is the act that is punished, not the sinful motives that prompted it." Dante from the needs of his art and to make impressive his ethical teachings chose to portray in his lower hell the crimes resulting from envy and pride rather than to depict the sinful propensities themselves. Slothfulness, being also a propensity and not a deed, has no place in Dante's hell and is punished this side the dark river Acheron in the limbo of the cowards. Thus does Dr. Witte argue with rare ingenuity for the seven capital vices as the framework of the "Inferno."

Dr. Edmund Moore, of Oxford, than whom there is no more careful and fair-minded commentator upon Dante problems, gives a different reason for the divergences between the first and second canticles of the *Comedy*. He does not think it improbable that there is some foundation to Boccaccio's story of a break in the "Inferno" after the completion of the first seven cantos, and that Dante when he resumed his task in later years somewhat changed his plan. If he had contemplated constructing the "Inferno" on the seven deadly sins, he had completed five of them in the first eight cantos, leaving twenty-six cantos for the other two, or perhaps three. On again taking up his task he enlarged his design, adopted Aristotle's distinction of the broad difference between sins of impulse and sins of habit, and, as regards the latter, borrows from Cicero's *De Officiis* the discrimination between sins of violence and sins of fraud—bestiality, which Aristotle mentioned as the gravest of iniquities, being omitted entirely.

Mr. Reade, in a volume of vast and almost bewildering erudition,¹ takes

¹ *The Moral System of Dante's "Inferno."* By W. H. V. Reade, Tutor of Keble College. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909. 443 pages. \$3.00.

issue with these two eminent scholars. He steeps us in St. Thomas, his conceptions, his methods, his use of words. One cannot but marvel at Mr. Reade's accurate and seemingly inexhaustible knowledge of mediæval lore. He contends that Dante made no effort to have symmetry of classification in the "Inferno" and "Purgatorio." In the latter the church had determined the number and grade of the sins, but regarding the sins punished in the circles of hell there had been no official pronouncement, and the poet was more free to follow his genius. He adopts, therefore, Aristotle's division of sins into those of incontinence, malicious wickedness, and bestiality. Luxury, gluttony, avarice, wrath are indicated not because Dante was following the classification of the church, but because these sins were to be found in any list with which the poet was familiar. Mr. Reade accounts for Dante's failure to classify the sin of heresy to the fact that in his thought it occupied a position between the sins of incontinence and the sins of malice. It is traditionally associated with pride, and therefore Farinata is introduced in this circle to bear witness to the truth that this sin of the *intellectus speculativus* results from vain glory. Instead of angling for pride in the deeps of hell our author asserts that the evil propensities that are purged on the Mountain of Pain are included in the first six circles of the "Inferno." All the sins of force and fraud which are punished in the pit below the glowing sepulchres of the sixth circle must necessarily be omitted from purgatory as they are sins of malice. Repentance destroys malice. Hence it can have no place in the purifying process. It belongs to hell and not to purgatory. Witte's attempt to trace the deeds punished in the basso inferno must consequently be gratuitous. Neither can Dr. Moore's position that bestiality has been left out be considered tenable. Dante certainly did not introduce the word in canto xi without a purpose in unfolding his scheme of the lower world. In the seventh circle with the violent, Mr. Reade believes is to be found its appropriate assignment, and Brunetto Latini is its most conspicuous exponent. So long as it was thought that "force" and "fraud" were borrowed solely from Cicero, asserts our author, commentators were in a false position, but the weighty evidence adduced by Mr. Reade to prove that St. Thomas thought the same distinction was in the mind of Aristotle makes it impossible to leave bestiality out of Dante's terrible picture of final retribution.

One hesitates to pass judgment upon a work so elaborate and erudite. Its wealth of evidence is confusing. Questions which most scholars have discussed in an essay are here elucidated in an imposing volume of over four hundred pages. The author carries us into the heart of the Middle Ages and compels us to interpret our Aristotle and Cicero through the mind of

St. Thomas. He throws light upon every subject he discusses, and quite firmly fixes bestiality in the seventh circle. Yet Dante went among the truly dead to learn of the nature of sin and its consequences. Sin is to be graded by its results as well as by the intention of the criminal. There are so many evidences that Dante had this old Roman principle in mind that one closes Mr. Reade's monumental work with the feeling that the constructive thought in Witte's theory has not yet been disproved.

CHARLES ALLEN DINSMORE

WATERBURY, CONN.

TWO BOOKS ON THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

The two volumes discussed in this review¹ are singularly alike in object and method. Both have definitely in mind not the elucidation of a single religion but contributions to the science of religion or (*pace*, Mr. Jordan!) to comparative religion. And the endeavor is by the same road, viz., comparison with a definite set of religious facts assumed as a basis. But the set of facts is in each case different; M. Foucart uses the religion of Egypt, M. Le Roy employs the religion of the Bantou races of Africa. The results of the researches embodied in these two books are of very unequal value. M. Foucart's book (without index and with a very inadequate table of contents), in eight chapters justifies the comparative method of study, defends the choice of the Egyptian religion as a standard of comparison, and discusses animal-worship (including totemism), sacrifice, magic, ancestor-worship, morals, the priesthood, evolution, and composite psychology.

M. Foucart's choice of the religious phenomena of Egypt as a standard is justifiable on many grounds, but chiefly (a reason which the author does not advance) because they are on the border-line between those of the organized or stereotyped religions and those of the "primitive" beliefs. The Egyptian religion, so to speak, never grew up, never reached the period of maturity; it remained in the stage of adolescence. Consequently if any light is thrown by M. Foucart it is on the earlier phenomena of religion. Speaking strictly, no advance in knowledge is made by this volume. When it is right, the work recites what is well known to the scholar and what is better told elsewhere for the student. Serious mistakes are made, as when

¹ *La méthode comparative dans l'histoire des religions.* Par George Foucart. Paris: Picard, 1909. 237 pages. Fr. 3.50.

La religion des primitifs. Par Mgr. A. LeRoy, Evêque d'Alinda. Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne & Cie, 1909. viii + 518 pages. Fr. 6.

totemism is described as "belief in a divinity *diffused through* a vegetable or animal species," etc. (pp. 88, 89). Moreover the author hardly realizes how imperfect is present knowledge of Egyptian religion, especially of its mythology. The volume may be described as having interest but not great value.

Bishop LeRoy's work is very attractive, and is to be put alongside the excellent work of R. H. Nassau (*Fetichism in West Africa*, New York, 1904) because of its real and substantial contribution of facts. About thirty years of residence in Africa (south central part) qualifies its author to speak. It contains a fairly good index and also an excellent conspectus in its "table des matières." Moreover its spirit is in the main refreshingly scientific, and is representative of the best in the Roman Catholic communion. The author declares that hardly a day passed in his long sojourn when he did not learn some new fact, correct some error, or receive some new light. The condensed review of the history of this new science, in chap. i, is excellent in itself and furnishes also a remarkably good bibliography of the subject. In the seven chapters following and in the "conclusions," are discussed primitive man as confronted by nature; the primitive family; belief in the invisible world, the soul, spirits, and God; ethics and its source; the cultus; magic; comparison of primitive races; and final results. The pages are relieved with excellent reproductions from photographs which are interesting and instructive. The character of the facts adduced is geographical, linguistic, anthropological, and social, as well as religious. The marshaling of these facts in the present volume is the result of the author's assignment to a lectureship in the Institut Catholique de Paris. The author's method is to confront in each of the departments named above the conclusions of science with the facts as observed in his own contact with primitive African life and to show how they agree or disagree. Of course, there are both corroborations and minor disagreements. But as a confirmation of conclusions reached by the anthropological school this volume is noteworthy. Of course in matters where the author's church comes into question, or where the character of religion itself as opposed to magic is concerned (pp. 464, 465), dogmatic considerations obtrude. It is not a necessary element of religion that a man shall believe in "un Être suprême, créateur, organisateur et maître du monde, en même temps que père des hommes" (p. 464). In that statement the missionary speaks, not the scientist. And so the too-frequent lack of recognition of the fact of the actual coincidence of magic and religion in primitive conditions is repeated here. A great step in advance will have been made in the science of religion when it is once

acknowledged that magic is under certain conditions a part of religion and not opposed to it—in other words, when apologetic interests yield to scientific.

GEO. W. GILMORE

NEW YORK CITY

RECENT EXPOSITIONS OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION

In the Baldwin Lectures delivered by Professor Wenley at the University of Michigan during the past college year¹ and the Stone Lectures for 1909 delivered at Princeton by Professor Bavinck of Amsterdam,² we have strongly contrasted philosophical points of view with reference to the same religious problems. The position of the former may be described as idealistic monism influenced to some extent by pragmatism and posing as a faith-philosophy having subjective certainty only; the latter rejects both idealistic monism with its evolutionary presuppositions and pragmatism with its earmarks of scepticism, and holds to a supernaturalistic theism depending for certainty as well as content upon revelation mediated by tradition and appropriated in religious experience.

Professor Bavinck's lectures display the workings of a mind strongly held by certain presuppositions and proceeding by way of antithesis rather than synthetically. Possessed of considerable erudition, he does not seem to have sufficiently assimilated the elements of value in the positions he controverts. He claims that for the proper interpretation of nature and history supernatural revelation is necessary. Moreover there can be no religion without revelation; not evolution but revelation accounts for the worship of God. Besides the normal revelation in consciousness of the reality of external objects and of the self, there has been a special and really abnormal religious revelation. New religious revelation is not, however, to be sought in the realm of abnormal psychical experiences today; we are to go to tradition instead, which mediates to us the primitive revelation to the human race and that contained in the Christian Scriptures.

One of the most noteworthy lectures is that entitled "Revelation and Religious Experience." The goal being objectivity of theological knowledge, the view which takes theology as an empirical science is rejected, on

¹ *Modern Thought and the Crisis in Belief*. (The Baldwin Lectures, 1909.) By R. M. Wenley. New York: Macmillan, 1909. xviii + 364 pages. \$1.50.

² *The Philosophy of Revelation*. (The Stone Lectures, 1908-9.) By Herman Bavinck. New York and London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1909. x + 349 pages. \$2.00.

the ground that a science of religious experience can amount to no more than religious anthropology or the psychology of religion. Objectivity is to be reached in two ways; first, by proceeding from the religious experience to the supernaturally given historical revelation which produced it, and secondly, by going beyond empirical psychology and dogmatics as an exposition of pious feelings to metaphysics, the need and right of which are coming to be recognized even among the followers of Ritschl. The main dependence, however, seems to be placed upon the former method. The experience of conversion points to a supernatural factor and produces an unwavering certainty as to the things which the Christian religion teaches us.

In this way not only is certainty achieved, but the content of theology is determined. In both regards the author's agreement with F. H. R. Frank is evident. It is assumed that the essential relation of religious doctrine to religious experience is that of cause to effect, and hence that the group of representations out of which conversion grows is bound to us irrevocably by that experience. One is prepared then to find that the author's dogmatic position is essentially that of Calvinism, with the important modification apparently intended by the confident assertion that the world and humanity will not be led to eternal death. This assurance is grounded not in the process of evolution nor in the power of self-will, but in the revealed sovereign and gracious will of God.

In Professor Wenley's book, the style of which is too distractingly noticeable to be good, several lectures are devoted to the exposition of those factors in modern thought which have led to the present crisis in religious belief. The methods and conclusions of natural science have, it is claimed, together with the results of the historico-critical investigation of the Old and New Testaments, brought about the collapse of *dogmatic* Christianity. A reconstruction of religious concepts is necessary, for judgments, however useful in one situation, may prove quite valueless in another. It is futile to appeal to history for objective evidence to support Christianity; recourse must be had to the ethico-religious consciousness itself.

But the moral endeavor alone ends with the adjournment of well-being. In his effort to realize the moral ideal man never *is*, but is always *to be* blessed. Religion, however, pivots on the belief that the ideal *is* the sole actual existence. The author follows F. H. Bradley in holding that all existence which has symptomatic reality must be eternal existence, or existence in and to an eternal. The timeless whole confers reality upon the temporal parts. In the Divine Man the eternal ideal is adequately

realized within human character. Salvation comes to us when we reproduce within ourselves by our own effort the spiritual manhood which characterized the Christ.

In one of its aspects Professor Wenley's work may be regarded as marking the disintegration of absolute idealism. It exemplifies the transition from Hegelianism toward Ritschlianism by a way in which everything is lost and nothing gained. The quasi-pantheistic content is retained, while the impression of objective validity and certainty is lost. The philosophy presented does not claim to be more than a *faith*, but it deliberately departs from some of the essentials even of evangelical Christian faith. A happier issue might have resulted had the author started by determining the essence of saving faith, and proceeded to use its minimum intellectual expression as a working hypothesis in philosophy, subjecting it to every legitimate test and thus securing increasingly its objective verification. This is more nearly the method suggested by Professor Bavinck, although that author's dogmatic prepossessions seem to have so hindered him from assimilating the well-attested results of modern thought that he has retained much that is non-essential and already discredited. To proceed therefore to an objective philosophical verification of this entire content would be to attempt the impossible, and in spite of his frequent reference to metaphysics the Amsterdam professor nowhere shows us just how such a result could be reasonably expected.

Sir Oliver Lodge's recently published volume¹ is a collection of essays rather than a book, and incorporates the substance of many articles which have appeared within the last few years in the *Hibbert Journal* and the *Contemporary Review*. It consists of four parts, entitled respectively, "Science and Faith," "Corporate Worship and Service," "The Immortality of the Soul," and "Science and Christianity."

Much of the interest generally taken in the theological opinions of this famous scientist and popularizer of scientific theories is due to the fact that not only as a theologian but even as a scientist he is not quite orthodox. He holds to the inviolable reign of law, indeed, but refusing, as he does, to regard man as highest in the scale of beings, he is willing to entertain as a possibility anything not self-contradictory or inconsistent with other known truth. Most of the New Testament miracles are regarded as quite possible, viewed in the light of modern psychical research, although,

¹ *Science and Immortality*. By Sir Oliver Lodge, F.R.S. New York: Moffat, Yard & Co., 1908. 294 pages. \$2.00.

when seen to be reasonably possible, they lose their value as religious evidence. Parthenogenesis, however little we may be able to deny its possibility, is held to be ethically valueless. Belief in the resurrection of the body of identical material atoms is regarded as superstition, although faith must assert the existence of some organ of expression for the discarnate spirit; and the view that the risen Christ actually appeared to his disciples and continues to have a vivifying influence upon his people is held to be not at all repugnant to science. The tendency to unify the doctrines of immanence and the incarnation of the pre-existent Christ is approved. The doctrine of vicarious punishment is rejected, although vicarious suffering is admitted. The Christianity of Jesus is characterized as the worship of God as a Spirit and the service of man as a brother. Instead of disestablishment of the state church, the author hopes to see it broadened until it will become truly national.

Coming to the belief in immortality, the author claims that there is nothing in scientific knowledge to contradict it, and positive arguments in its favor are drawn from telepathy, praeternormal psychology, automatism, subliminal faculty, etc. Besides the arguments from these particular fields, there is the general consideration that all that really exists is immortal, and therefore personality, if only it is sufficiently real, will last forever. This view of the conservation of existence the author relates rather indefinitely both to the physical law of the conservation of ether in motion and to the religious postulate of the conservation of value, but one cannot but feel that it is the author's interpretation of the idealistic doctrine of the eternity—timelessness—of absolute reality.

Of the theology under review it cannot be said that as a whole it is consciously constructed upon the Christocentric or even a distinctly religious basis. The religious objections to the use of the equivocal results of the spiritualistic seance to prove immortality are summarily dismissed. It is interesting to note, however, that the distinction (so fundamental for theology) between existential and value judgments is hit upon, where it is said that the facts of Christianity are assertions which satisfy at least one of two criteria: that of being well-evidenced historically, and that of being felt essential to spiritual aspiration. Had the implications of this distinction been kept more fully in mind and made more determining with respect to method, the result would perhaps have been a more satisfactory scientific expression of Christian faith.

DOUGLAS C. MACINTOSH

YALE UNIVERSITY DIVINITY SCHOOL
NEW HAVEN, CONN.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF VALUES

Professor Münsterberg¹ has at last broken a rule of his literary career. Hitherto, as he says himself in the Preface of the book now in review, he has presented a case of a double personality. Writing in English he has produced "only light books and essays;" writing in German, "scholarly papers and systematic works;" and "neither [of his two writers] knew what the other was doing." Now, however, as if a scion of Aristotle's *τρίτος ἀνθρώπος*, he has undertaken the English translation of his recent German work, *Philosophie der Werte*, published at Leipzig in 1908. Those two writers, the American of real life and the German of serious thought and "scholarly formulation," have at last found each other out and have consented to an alliance. Moreover, not inappropriately, the alliance has been effected through a scholar's study of values, of "the eternal values."

Both the German work and the English work are dedicated to Josiah Royce—"in friendship of heart and thought." In 1892 Professor Royce published *The Spirit of Modern Philosophy*, and in this book dwelt, not of course originally, but at length and with effective emphasis, on the distinction between "the world of description and the world of appreciation" (chap. xii). The same year Professor Münsterberg came to Harvard and in 1899 published his *Psychology and Life* in which constantly and vigorously he made use of the same distinction and of various elaborations of it. If his position then or later in his more technical attempt² to save psychology from "real life" and from the "psychologism" in which so many among teachers and preachers, whose contact was with real life, were indulging even to excess, was open to any special criticism, he must be said to have taken Royce's distinction too literally or too seriously. In the first instance he said this: "To mix values with laws destroys not only the causal links but also the values" (p. 268). In the second, this: "Die Wirklichkeit bietet nur abhängige Objekte der Stellungnahme und Akte, die wir verstehen und würdigen; die Psychologie—und dasselbe gilt von der Physik—kann es mit der logisch primären wirklichen Erfahrung also gar nicht zu thun haben" (p. 56).

And yet now in this latest work something very like a mixture of values and laws, of real experience and logical uniformities, is undertaken. Perhaps Professor Münsterberg cannot be said exactly to have been guilty

¹ *The Eternal Values*. By Hugo Münsterberg. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1909. x+436 pages. \$2.50.

² *Grundzüge der Psychologie*, Leipzig, 1900.

of so offensive a thing as psychologism, but with a standpoint and a body of concepts only more general than that of his descriptive and explanatory science of psychology he has applied himself seriously and always vigorously to the same sort of thing, and certainly his general logism can be no more worthy than what he has so often decried. He has become inconsistent, then, and of course he may claim the right of inconsistency. His "new idealistic standpoint" (p. vii) may require such a break with his past. But, be this as it may, there is no room for doubt that at last he would somehow unite the life and the thought, the reality and the logical transformations, which once he so boldly distinguished as brutally to put them asunder. Possibly through all the years he was only waiting until they, like his America and his Germany, should have proved worthy of each other, but this is the year of the alliance—at least by the book.

What says the book? Briefly put, all value depends on relationship to will. In the purposes controlling the wills of individuals there are no absolute values. Only the over-personal will is purposive with absolute values. "We have a world with over-personal, unconditional value or we have no real world at all" (p. 46). "To understand the absolute values means to understand how our will can become an over-personal demand which, without reference to anyone's personal pleasure or displeasure, finds its satisfaction in truth and beauty and morality and religion" (p. 64). Interest in identity, or in the recurrence of identity, and the realization of this, show in us all the over-personal will as well as the satisfaction of such a will. "What provides . . . identity is . . . valuable" (p. 74). To "seek the identity of experience" is "the one fundamental act which secures for us a world. It is the one act which we cannot give up and yet which has nothing whatever to do with personal pleasure or pain. [With an over-personal will] we demand that there be a world; that means that our experience be more than just the passing experience, that it assert itself in its identity in new experiences. Here is the one original deed which gives eternal meaning to our reality, and without which our life would be an empty dream, a chaos, a nothing" (p. 75). And from this "one original deed," from this "deciding fact," all else in the world of values follows. Thus the eternal values are these: *logical values*, or values of conservation or of identity with self, belonging to the existence of things and persons and over-personal wills and to the connections among these parts as presented respectively in nature and in history and in the system of reason; *aesthetic values*, or values of agreement or of the identity of parts among themselves, belonging to unity as present in natural harmony and in personal love and in an over-personal happiness

and to beauty as present in the fine arts and in literature and in music; *ethical values*, or values of realization or of "identity in change," belonging to development as growth and as progress and as self-development and to achievement, "the intentional securing of this development," as shown in industry and in law and in morality; and, lastly, *metaphysical values*, or values of completion or of the identity of the logical and the aesthetic and the ethical with each other, these last belonging to holiness, or wholeness and self-perfection, as given in creation and in revelation and in salvation and to absoluteness, to the absoluteness of the world as a self-asserted whole, of mankind "viewed metaphysically" (p. 416), and of the will of the "over-self." The will of the over-self, the over-personal will, is thus the source and the climax of all true value and of all reality. Value is not in what is given to merely personal experience, but in what is performed or ever to be performed by the over-personal self. "We find in ourselves the over-self in the blending allness of values" (p. 421). "The total outer world resounds with the will of the beings. But [the] eternal unity of outer world and fellow-world and inner world in the whole richness of their connections and unities and realizations would never have been possible if they were not all flowing from the same eternal absolute deed of the over-self" (p. 430).

So speaks the book, a book sure to attract attention. So runs Professor Münsterberg's interesting logism, always ingenious when not also brilliant, and in the freedom of it he has successfully transformed the world of values, making that world meet the demands of his selected principle of identity, so long known as a principle of the formal logic and so useful as the fundamental working hypothesis of all positive science. If he has not always been loyal to the demands of his principle, if he has sometimes meant more and sometimes less than he has actually said, if his predilection for identity and hypostasis has made his over-self too superior to be really so and his unconditional values so absolute as to be no longer vital, if in his doctrine of the superpersonal will he has been a pragmatist, making his debt, if not to James, then to Fichte, at least as large as that to Royce, but too good a pragmatist to mingle with the common herd, and if in general his absolutism has overreached itself by its anti-relativism, all these lapses or all these matters of possible criticism—depending on point of view—may be passed over. There is still left, to name it once more, the fact, glaring and rudely obtrusive, of his over-vigorous logism and Professor Münsterberg's wide circle of readers, German and American, must hope that in the fulness of time he will write

not again on "Psychology and Life," but more broadly on "Logic and Life." Logism—is it, like psychologism, "one of the greatest dangers of our time"?

ALFRED H. LLOYD

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

RITSCHL'S HISTORY OF PROTESTANT DOCTRINE

Professor Ritschl has projected a series of three volumes which will describe the development of Protestant theology up to the time of the Evangelical Union. The first volume¹ is occupied with the history of "old-Protestant" doctrine.

In the Prolegomena the author advocates the broader interpretation of the term *dogma* which makes it applicable to established Protestant doctrine. He justifies his undertaking on the ground that Harnack's view of dogma led him to bring his great work to a close with the Reformation, while Loofs and Seeberg trace Lutheran doctrine no farther than the Formula of Concord (1580) and the Reformed doctrine only to the Formula Consensus Helvetica (1675). The greater interest hitherto taken in ancient Catholic theology stands to the discredit of Protestant writers.

Ritschl finds four "instances" (ideal and real factors) operating in the development of Protestant dogma: (1) Holy Scripture, through the widely differing views of the quintessence of the Scriptures held by Lutherans, Reformed, Anabaptists, Socinians, Pietists, Mystics, and Rationalists; (2) the dogmatical tradition of the "old-Catholic" church; (3) saving faith; (4) the universal human reason. Only the first two of these are considered in the present volume.

While it may be uncertain who was the first Protestant thinker to elaborate a doctrine of inspiration it was universally accepted in the early part of the sixteenth century. The question whether inspiration was literal or substantial issued in four different contentions:

The Melancthonian view was that the Word of God was given to men in the personal preaching of his messengers, without special emphasis on the idea that the Scriptures contained the divine Word. In his *Loci* Melancthon did not discuss the place of the Scriptures, but he commonly assumes that they are the Word of God with respect to history and doctrine, and he tests all tradition and conciliar decisions by them. Georg Major

¹ *Dogmengeschichte des Protestantismus*. Vol. I. Prolegomena. By Otto Ritschl. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908. vii + 410 pages. \$2.60.

follows Melancthon but lays more stress on external attestation. Strigel defines different sorts of revelation—the clear word, miracles, sacraments, visions, dreams, and types.

The Lutheran view held that the Word of God was in those of the truly canonical books which are clear in their expression of the Word. Luther seems to vacillate between a literal inspiration and the freer view that those books which set forth Christ are inspired. He grew more conservative (legalistic) from contact with the rationalists and Anabaptists. He found the Scriptures self-explanatory, the clearer portions determine the meaning of the more obscure. The Gnesiolutherans held to the inspiration of the thought-content (=doctrine) of the Scriptures, but distinguished between mediate and immediate revelation and indicated the relative places of the books of the Bible in this regard. But the effect of the anti-Tridentine polemic was a gravitation toward a mechanical or statutory view of revelation. Chemnitz held to the inspiration of the Scriptures in the originals, Flacius affirmed the inspiration of the Hebrew vowel-points, Hunnius said the Scriptures were divinely dictated, Johann Gerhard brought the orthodox Lutheran view of verbal inspiration to completeness when he said that the written word and spoken word were identical and the biblical writers were simply amanuenses. Finally Buxtorf and Quenstedt opposed all textual criticism.

The view of Calvin and others of the Reformed and orthodox Lutherans, though not clearly enunciated, was that inspiration is a prior operation of the Holy Spirit which manifested itself when and so far as the holy books were composed by the biblical writers. The great influence of Calvin among the Reformed theologians led to the general adoption among them of his idea of inspiration by dictation and his admission of the New Testament Antilegomena among inspired books. It was also the calvinizing of the Lutherans which, as much as anything else, caused the development of Lutheranism in the direction described above.

The finally developed view of the later orthodox Lutheran and Reformed theologians argued that the biblical writers were mere penmen and that the precise words of Scripture are formally authoritative. They went on to determine the different methods of inspiration (on what basis?) with the result that absolute inerrancy is secured.

There is no space here to follow in detail the author's discriminating account of the play of traditionalism in Lutheranism and Calvinism. Ritschl regards Melancthon as the father of traditionalism in the Lutheran churches and on this line again traces the calvinizing of Lutheranism.

When Ritschl's work is completed it promises to be an extremely

valuable addition to our present stock of histories of Protestant religious thought. In the midst of present-day discussions it appears exceedingly opportune. However, while keenness of discrimination, breadth of knowledge, and warmth of historical feeling are everywhere in evidence throughout this first volume, it does not evince sufficient interest in the great political, economic, social, and religious currents of life and the work of scientific investigation, which have been such important factors in the shaping of Protestant thinking. Perhaps a certain narrowing of horizon is unavoidable in any historical work which treats the course of theology by the topical method.

GEORGE CROSS

NEWTON THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTION
NEWTON CENTRE, MASS.

RECENT MISSIONARY LITERATURE

No one has studied missionary facts and conditions more extensively and thoroughly than the author of that monumental work, *Christian Missions and Social Progress*; and when in *The New Horoscope of Missions*¹ Dr. Dennis presents the twentieth-century aspect of the missionary enterprise the reader feels that his "sturdy optimism" is indeed well founded. The first chapter of the book, "A New World-Consciousness," is in every way the most important. To the modern world-consciousness, due to the deepening conviction that as nations and races we are members of one great human family, corresponds, says Dr. Dennis, the world-consciousness of the church of Christ, shown in the deepening conviction of the supreme significance of missions, or "the endeavor to distribute everywhere the universal blessings of the gospel of Christ. And this not so much because we pity the "neglected nations." Compassion does not hold as prominent a place as it once did among missionary motives. It is rather the case that we are learning to appreciate the "alien races" for what they are in themselves and what they may become as fellow-laborers in the kingdom of God.

The rising tide of this enthusiasm is flooding the world, as shown in the multiplication of organizations for the furtherance of missions among young people and the men of our churches, and the participation of Christian universities in this work. It is conceded that this Christian world-consciousness is not, strictly speaking, a new thing. It is discoverable in

¹ *The New Horoscope of Missions*. By James S. Dennis, author of *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, *Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions*, and *Foreign Missions after a Century*. New York and Chicago: Revell. 248 pages. \$1.

the mind of Jesus himself and in the thoughts and deeds of leaders of the church in every age. But it is new "in the reach and power of its present sway over Christian hearts."

This conception, if not novel, is impressive, and skilfully expressed. The chapters which follow expand and illustrate it from many points of view and with much interesting detail. The apologist for missions will find material ready to his hand in the enumeration of the cheering signs of the times from the changed aspect of the secular press toward missions to the mass movements to Christianity in Korea and India. He who prays for the downfall of denominationalism both at home and over the seas will rejoice to find a conservative like Dr. Dennis writing these words: "We have now almost forgotten the strength of those currents of denominational zeal which a generation or more ago set in the direction of a reproduction of a Baptist, a Methodist, a Presbyterian, a Congregational, a Lutheran, or an Episcopal form of Christianity in mission fields. . . . Ecclesiastical delimitation is growing less attractive and is coming to be regarded as in fact unnecessary and embarrassing."

If the *New Horoscope of Missions* does not meet the expectations aroused by its title, which is indeed altogether misleading, it is nevertheless a readable, informing, inspiring book, and a very welcome contribution to missionary literature from one of the most honored veterans of the missionary service.

The fourteen papers that make up Dr. Jones's inviting book² are independent studies upon one great theme, put together, apparently at haphazard. It is precisely the sort of book to "dip into." It does not matter at all whether the reader opens to "The Hindu Caste System," or "Islam in India," or "Burma the Beautiful," he will find the subject-matter in every case of sufficient importance to deserve attention and the style always agreeable and effective. It was in deference perhaps to the common prejudice that the way to read a book is to begin at the beginning that Dr. Jones has placed first the timely paper which everyone who takes the book in hand will wish to read—that entitled "India's Unrest." Explanations, already familiar in periodical literature, are offered of this profoundly interesting movement, such as the quickening of a national consciousness throughout the East as the result of the victory of Japan over Russia, the spread of western political and social ideals, the increasing influence of a "seditious and disloyal vernacular press," and resentment of European arrogance. The removal of the "unrest," we are told, requires

² *India: Its Life and Thought*. By John P. Jones, D.D. New York: Macmillan, 1908. xvi + 443 pages.

the cultivation of a better mutual understanding—a vague prescription from which not very much is to be expected, if, as Dr. Jones goes on to say, the racial problem was never more acute than now. Further, it is expedient as well as just that Great Britain should give the Indian more influence in the administration of state affairs. Nevertheless the outcome is as yet very doubtful. The situation is an *impasse*. India herself, unfit for self-government, protests vehemently against the “paramountcy” of Great Britain. But just this political ascendancy, whatever minor concessions may be made, Great Britain cannot surrender. Dr. Jones uses language in stating the problem humorously like that of our own imperialist press. “The best friends of India believe that she has just as many political rights as she is able wisely to exercise.” “When India is prepared for absolute self-government she will receive the blessing and Great Britain will leave the land.”

In reply to the question we are all asking of men who know religious conditions in the East at first hand, “Is Christianity making progress in India?” Dr. Jones is reflectively, and with conviction, optimistic. Not only does he believe with all his heart in “the ultimate triumph of our faith,” but Christian dominance in India does not seem to him a very remote event. The indications that the day is approaching are plain. Already the influence over the Hindu mind of the “Christ-ideal of life” is very strong. Many thoughtful Hindus are studying with eagerness the gospel narratives. “I have known such men for many years,” says Dr. Jones, “and am assured that their tribe is increasing.” The emphasis which the highest type of western religious teaching has always placed upon moral character is bearing fruit. India is passing through a mighty ethical revolution. But “the West is West and the East is East.” The Christianity of India will be an indigenous growth. It will know and care little for occidental creeds and ecclesiasticisms. It will formulate its own creeds and frame its own organizations. It will be a living faith with its own assimilations and developments. Dr. Jones and Dr. Dennis are entirely at one in this matter. If the missionary constituency at home would only take these utterances seriously and shape conformably its policy and its expectations!

In his forecast of the Christianity that is to be in what we now call the “foreign field” Dr. Brown³ agrees with Dr. Jones and Dr. Dennis that the native church must shape its own creed and polity without regard

³ *The Why and How of Foreign Missions*. By Arthur Judson Brown. New York and Toronto: Young Peoples' Missionary Movement of the United States and Canada, 1908. 286 pages. \$0.50.

to western denominationalism. Risks are involved, no doubt, but it is impossible, even if it were desirable, now to draw back. "Will the rising churches of Japan, of China, of India, be soundly evangelical? God grant that they may be. But who is to be the judge of soundness?" Precisely so. Dr. Brown has hit the nail on the head. One wishes that he were not so reluctant to depart from the traditional view when he discusses in the opening chapter the "Motive and Aim of Foreign Missions." "Recent years," to quote the words with which the book begins, "have seen some change of emphasis in the motives which prompt men to engage in the foreign missionary enterprise." That is really a very important admission, qualified though it is by the adjective "some." And when our author goes on to grant that "it is possible that some who have never heard of Christ may be saved," he has really cleared the way for the present-day refusal to admit that the inevitable doom of the heathen world is any longer a vital missionary motive. Over against these seemingly grudging concessions one is glad to quote other words from the same chapter: "Christianity is not a lifeboat sent out to a sinking ship to rescue a few passengers and let the rest go to the bottom. It will save all the passengers unless they refuse to be saved, and it will save the ship." Here again Dr. Brown has hit the nail on the head.

The Why and How of Foreign Missions should serve admirably the purpose for which it was prepared. In the recent much vaunted movement for missionary instruction quite too much attention up till now has been given to the impartation of rather dry and indigestible blocks of information about this and the other missionary field to the neglect of the large and serious questions of motive, aim, and method—questions whose thorough and candid discussion is indispensable to the creation of a missionary conviction. This is a book in the study of which men who have learned to think may be invited to join. It is interesting to be told what Henry Martyn did in India; but it is much more important to discuss his missionary conception and to inquire whether it is workable today.

A. K. PARKER

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

BRIEF MENTION

OLD TESTAMENT AND SEMITICS

JORDAN, W. G. *Biblical Criticism and Modern Thought*, or The Place of the Old Testament Documents in the Life of Today. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribner, 1909. xi+322 pages. \$3.

This adds one more to the long list of works that seek to mediate between the biblical critic and the general public. The genesis of the book was a course of nine lectures delivered at Queen's University, Kingston, Canada. The relatively high level of the audience has set the standard for the book. It is therefore a piece of work that makes its appeal to the educated layman and the more intelligent of the clergy. It is not, however, altogether easy reading; the somewhat detailed and polemical character of the discussion on the one hand and, on the other, the lack of coherence among the fourteen chapters make its perusal something of a task.

The studious reader, however, will find much reward for his pains. The author's grasp upon his subject is sure; he knows what he believes and is able to give reasons for the hope that is in him. His position is well taken. His vision has not been blurred by the obscurantism of Sayce, Hommel, Orr, and their kind. The vagaries of Jerahmeel wield no charm over him. Nor is he carried away by the enthusiasms of Winckler, Jensen, Delitzsch, and the rest of the pan-Babylonian school. Special consideration is accorded the claims of the latter. It may be noted in this connection that the author has neglected to point out and emphasize the fact that the Babylonian civilization was by no means in sole possession of Canaan prior to the arrival of Israel. Egyptian, Hittite, and Cypriote culture likewise left its mark upon this territory as recent excavations clearly show. Professor Orr's position, as formulated in his *Problem of the Old Testament*, receives a good deal of attention. Some of the best work of the book is done here. The inconsistency and illogical reasoning of Orr are effectively exposed. The chapters on "Criticism and Theology" and on "Criticism and the Preacher" are excellent, showing philosophical insight and fine interpretative skill. It is to be regretted that another chapter was not added showing how criticism has made the Old Testament worthies live again for us and has enabled us to realize that after all they were under the same limitations as ourselves. The world was theirs to interpret religiously just as it is ours. Faith was for them a conquest just as it is for us. Religion was to Isaiah and his fellow-seers a vital inner experience, no more aided by or dependent upon external and abnormal phenomena than the religion of today. Seen from this angle the religious problems of the men of ancient Israel are recognized as fundamentally identical with those of the "modern man." The experiences and victories of these men of old thus become immediately and incalculably valuable for us who follow in their footsteps.

DRIVER, S. R. *Modern Research as Illustrating the Bible*. [The Schweich Lectures for 1908.] London: Oxford University Press, 1909. viii+95 pages. 3s.

The three chapters of this book were delivered before the British Academy as the first series of lectures on the Schweich foundation established for "the furtherance of research in the archaeology, art, history, languages, and literature of ancient civilization with reference to biblical study." The first lecture sketches in very rapid style

the history of excavations in the Orient. In the very nature of the case this can be little more than a catalogue of the chief explorers and their main results. The second and third lectures present in a little more detail the results of excavation in Palestine itself. The greater part of the space is devoted to the diggings at Gezer. The illustrations, more than forty in number and printed on fine paper, increase both the size and the value of the book. They are well chosen, but in too many cases are taken at second hand from some book and do not therefore stand out with the definiteness of detail and sharpness of outline that characterize good cuts. Anybody desirous of familiarizing himself in short order with the main facts in this field could do no better than to buy this book. To him who does not expect the impossible it will prove of great value. If one may venture a general criticism on such an excellent book, it is to the effect that it furnishes the student no direct help on the problems now so prominent in this field. The pan-Babylonian issue is almost ignored. In this connection it may fairly be charged with giving too little attention to the influence of Egypt on the customs and history of Palestine and Israel. Perhaps too much prominence is given to the work of English scholars, splendid as this has been.

MARGOLIS, MAX L. *Micah*. [The Holy Scriptures with Commentary.] Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1908. 104 pages.

The Jewish Publication Society is engaged in the preparation of a new translation of the Old Testament which is being carried on under the editorship of Dr. Margolis. Parallel to this is a new series of popular commentaries on the Old Testament, of which the volume on Micah is the first to appear. The characteristic features of the commentary are (1) a new translation, printed as poetry; (2) brief comments and introduction; (3) a larger use of rabbinical interpretative material than is customary in modern commentaries, and (4) a quite conservative attitude toward both textual and historical criticism. The author stands with the minority in upholding the unity of Micah, but does not adduce any new considerations in support of this position. The translation is good and the comments good enough to make us wish for more.

A Commentary on the Holy Bible, by Various Writers. Edited by the Rev. J. R. Dummelow. Complete in one volume, with general articles and maps. New York: Macmillan, 1909. clii+1,092 pages. \$2.50.

This is an extraordinarily comprehensive volume. It not only includes commentaries on every book of the Bible, but also twenty-nine general articles dealing with biblical introduction, history, geography, archaeology, legislation, chronology, and systematic theology, together with nine maps and charts. The presence of so much material is made possible by the omission of the biblical text from the commentaries and by the use of a relatively small type.

An impression of scholarly authority is given to the book by the list of forty-three well-known authors prefixed to the volume. These men are representatives for the most part of the more conservative wing of the historical school. Unfortunately the value of their names is somewhat diminished by the fact that we are not informed just what part each contributed to the volume, all the articles and commentaries being unsigned.

The general point of view and aim is practically the same as that of the *Hastings*

and *Standard* one-volume Bible Dictionaries, viz., "to present the most assured results of modern scholarship, while avoiding opinions of an extreme or precarious kind." This attitude is well maintained. But there goes with it a good deal of theological obscurantism, a failure to draw the conclusions inevitably required by the historical facts which are so freely admitted. We hear too much, e. g., of "literal fulfilments" of prophecy; we are told that the discovery of the composite character of the biblical narratives does not affect the question of inspiration; we learn that the story of Jesus blessing little children is sufficient warrant for infant baptism and that baptism is the only way of covenanted admission into Christ's kingdom. The editor has evidently taken pains to conserve all the interests dear to the hearts of his readers. The comments on the various books are in the main sane and sound. The volume will go far toward popularizing a more intelligent and appreciative conception of the Bible.

EHRlich, A. B. *Randglossen zur Hebräischen Bibel* (Textkritisches, sprachliches und sächliches). Erster Band: Genesis und Exodus. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908. iv+424 pages. M. 9.50.

This large volume is the first of a series of six or seven volumes intended to cover the whole Old Testament. The author's purpose is to supplement commentaries which devote themselves chiefly to exegesis and the analysis of documents by a work laying stress upon text-critical and archaeological matters. His attitude toward the prevailing school of historical interpretation seems unsympathetic and critical. Frequent use is made of Talmudic and Rabbinical writings and recourse is often had to modern Hebrew for the interpretation of Old Testament words and phrases. A good deal of ingenuity and originality is evinced, but is not always under the guidance of good judgment. Statements are not infrequently made which rest upon no foundation other than the author's personal feeling or opinion. For example, the first note in the book states that "בְּרָא" can only express a *creatio ex nihilo*. This is hardly in accord with its use in such places as Ps. 51:12 where it is applied to the transformation of the moral nature of man, Isa. 65:18 where Yahweh promises to "transform" Jerusalem into rejoicing, and Ezek. 21:35; 28:13, 15 where it designates the birth of nations and individuals. The second note which places upon עַל פְּנֵי הַמַּיִם in Gen. 1:2 the same significance as in the English phrase "to be at sea about something" is of the same subjective character and finds no real support in the passages, Job 24:28 and Eccles. 11:1, cited as parallels. The interpretation of the third commandment of the Decalogue on p. 342 which accounts for it as an effort to avoid the danger to monotheism involved in the use of a special proper name for the one and only God is against the history of the God-idea in Israel; for the Decalogue certainly originated before monotheism was incorporated in the national religion. A much better *raison d'être* for this prohibition is that which accounts for it as directed against the malicious use of the divine name in charms and sorceries. On the other hand, the treatment of the obscure phrase in Gen. 4:1, אֵת יְהוָה קִינְתִּי אִישׁ, is attractive. Upon the birth of her first child Eve says, "I have gained (i. e., gained back after the break between them caused by the sin in the garden) my husband; with me is Yahweh." This involves the reading יְהוָה, which might easily have lost its ך by haplography. The spirit of the book is free, and untrammelled by theological prejudices, and to him who has patience to hunt diligently in the mass of materials many a fertile suggestion will present itself. The proofreading is unfortunately bad.

The Coptic (Sahidic) Version of Certain Books of the Old Testament, from a papyrus in the British Museum, edited by SIR HERBERT THOMPSON. Oxford: University Press; New York: Henry Frowde; 1908. 191 pages. \$3.00.

In the publication of this text Sir Herbert Thompson has conferred a real service. The papyrus was acquired by the British Museum in 1901. The pages are the remnants of a fine book measuring $14\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the surface of each page consisting of a single *selis*. It is unfortunately very imperfect, only 77 leaves out of a probable total of 168 being preserved. The preserved portions vary greatly in condition, and a considerable number were palimpsest. It was, however, impossible to bring out the older writing. The portions preserved are distributed among the following books: Job, 1 page; Proverbs, 23 pages; Ecclesiastes, 3 pages; Song of Songs, 6 pages; Wisdom of Solomon, 20 pages; and Sirach, 24 pages. The volume began with Job, as usual in the Sahidic Version to which the book belonged. Although considerable portions of these books in the Sahidic Version have already been published by Lagarde, Ciasca, and some others, nevertheless important sections of Sir Herbert Thompson's text are published by him for the first time, and must undoubtedly prove of value to Coptic scholars and to Old Testament criticism. The manuscript is in the same handwriting throughout, and presents the usual difficulties in determining the date of a Coptic document. It is placed by Crum as "perhaps of the sixth or seventh century," and Sir Herbert Thompson does not attempt to date it any more closely. The quality of the text is excellent, though in the Wisdom of Solomon it is slightly inferior to Lagarde's edition of the Turin manuscript. Sir Herbert Thompson furnishes a careful introduction, from which most of the above facts have been taken. The printing of the text is very carefully done, with close reproduction of all the peculiarities of the manuscript itself, in so far as typography will permit. The text as thus published displays the greatest accuracy, and does honor to its editor.

NEW TESTAMENT AND ALLIED SUBJECTS

GOODSPEED, E. J. *The Epistle to the Hebrews*. New York: Macmillan, 1908. 132 pages. \$0.50.

GILBERT, G. H. *Acts, The Second Volume of Luke's Work on the Beginnings of Christianity, with Interpretative Comment*. New York: Macmillan, 1908. 267 pages. \$0.75.

These two volumes are the first of a series of commentaries designed to meet the needs of Sunday-school teachers, lay readers, and clergymen, who may wish to have access to the results of the "best modern biblical scholarship." According to the plan of the editors, which dispenses with all processes, both critical and exegetical, the meaning of the text is made accessible at first glance.

The important critical questions are admirably handled in the introductions, which also contain illuminating analyses, and suggestive bibliographies. Each volume contains a general index, while the volume on Hebrews contains, in addition, an index to references. The absence of this latter from the volume on Acts is unfortunate. Questions of exceptional importance or difficulty are discussed independently in an appendix. Some of these are: "The Holy Spirit in Acts," "Speaking with 'tongues' and with 'other tongues,'" "The Community of Goods at Jerusalem," "Stephen's

Speech," and "Melchizedek in Philo." The volume on Acts contains a map illustrating the Roman World in the Apostolic Age.

The work on the two volumes that have already appeared has been well done, and is well within the lines laid down by the general editor. There is need for such a commentary, especially on the part of busy Christian workers, who have neither the time nor the inclination for lengthy processes of exegesis, and yet who are not satisfied with antiquated aids to Bible-study, or with modern helps, written from the traditional point of view. The handy size of these volumes also commends them to the busy man and woman, who may wish to snatch a few moments for study on the street car or train. The remarkably cheap price at which they are sold puts them within the reach of all.

PICK, BERNHARD. *Paralipomena. Remains of Gospels and Sayings of Christ.* Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1908. xi+158 pages. \$0.75.

The title explains the character of this collection. It belongs to the "Christianity of To-day Series." The author does not profess to present heretofore unpublished material, but to give the English reader a pretty full exhibit of the "agrapha" literature. He thinks this extra-canonical material may be used, though cautiously, for the enrichment of the gospels. The bibliography, occupying 26 pages, comprises work in the English, German, French, Dutch, and Italian languages, and is quite complete.

CLEMEN, CARL. *Die Entwicklung der christlichen Religion innerhalb des Neuen Testaments.* Leipzig: Göschen, 1908. 136 pages. M. 0.80.

This excellent little book, from the prolific pen of Professor Clemen, belongs to the Göschen series, to which his *Entstehung des Neuen Testaments*, published in 1906, was a contribution. In so short a space he could hardly be expected to present a truly genetic study. It is obvious that in this comparatively new and unworked field of genetic relationships in the New Testament the reader will not be able to follow him in all his conclusions. But reluctance to express positive opinions is not one of his faults, and he always has his reasons. In his discussion of the self-consciousness of Jesus he says: "Finally one does not here need to exercise much criticism, but simply to read without dogmatic presupposition, and then openly and honorably to tell what he has found."

The contribution of Judaism to Christianity, along with that of non-Jewish religions and philosophic systems, is treated in a fuller and somewhat different manner in his comprehensive work just published, *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des Neuen Testaments*, 1909, which will be read with great interest.

HARNACK, ADOLF. *The Acts of the Apostles.* Translated by Rev. J. R. Wilkinson. "Crown Theological Library." New York: Putnam; London: Williams & Norgate, 1909. xliii+303 pages. \$1.75.

Professor Harnack's *Apostelgeschichte* appears in attractive English form in the "Crown Theological Library." Its decisions are already familiar to scholars. Harnack investigates the Acts in order to determine something as to its homogeneity and trustworthiness. Holding Luke to have been its author, he finds that he used for the earlier part of the book certain sources, probably written, which may be distinguished as Jerusalem-Caesarean and Jerusalem-Antiochian. The whole is wrought out with Harnack's characteristic minuteness of research and illuminating historical imagination.

GIRAN, ETIENNE. *Jésus de Nazareth*. Notes historiques et critiques. Deuxième édition: entièrement remaniée d'après les plus récents travaux exégétiques. Paris: Nourry, 1909. 205 pages. Fr. 2.50.

PIEPENBRING, C. *Jésus historique*. Paris: Nourry, 1909. 195 pages. Fr. 2.50.

These are two admirable little books on Jesus from the modern critical and historical standpoint. The first claims to fill a unique place. It is sent forth as a scholarly manual or textbook of criticism and history concerning Jesus of Nazareth, designed for the moral and religious instruction of the young. One wonders how many schools would be willing to make use of such a book. It is wholly based upon modern gospel-criticism of the more radical type. The author writes from Amsterdam. His published works are all recent.

The second book is of a different character. The author has been known for some years as an Old Testament scholar. Giran presented the historical antecedents of Jesus and discussed the resurrection. Piepenbring confines his work to a study of the sources and the public career of Jesus. He makes special use of the investigations of Wellhausen, Harnack, J. Weiss, and above all Loisy. His aim is to supplement Loisy and to correct his eschatological emphasis and other alleged errors.

Both authors labor under the burden of unquestioning allegiance to the still dominant two-document hypothesis.

JACQUIER, E. *Histoires des livres du Nouveau Testament*. Paris: Lecoffre, 1908. Tome troisième (1908), 346 pages, Fr. 3.50; Tome quatrième (1908), 422 pages, Fr. 3.50.

In devoting four large volumes to the problems of New Testament introduction, Professor Jacquier has had at his disposal space sufficient for the consideration of every theory of consequence that has been put forward in this large field of investigation. He has faithfully and with commendable care presented this vast amount of information. Indeed, his method indicates that he is as much interested in setting forth the views of others as he is in exploiting his own, for he frequently devotes page after page to the history of criticism on a particular point, such as the date, authorship, or purpose of a given book, and concludes by subscribing in a few words to the traditional view, seemingly without reference to the numerous opposing theories previously mentioned by him.

While his results are almost without exception those of the traditional school, he has no word of condemnation for the critical school or its methods. Such a work from the pen of a Roman Catholic becomes an important agency for the dissemination of the results of modern biblical science. For those who are already acquainted with the standard critical treatises on the literature of the New Testament, the present work will be valued rather for the large amount of material which it makes easily available than for the views of the author himself.

The third volume treats of the Book of Acts and the Epistles of James, Peter, and Jude. In an Appendix the author notices the recent work of Deissmann, Moulton, and others on the language of the New Testament. He makes special reference to the Freer Manuscript, drawing upon the articles of Grenfell, Goodspeed, Sanders, Schmidt, Gregory, and Harnack. The fourth volume is devoted to the Johannine writings, all of which, namely, gospel, epistles, and apocalypse, are, according to Jacquier, the work of the apostle John, the son of Zebedee. The author finds it impossible to assign a date for the Fourth Gospel, but regards all proposed dates that are later than 120 as excluded by the external evidence.

FIEBIG, PAUL. *Die Aufgaben der neutestamentlichen Forschung in der Gegenwart*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909. 24 pages. M. 0.50.

Fiebig gives in barest outline what he regards as the principal tasks of New Testament study today. Four topics call for special attention: (1) the contemporary history of the Graeco-Roman world, with the late Greek speech and literature; (2) the Judaism of New Testament times; (3) the orient of the New Testament time, that is, Talmudic literature and thought; (4) the practical consequences of these studies for religion in the present. The third and fourth of these topics have not heretofore received as much attention as the other two.

LAW, ROBERT. *The Tests of Life: A Study of the First Epistle of St. John*. Being the Kerr Lectures for 1909. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribner, 1909. 421 pages. \$3.00.

This work is not primarily homiletic in its interest as the title might seem to imply. It is a historical and doctrinal exposition of the First Epistle of John, and originally constituted the Kerr Lectures for 1909 at the Glasgow College of the United Free Church. The style, structure, aim, and authorship of the epistle are discussed briefly, but the main purpose seems to be to expound its teaching. The method chosen is not that of continuous comment. Passages that deal with the same theme are grouped into one treatment, and critical notes are inserted from time to time. On historical questions the author occupies traditional views, and his analysis and interpretation of the epistle show insight and skill. Scarcely anything is said about the vital significance of the teaching for modern religious use—a question which the title of the volume raises.

NESTLE, EBERHARD. *Einführung in das Griechische Neue Testament*. Dritte ungearbeitete Auflage. Mit 12 Handschriften Tafeln. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1909. viii+298 pages. M. 4.80.

The third edition of Nestle's *Einführung* shows important improvement over the earlier ones. Most important of all is his acceptance and adoption of Gregory's new system of uncial designations (*Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, 1908.) The more recent literature is usually taken account of; but little is said of the Freer manuscripts. Nestle assigns the Freer Gospels to the fourth to the sixth centuries; the Paul manuscript to the fifth. The mistaken reference to "I. H. Hall, Syriac Manuscript, Gospels of a Pre-Harklensian Version, 1883" as though there were a work of that name, still stands (p. 114). But the bibliographies are in general full and accurate, and add much to the worth of this handbook.

STALKER, JAMES. *The Atonement*. New York: Armstrong, 1909. \$1.00.

The author confesses some diffidence in contributing his little book to the rapidly enlarging stream of literature on this subject. In three chapters he discusses "The New Testament Situation," "The Old Testament Preparation," and "The Modern Justification." The rise of the Apologetic of the cross in the early church is traced. Almost excessive importance is attached to the levitical ceremonial, whose symbolism is unfolded in some detail. In prophetic passages, like those concerning the Suffering Servant of Jehovah, he finds clearer foregleams of Jesus. The modern justification proves to be a historical survey of theories of atonement from Anselm down rather

than an independent and constructive treatment of the theme. He finds elements of truth in all the theories, evidently agreeing with Van Dyke that every theory of the atonement is true but not exclusively so. He hints that in the experiences of an awakened conscience the modern mind may find light on the mysteries of atonement.

ROBERTSON, A. T., *A Short Grammar of the Greek New Testament*. New York: Armstrong, 1908. xxx+240 pages. \$1.50.

Teachers of the Greek New Testament in college and seminaries will welcome Robertson's *Short Grammar* as a suitable textbook of New Testament grammar for students familiar with classical grammar. The author does not intend it to be an exhaustive treatise such as Moulton's *Grammar*, nor does it replace Burton's *Moods and Tenses* in the field covered by the latter; but it serves two admirable purposes. It gives a concise and practically complete compend of grammatical usage in the New Testament. Further, taking its stand with the school of historical and comparative grammar that views New Testament Greek as essentially Common, it explains briefly the New Testament language in the light of comparative grammar and leads the student to a better historical appreciation of it. The author's comparative method is to be approved on the whole; but should not the anomaly, which he finds (p. 17), of classing such nouns as *πολις* and *δστυ* with consonantal stems be explained by their having a primitive semi-consonantal stem in the strengthened base of inflexion; as, e. g., *πολε(ι)-ος* (cf. Skt. *agnes* [agnay-as?], gen. of *agni*), and *αστε(υ)-ς* (cf. Skt. *catrav-e*, dat. of *catru*?) This query should be examined in the more exhaustive grammar which the author promises. A useful chapter on figures of speech in the New Testament is included.

PATRISTICS

ARCHAMBAULT, GEORGES. *Justin: Dialogue avec Tryphon: Texte grec, traduction française, introduction, notes, et Index.* (Textes et documents) Paris: Picard, 1909. c+362 pages. Fr. 3.50.

Archambault has provided a convenient and attractive edition of Justin's *Dialogue*, chaps. 1-74, to accompany Pautigny's text of the *Apology*. Archambault's introduction deals concisely with the editions, the two manuscripts, the references to the *Dialogue* in early Christian literature, and its date (about A. D. 161) and arrangement. For the text, the editor has examined afresh the one important manuscript, Paris 450, upon which he bases his text. The text is accompanied by a French translation, and the chapters are divided, for the first time, it would seem, into verses—an arrangement which we may hope further editors will copy. A second volume will complete the text, and will contain an adequate index to the work.

FAUSSET, W. YORKE. *Novatian's Treatise on the Trinity.* (De Trinitate Liber.) (Cambridge Patristic Texts.) Cambridge: University Press, 1909. lxiv+151 pages. \$2.00 net.

The ancient odium attaching to the schismatic Novatian resulted in the disappearance of all his works except those few which found shelter under some other name, such as Tertullian or Cyprian. The *De Trinitate* was anciently copied with works of Tertullian, and thus survived in manuscripts of Tertullian's works until the

fifteenth century, when it was printed, first in 1545, then in 1550 and 1579, from manuscripts all of which have disappeared. Modern editors are thus compelled to have recourse to these editions, for their textual materials. Mr. Fausset has revised the Latin text—doubly important since Novatian was the first Roman father to write in Latin—and fully annotated it. He has prefaced it with an extended introduction, dealing with the works and views of Novatian. The presence of two natures in Christ, so vigorously denied by later eastern fathers, is explicitly maintained by Novatian, who shows Tertullian's influence in much of his theology. Elaborate indices conclude this very attractive volume.

CHURCH HISTORY

HOFFMANN, LIC. DR. HEINRICH, und ZSCHARNACK, LIC. LEOPOLD, *Studien zur Geschichte des neueren Protestantismus*.

MULERT, HERMANN. *Schleiermachers geschichts-philosophische Ansichten in ihrer Bedeutung für seine Theologie*. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1907. 92 pages. M. 2.50.

STEPHAN, HORST. *Spaldings Bestimmung des Menschen, und Wert der Andacht, mit Einleitung neu herausgegeben*. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1908. 44 pages. M. 1.

MULERT, HERMANN. *Schleiermachers Sendschreiben über seine Glaubenslehre an Lücke*, neu herausgegeben und mit einer Einleitung und Anmerkungen versehen. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1908. 68 pages. M. 1.40.

ZSCHARNACK, LEOPOLD. *John Tolands "Christianity not Mysterious."* Uebersetzt von W. Lunde. Eingeleitet und unter Beifügung von Leibnizens Annotatiunculæ (1701). Giessen: Töpelmann, 1908. vii+147 pages. M. 3.

The editors of this admirable series of studies in the history of modern Protestantism are rendering a real service, in making accessible for seminars and for students generally some of the important writings which contribute to an understanding of our modern problems. Mulert has shown how Schleiermacher repudiated the mechanical and pragmatic treatment of history; and regarded it as a living, organic whole. He was then compelled to decide whether we should interpret concrete events as actual manifestations of human life, or whether we should construct a philosophy of history. Schleiermacher did consistently neither the one nor the other, but in his later years inclined to the speculative task. This is especially evident in his treatment of the person of Christ. The edition of Schleiermacher's *Sendschreiben* to Lücke furnishes a valuable aid to the interpretation of the *Glaubenslehre*.

Stephan's edition of two of Spalding's works, and Zscharnack's exposition, with the translation of Toland's treatise, are indications of the better appreciation of the contributions made to theology by the age which orthodoxy has too often depreciated because of its "rationalism." Zscharnack's introduction of 53 pages gives a very valuable sketch of Toland's work, and of its influence in England and in Germany. Other *Quellenhefte* in the series are to be published.

SCHIELE, F. M. *Die Kirchliche Einigung des evangelischen Deutschlands im 19. Jahrhundert.* Tübingen: Mohr, 1908. 83 pages. M. 1.50.

This is a very interesting sketch of the effort during the last one hundred years or so to get organic unity in the Protestant church of the Fatherland. The main theses are that in the evangelical church of Germany the desire for truth is higher than the desire for unity and that the only unity which seems to be attainable in the reasonable future is the unity in the curriculum for the ministry.

NEUBAUER, RICHARD. *Martin Luther: Eine Auswahl aus seinen Schriften in aller Sprachform, mit Einleitungen und Erläuterungen, nebst einen grammatischen Anhang.* Two parts, the first in the fourth, the second in the third edition. Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhaus, 1908. 12 mo, xiv+292 and xiv+284 pages. M. 2.80 each.

These convenient and well-edited volumes form III. 2 and III. 3 of "Denkmäler der älteren deutschen Literatur," edited by G. Böttischer and K. Kinzel. The editor has had the twofold aim of furnishing to students of the German language critically edited texts of the older German and of making widely available some of the finest specimens of the literary work of the great reformer. A sketch of Luther's early life, based on Mathesius' biography precedes the selections. Each extract has its introduction and notes. Among the selections given in the first volume are Luther's account of Tetzel's indulgence-selling and his own motives in attacking him, the ninety-five theses, extended extracts from the "Address to the Christian Nobles of Germany," the "Babylonish Captivity of the Church," and "The Freedom of a Christian Man," a letter from the Wartburg, a letter written on the way from the Wartburg to Wittenberg, a sermon against the iconoclasts in Wittenberg (Carlstadt, etc.), a tract on "Liberty of Conscience and the Duties of a Christian Prince," a tract on "the First Martyrs of the New Faith," a preface to the Psalter (1524-25) on "Bible Interpretation," three pieces on "Bible Translation," specimens in parallel columns of some pre-Lutheran versions of the Bible and of Luther's version in various editions. Volume II contains miscellaneous extracts on secular matters (education, etc.), fables, proverbs, rhymes, etc., poems, letters, and sixty-four choice extracts on a great variety of subjects taken for the most part from the *Table-Talk*. Students of German who wish to fit themselves for reading the German of the Reformation time would do well to supply themselves with these volumes and those who read German and have not access to Luther's complete works would find these extracts exceedingly helpful to a right understanding of the Protestant Revolution.

KRÜGER, GUSTAV. *The Papacy: Its Idea and Its Exponents.* Translated by F. M. S. Batchelor and C. A. Miles. (Crown Theological Library.) New York: Putnam, 1909. 277 pages. \$1.50.

Krüger's brilliant and rapid sketch of the Papacy exhibits great learning, rich imagination, and true literary skill. Everyone should read this illuminating story, which is as interesting as a romance, and presents just those leading matters of papal history which we all ought to know. Today especially when ecclesiasticism threatens so many Protestant bodies, the story of the Papacy is crowded with significant lessons. Krüger has sought to exhibit the growth of the idea of the Papacy, and to emphasize those great men who shaped it into what it is. Few men living could treat every part of

this long history with the sure touch, grasp, and proportion which Krüger manifests. A list of the 260 popes with their dates, as usually accepted, is appended, and there is a good index. The translators have done their work exceptionally well. The reader is seldom reminded that he is reading a translation. There are a few misprints: pp. 191, 210, 271. Possibly German affairs sometimes receive slightly more than their due attention, but there is, on the whole, probably no book on the subject at once so illuminating, so trustworthy, and so readable. It should be widely welcomed by ministers, laymen, and scholars.

SHELDON, HENRY C. *Sacerdotalism in the Nineteenth Century: A Critical History*. New York; Eaton & Mains. ix+45 pages. \$2.50.

With ample learning, fine logical acumen, and sufficient polemical zeal, this well-known church historian has produced a very useful polemic against papal absolutism, the sacramental systems of the Roman Catholic, Greek, and Anglican churches, and against sacerdotalism in general. Under the caption, "Less Important Developments of Sacerdotalism," he treats briefly of the "more radical neo-Lutherans, the Irvingites, and the Mormons." About half of the space is devoted to the discussion of papal absolutism which culminated in the decree of papal infallibility.

DELAHAYE, HIPPOLYTE. *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires*. Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1909. ix+271 pages. Fr. 5.

The learned Bollandist has put the student of church history under renewed obligations by publishing in popular form the results of his hagiographical researches respecting the most noted of the early ascetics who abandoned military life for lives of Christian self-renunciation. Most of the Greek legends center about the names of Theodore, George, Procopius, Mercurius, Demetrius, and Eutropius. The first 119 pages are devoted to a critical account of the manuscript legends about these saints one by one, including the substance of the legends and such historical and iconographic materials as are available. An appendix of 145 pages contains a selection of Greek texts edited from the manuscripts.

RIETSCHEL, G. *Lerhbuch der Liturgik*. Zweiter Band. Die Kasualien. Berlin: Reuther & Riechard, 1909. x+482 pages. M. 8.50.

This is the third volume of a series entitled "Sammlung von Lehrbüchern der Practischen Theologie," the first being Hering's *Die Lehre von der Predigt*. The "Casualia" include baptism, confirmation, reception of converts from other faiths, betrothal and marriage, funerals, confession, ordination and induction of ministers, the institution of elders, consecration ceremonies (corner-stone laying, cemeteries, etc.). Baptism and its accompaniments occupy 133 pages. The immersion of believers is regarded as the only baptism known in the Apostolic Age, and the introduction and spread of infant baptism are satisfactorily explained. It is asserted that in his doctrine and practice of baptism Luther departed from Roman Catholic doctrine and practice far less than in the Supper and most other matters. The *terminus ad quem* in the treatment of liturgical matters in general is current German Lutheranism, little attention being given to other modern evangelical parties and little to the Greek Catholic Church. A translation of Rietschel's work with some abbreviation of the Lutheran parts and the addition of concise accounts of the liturgical practices of other denominations would no doubt serve a good purpose.

FERET, P. *La faculté de théologie de Paris et ses docteurs les plus célèbres*. Tome sixième, XVIII^e siècle: phases historiques. Paris: Picard et Fils, 1909. 417 pages. Fr. 7.50.

As indicated in the title, the volume before us is the sixth of a large and exhaustive documentary history of one of the oldest and most influential theological institutions in the world. It has great independent value because of the importance of the time covered and the nature of the matters that occupied the attention of the faculty. After 48 pages of more general matter, 73 pages are given to the dealings of the faculty with Jansenism, 56 to matters pertaining to Gallicanism, and 120 to the struggle against unbelieving philosophy. Book V treats of the end of the university and of the faculty of theology as a result of "the fatal decree of the convention," August, 1793. The rehabilitation of the university by Napoleon does not fall within the scope of the volume. Nine appendices, aggregating 83 pages, include some very important documents relating to the government and transactions of the faculty of theology.

THOMPSON, C. BERTRAND. *The Churches and the Wage-Earners*. New York: Scribner. xiii + 229 pages. \$1.00.

A comprehensive analysis of the situation. Largely a compilation of the best literature on the subject, grouped into four parts: (1) causes and extent of the alienation; (2) the church attitude; (3) socialism; (4) suggested remedies.

The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. Vol II, xiv + 500 pages. Vol. III, xiv + 500 pages. New York: Funk and Wagnalls. Each \$5.00.

The second and third volumes of the New Schaff-Herzog continue that useful work of reference through Draendorf. The form of the work makes a clear and attractive impression. While much has been done toward bringing the vast range of articles up to date, much has obviously been left unaltered. The problem of the Didache, for example, has been transformed by Schlecht's discovery of the Latin version of the primitive Didache; but the discovery, made nearly ten years ago, is unreflected in the Schaff-Herzog article. Nor does this seem to be an isolated instance. In general, the famous encyclopedia, while much improved, has been by no means brought up to date.

SPINOZA, BARUCH. *A Short Treatise on God, Man, and Human Welfare*. Translated from the Dutch by Lydia Gillingham Robinson. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1909. xxiv + 178 pages. \$1.25.

English students of the history of philosophical and religious thought will welcome this first translation into their mother-tongue of Spinoza's "Short Treatise." As the translator says, "in small compass it foreshadows some of the most important themes of the *Ethics* and expresses them in a less pretentious and simpler method." The major portion of the chapter on Spinoza in Schweigler's *History of Philosophy* is incorporated into this work by way of introduction.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The more important books in this list will be reviewed at length.

OLD TESTAMENT AND SEMITICS

Alt, Albrecht. *Israel und Aegypten. Die politischen Beziehungen des Könige von Israel und Juda zu den Pharaonen.* Leipzig; Hinrichs, 1909. 104 pages. M. 3.40.

Box, G. H. *The Book of Isaiah. Translated from a text revised in accordance with the results of recent criticism, with introductions, critical notes and explanations, and two maps. Together with a prefatory note by S. H. Driver, D.D., Litt.D.* New York: Macmillan, 1909. 365 pages. \$2.25.

Gressmann, Hugo. *Die Schriften des Alten Testaments in Auswahl. 1. Lieferung: Alteste Geschichtsschreibung und Prophetie Israels.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1909. 80 pages. M. 0.80.

NEW TESTAMENT AND ALLIED SUBJECTS

Brehier, Emile. *Philon. Commentaire allégorique des saintes lois après l'œuvre des six jours. Texte grec, traduction française.* Paris: Picard, 1909. xxxviii + 330 pages. Fr. 3.50.

Calluaud, Pierre. *Le problème de la résurrection du Christ. Etude des diverses hypothèses: 1. Révivification du cadavre; 2. Visions; 3. Corps spirituel; 4. Mort apparente.* Paris: Nourry, 1909. 158 pages. Fr. 2.50.

Handbuch zum Neuen Testament. Herausgegeben von H. Lietzmann. 7 Lieferung: Praktische Auslegung des Neuen Testaments. Markus. 8 Lieferung, Matthäus und die Korinther I. 9 Lieferung: Lukas die Apostelgeschichte. 10 Lieferung: Johannes. 11 Lieferung: Die Briefe des Apostels Paulus und die Korinther II. 12 Lieferung: An die Korinther II, Galater, Epheser, Philipper, Kolosser, Thessalonicher I, II; Pastoralbriefe. 13 Lieferung: Die Evangelien: Matthäus. 14 Lieferung: Die katholischen Briefe, Hebräerbrief und Apokalypse. Tübingen: Mohr, 1907-1909.

Lütgert, D. W. *Die Irrlehrer der Pastoralbriefe.* Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1909. 93 pages. M. 1.80.

Pfleiderer, Otto. Vol. II, *Primitive Christianity. Its Writings and Teachings in Their Historical Connections.* Translated by W. Montgomery, B. D. Theological Translation Library. New York: Putnam, 1909. 510 pages. \$3.00 net.

Ragg, Lonsdale. *The Church of the Apostles. Being an Outline of the History of the Church of the Apostolic Age. Volume I of The Church Universal.* London: Rivingtons; New York: Macmillan, xii + 336 pages. 4s. 6d. net.

Robertson, A. T. *A Short Grammar of the Greek New Testament. For students familiar with the elements of Greek.* Second Printing. New York: Armstrong, 1909. xxix + 240 pages. \$1.50.

Schermann, Theodor. *Griechische Zauberpapyri und das Gemeinde- und Dankgebet im I. Clemensbriefe.* Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909. 64 pages. M. 2.

Spitta, Friedrich. *Jesus und die Heidenmission.* Giessen: Töpelmann, 1909. 116 pages. M. 3.50.

Worsley, F. W. *The Fourth Gospel and the Synoptists. Being a contribution to the study of the Johannine Problem.* Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribner, 1909. ix + 184 pages. \$1.25.

CHURCH HISTORY

Barge, Hermann. *Frühprotestantisches Gemeindechristentum in Wittenberg und Orlamünde.* Leipzig: Heinsius, 1909. xxvi + 366 pages. M. 10.

Lang, A. *Die Reformation und das Naturrecht.* Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1909. 51 pages. 60 Pf.

Richard, James W. *The Confessional History of the Lutheran Church.* Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1909. 637 pages. \$3.00.

Wieland, Franz. *Der vorirenäische Opferbegriff.* Munich: J. J. Lentner, 1909. xxviii + 234 pages. \$0.71.

Zickendraht, Karl. *Der Streit zwischen Erasmus und Luther über die Wissenschaftsfreiheit.* Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909. x + 205 pages. \$1.07.

APOLOGETICS

- Ballard, Frank. *Christ and Christianity. Being Part IV of The People's Religious Difficulties.* London: Robert Culley, 1909. 122 pages. 6d.
- Giran, Etienne, *Le Christianisme progressif.* Paris: Nourry, 1909. 144 pages. Fr. 2.50.
- Guyot, H. *L'apologétique de Brunetière.* Paris: Nourry, 1909. 81 pages. Fr. 1.25.
- Schaefer, Erich, *Kirche und Gegenwart.* Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1909. 105 pages. M. 1.50.
- Wilson, John. *How God has Spoken. Or, Divine Revelation in Nature, in Man, in Hebrew History, and in Jesus Christ.* Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribner, 1909. xvi + 342 pages. \$2.00.

SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY

- Dunkmann, K. *System theologischer Erkenntnislehre.* Leipzig: Deichert, 1909. 166 pages, M. 3.50.
- Schaefer, Erich. *Theozentrische Theologie. Eine Untersuchung zur dogmatischen Prinzipienlehre.* Leipzig: Deichert, 1909. 197 pages. M. 4.
- Schlatter, A. *Die Theologie des Neuen Testaments und die Dogmatik.* Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1909. 82 pages. M. 1.40.
- Schultze, Augustus. *Christian Doctrine and Systematic Theology.* Bethlehem, Pa.: Times Publishing Co., 1909. 279 pages.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

- Ackworth, John. *Life's Working Creed. A series of sermons on the present-day meaning of the Epistle of James.* London: Robert Culley, 1909. 256 pages. 2s. 6d.
- Braasch, A. H. *Stoffe und Probleme des Religionsunterrichts.* Leipzig: Teubner, 1909. 232 pages. M. 2.40.
- Brown, John. *The Sermons of Thomas Adams. The Shakespeare of Puritan Theologians.* Cambridge: University Press; New York: Putnam, 1909. 236 pages. \$0.45.
- Lomas, Thomas H. *God and His Worshippers.* London: Culley, 1909. 224 pages. \$0.60.
- Perry, R. B. *The Moral Economy.* New York: Scribner, 1909. xvi + 267 pages. \$1.25.

- Tippy, Worth M. *The Socialized Church.* New York: Eaton & Mains, 1909. 288 pages. \$1.00.

MISCELLANEOUS

- Caldecott, A. *The Religious Sentiment Illustrated from the lives of Wesley's Helpers.* London: Culley, 1909. 32 pages. \$0.12.
- Cherrington, Ernest H. *Anti-Saloon League Year Book, 1909.* Chicago: The Anti-Saloon League of America, 1909. 256 pages.
- Deussen, Paul. *Outlines of Indian Philosophy, with an appendix on the Philosophy of the Vedanta in its relations to occidental metaphysics.* Berlin: Curtius, 1909. 70 pages. \$0.48.
- Eucken, Rudolf. *The Problem of Human Life. As viewed by the greatest thinkers from Plato to the present time. Translated from the German by Williston S. Hough and W. R. Boyce Gibson.* New York: Scribner, 1909. 582 pages.
- Frank, Henry. *Modern Light on Immortality. Being an original excursion into historical research and scientific discovery pointing to a new solution of the problem.* Boston: Sherman, French & Co., 1909. 467 pages. \$1.85 net.
- Jones, Henry. *Idealism as a Practical Creed. Being the lectures on Philosophy and Modern Life delivered before the University of Sydney.* Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons; New York: Macmillan, 1909. 299 pages. \$2.00.
- McConnell, Francis J. *Edward Gaynor Andrews. A Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* New York: Eaton and Mains, 1909. 291 pages. \$1.50 net.
- Otto, R. *Goethe und Darwin; Darwinismus und Religion.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1909. 40 pages. \$0.75.
- Recent Christian Progress. *Studies in Christian Thought and Work during the Last Seventy-five Years. By professors and alumni of Hartford Theological Seminary, in celebration of its seventy-fifth anniversary, May 24-26, 1909.* Lewis Bayles Paton, editor. New York: Macmillan, 1909. 598 pages. \$3.00.
- Strong, Anna Louise. *The Psychology of Prayer.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909. 122 pages. \$0.83 postpaid.

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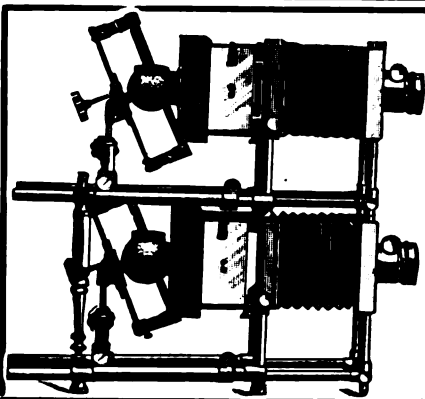


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Announcements for 1910

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Modification, at least in form of expression, of old established doctrines and convictions, has been an oft-repeated experience of the Christian

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church, during the centuries of its existence. It has again and again been necessary to reformulate the theology of the church in the light of current philosophical, scientific, and historical views. This process, so familiar to the historical student, is in progress now. Probably at no time in the church's history has there been greater need for such readjustment of theology than at present. During the coming year the BIBLICAL WORLD proposes to present a positive and constructive treatment of certain topics of vital importance to Christian thought. Articles are therefore being arranged for on:

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 - (3) Modern Evangelism in the Light of Modern Psychology.
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T H E B I B L I C A L W O R L D

In preparation for these monthly studies, there will be published in December, 1909, and January, 1910, certain articles introductory to the Gospel of Matthew, aiming to furnish the teacher with a point of view for the whole year's work. These will discuss such subjects as "The Purpose of the Gospel of Matthew" and "The Origin of the Gospel of Matthew."

Biblical Teachings as to the Future.

A brief series of articles running through the year will be devoted to the Old Testament teaching concerning the future life. These studies will trace the origin and development of the idea in Israel, and will also consider to what extent the Hebrews were dependent upon other peoples for the content of this idea. Among other things, the importance of this idea in Israel's effort toward a solution of its ethical problem will be emphasized.

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The Editorials.

The editorials of the coming year will, as in the past, be devoted to the consideration of vital questions in connection with the interpretation and significance of the Bible. These editorials will aim to be open-minded toward all truth, and at the same time reverent and conservative of all real religious values.

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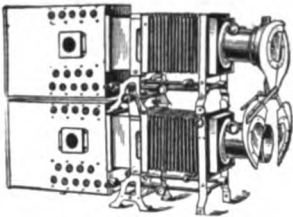
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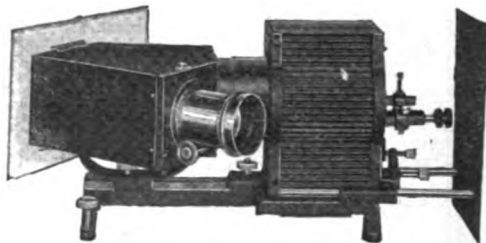
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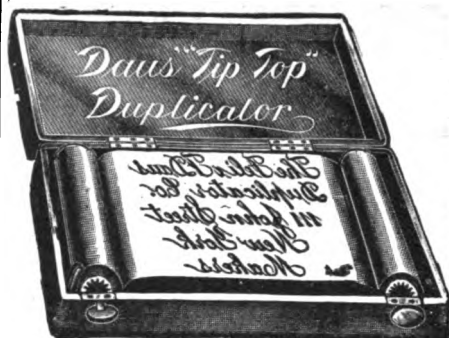
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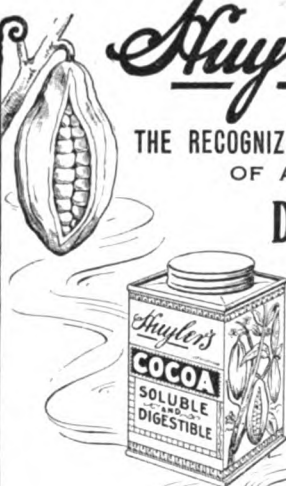


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